Which role of local communities in Ecotourism? Land, governance, culture, and other matters in Tanzania conservation and tourism. The case of Enduimet Community Wildlife Management Area

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SUMMARY

Abbreviations List

AA: Authorized Association

CBO: community-based organization

CBNRM: community-based natural resource management

CBC: community-based conservation

CSO: civil society organization

DC: District Council

DGO: District Game Officer

EWMA: Enduimet Wildlife Management Area

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

GCA: Game Controlled Area

GMP: General Management Plan of the WMA

GPS: Global Positioning System

IMF/FMI: International Monetary Fund/ Fondo Monetario Internacional

INGO: Indigenous NGOs

IPLCs: Indigenous People and Local Communities

LA: Local Administration

MNRT: Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism

NGO: non-governmental organization

NP: National Park

PA: Protected Areas

PLUM: Participatory Land Use Management

RTA: Reflexive Thematic Analysis

RZMP: Resource Zonation Management Plan of the WMA

TANAPA: Tanzania Agency of National Parks

TAWA: Tanzania Wildlife Agency

TTB: Tanzania Tourism Board

TIC: Tanzania Investment Center

VLUP: Village Land Use Plan

VLUMC: Village Land Use Management Committee of the Village Council

VEO: Village Executive Officer

WB: World Bank

ED: Wildlife Division

WMA: Wildlife Management Areas

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the study is to investigate the role of the hosting community of farmers and pastoralists, in the touristic region known as Tanzania Northern Circuit, through a case study of community-based conservation Enduimet WMA. The role of the community is observed by looking at the variegated and evolving political, social, economic, and cultural contexts relevant to the study objective and study area: land tenure, resource management historical patterns and conflicts, people-parks conflicts, decentralization, and participation governance, power dynamics, tourism and conservation interests, collective action and mobilization, as well as their interplay at various geographical scales, highlighting the perspective of the local community investigated (Enduimet Wildlife Management Area WMA). Hopefully, this study will provide farmers and pastoralists around the world a useful production of data to engage fruitfully with issues of conservation and tourism development.

The additional goal of the study is to use Enduimet case study analysis to contribute to the critical debate around Ecotourism in Global South Countries. Hopefully, contributing to an alternative narrative of Ecotourism will enhance the chances of transforming conservation and ecotourism in systems truly able to foster the well-being of hosting communities, which, is not currently occurring (Neuman, 1998; Brockington, & Igoe, 2006; Dawson and Longo, 2023)

Since the 90s, devolution/decentralization reforms have been shaping the sector of conservation and Ecotourism in Global South countries to enhance the role of local communities, but have failed in addressing their condition (Beinart and. McGregor, 2003). Despite the governance shift brought about by the reforms, and the wide institutional endorsement of community—based conservation (CBC) and Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes to pursue sustainable resource management, conservation, and community development (Murphree, 2009); policy observers and political ecology scholars (Ribot et al, 2006; Bluwstein, 2017) deeply criticize the design and implementation of these reforms and schemes, as just another move of accumulation by dispossession or green grabbing(on behalf of central government or other

privileged and powerful actors, such as conservationists, investors, and tourists) (Harvey, 2005; Fairhead et al., 2012).

More broadly, critical observers and political ecologists claim that ecotourism and conservation in the Global South, even when implemented under the design of CBC-CBNRM schemes are developed on weak community rights over land, reiterating imperialism dynamics of land and resource dispossession - referred to as green grabbing-, coupled with forced evictions, brutality, and generalized violation of human and customary rights, and ultimately the impoverishment of these communities (Neumann, 1998; Spence, 1999; Benjaminsen, T& Bryceson, 2012; Gardner, 2016; The Oakland Institute, 2022).

Nonetheless, given the recent incidence of tourism in national GDPs in Global South regions (Carvache-Franco et al., 2019; Holden, 2016; Wearing & Neil, 2009; WTTC Website), and the increased demand and agenda of global environmental institutions to fulfill objectives of climate action within a neoliberal (Brockington, & Igoe, 2006; Fletcher, 2010), setting aside land for tourism and conservation is an expanding phenomenon (Mbaria & Ogada, 2016; Dawson, Longo and SI, 2023),

Human Rights organizations and social movements widely condemn the creation (and current expansion) of protected areas that underpin the practice of Ecotourism, because it displaces and dispossesses Local Communities and Indigenous people (IPLCs) of their land, threatening the survival of their distinctive identity (Dawson and Longo, 2023; Survival International, 2022; The Oakland Institute, 2022; Brockington, D., & Igoe, 2006). Social mobilizations and academic debate around indigenous identity in formerly colonized countries have successfully contributed to strengthening the trans-local movement of IPLCS and their instances on matters such as preservation of a distinctive culture and protection of customary access to land (UN, 2007; UNPFII; Hodgson 2002 and 2011; Chu, 2011; Amadou, 2011; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016).

Identity and culture are at the center of the political ecology investigation of tourism and conservation (together with issues of power and access to resources) because who you are determines your position in a hierarchy and determines whether you can access resources or not (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). Additionally, processes of construction of collective identities (such as around the

notion of Indigenous People) can inform on the local history of collective mobilization and movement creation, and simultaneously inform on the dialectic between social movements and the reactions of governments and other institutions. Such dialectic is particularly relevant in the study of conservation, given its conflictual nature.

Local and transnational movements of IPLCS that advance instances regarding issues in tourism and conservation are inspired by the principles of self-determination and food sovereignty which are underpinned by a vision of local communities that participation-oriented policies are unable to grasp. Such vision is informed by the perspective of Indigenous and local communities on access to resources, and social and political matters which do not characterize the developmental, conservation, and participation debate and theorization (Castellino and Gilbert, 2003; Hodgson, 2002; Hodgsoon, 2011; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016; La Via Campesina, 2021; Iocca & Fidélis, 2022; Amadou, 2012; MVIWATA Website). In the self-determinate narrative of conservation and tourism, IPLCs in Global South Countries are not primitive, nor backward as often depicted in the narrative of tourism development (Neuman, 1998; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016; IWGIA et al, 2016); on the contrary, they are capable agents whose knowledge and culture are invaluable, who developed sustainable and resilient resource management systems that survived for centuries adapting to fast-changing contexts, and who must be put in the condition of preserving identity, and protecting their rights to autonomously shape their present and future (Chabal, 2009; Amadou, 2012; Matinda, 2018; Peerson and minter, 2020; Reyes-García et al., 2022b).

Theoretically, the framework of this study is built on the decentralization and community-based literature, to assess the state of the art around participation-centered reforms in land, tourism, and conservation, and their failure, in Global South countries and Tanzania. In addition, self-determination and food sovereignty were inserted in the theoretical framework to conceptually overcome community participation, which, given the deep critics moved to CBC and CBNRM, resulted in a vague and weak concept, too publicized, and simultaneously easy to deceive (Arnstein, 1969; De Marchi and Ravetz, 2001), in other words, unsuitable for a transformative change of the role local communities.

These concepts and related literature point out the neglected perspective of hosting communities in tourism and conservation (Sarineen and Nepal, 2016).

In Tanzania, the Government introduced in the early 2000s, a new type of protected area based on the community, namely Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), legitimized by the need to connect the major ecosystem protected in National Parks, and envisioned the creation of a model of neoliberal conservation to incentive communities' engagement in conservation through tourism revenues (Myo et al., 2016; Moyo et al., 2017; Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Sulle et al., 2011). As a result, Northern Tanzania became an almost uninterrupted network of protected areas, and a globally famous tourism destination: the Northern Safari Circuit (Tanzania Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources Website; Tanzania National Parks Agency Website).

Despite decentralization efforts the deployment of the community-based discourse in the Northern Circuit and the direct involvement of local communities in conservation (which ultimately led to the multiplication of protected areas in the Northern Circuit), direct benefits and empowerment for local farmers and pastoralists have been limited minimal, while the system ongoingly centralizes tourism resources thanks to the employment of force and oppression, also in the form of brutality (Benjaminsen et al, 2013; Gardener, 2016; Moyo et al., 2016 and 2017; IWGIA, 2016; The Oakland Institute, 2022)

Indeed, activists and protestors are locally fighting against the system for the end of forced evictions, the respect of customary land rights, the preservation of ethnic identity, and the end of the violations of human rights based on ethnic/livelihoods discrimination (IWGIA et al., 2016; Pingos Forum et al., 2013; Currier and Mittal, 2021), and these struggles are finally being presented also in the news (Craig, 2023).

Given the conflictual nature of the matter under investigation, the novelty introduced by WMAs, and the necessity of addressing power relations in tourism and conservation, the study adopted an explorative (multiple scales, multiple topics) and interpretative approach (that takes into account power relations and the presence of a hegemonic narrative and vision of development, at the expenses of alternative ones) to investigate with qualitative methods (participant observation, informal conservations, key-informants interviews, and focus groups)

multiple, and intertwined matters (land, governance, culture, and identity). Enduimet WMA was selected as a case study.

Imagining determination/recentralization and self-determination/sovereignty as edges of intersecting imaginary axes and as edges of the theoretical framework, it is possible to describe and understand the role of the Enduimet community in the tourism system, in relation to multiple actors and multiple themes, and their interplay at multiple scales, fulfilling research objectives. Occurrences such as land conflicts, evictions, use of military force, oppression of minorities, dispossessions, government rent interests, and corruption "move" the community towards a detrimental condition of subjection and impoverishment, within a context of re-centralization of resources, power, and benefits on behalf of the central government, conservationists and investors (Moyo et al, 2016 and 2017; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Borras, et al, 2011; IWIGIA et al, 2016; Brockington, & Igoe, 2006). Whereas, actions of rights advocacy, the exercise of democracy, local participation, gender-equality actions, respect of the alternative worldviews, knowledge and cultural systems, and resistance of IPLCs upgrade the condition of scarcely empowered communities towards an ideal self-determined future (Chabal, 2009; Dawson and Longo, 2023; Matinda, 2018).

Thematic analysis of qualitative data was developed with Nvivo Software to identify and generate Themes. Twenty-one themes were identified that unveil the position of Enduimet's community within the local tourism system, highlighting local perspectives on issues of tourism, conservation, and participation on three major topics: land, governance, and culture. As suggested by the themes identified, the experience of the farming and pastoral community of Enduimet seems more negatively, than positively affected by the presence of the tourism scheme. The role of the community is scarcely empowered, villagers and village leaders report malcontent and conflicts with conservation institutions, and participation mechanisms are flawed. The impact of conservation measures on access to resources is not compensated by tourism benefits. The condition of the Enduimet community within the local tourism system seems to align with the detrimental community scenario depicted in the literature about conservation and tourism in Global South Countries and Tanzania. To a small extent, nonetheless,

16

cultural factors such as the activation of proximity bonds for mutual support, also around village institutions, together with carefully developed ecological knowledge and traditional practices of resource management were presented by community members as able to significantly help them to overcome land loss that came with the establishment of Enduimet WMA, and improve their condition more in general.

The structure of the dissertation is the following: an overview of Ecotourism definitions, challenges, and Ecotourism governance is given in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 introduces decentralization/devolution reforms in land and conservation sectors in countries of the Global South and Tanzania, in the 90s. This literature is used to give insights into the "local" and "community-based" turn that affected policy and regulations of land and conservation. The chapter then highlights the contradictory outcomes of these policies. This chapter also addresses specific concepts such as land tenure land tenure security and land-grabbing, and introduces the institution of WMAs. Chapter 3 illustrates people and parks conflicts between ethnic groups of Northern Tanzania and major protected areas; Chapter 4 introduces indigenous people and local communities, their knowledge systems, and their organizations, and the instances of social movements, such as self-determination and food sovereignty; chapter 5 contains the research design and its evolution over time; chapter 6 contains the methodologies, justification of methodological choices, empirical setting, and issues of positionality; chapter 7 presents the study area; chapter 8 presents the analysis and the findings; chapter 9 finally presents the discussion of the results; followed by Conclusions.

1. ECO-TOURISM

1.1 Eco-tourism in Africa and the Global South: definitions, opportunities, and challenges

As one of the most thriving economic activities of the 21st century, tourism is well placed to contribute to improving indigenous people's land and local communities' livelihoods while preserving natural resources. Especially given the steady growth of tourism sectors in specific regions of the world. Tourism demand indeed is more and more targeting wild or extreme environments of the planet, where tourists can *authentically experience nature and wilderness* (Carvache-Franco et al., 2019; Holden, 2016; Wearing & Neil, 2009). Consequently, Middle East and Africa tourist arrivals grew above the world average in recent years. The Middle East enjoyed the strongest relative increase compared to pre-pandemic numbers. Africa and the Americas both recovered about 65% of their pre-pandemic visitors, while Asia and the Pacific reached only 23%, due to stronger pandemic-related restrictions which have started to be removed only in recent months (UNWTO, 2023). If managed responsibly and sustainably, tourism spurs cultural interaction and revival, bolsters employment, alleviates poverty, curbs rural flight migration, empowers local communities, especially women and youth, encourages tourism product diversification, allows people to retain their relationship with the land and nurtures a sense of pride and belonging to a community, to a place. In Corbisiero (2021 p.17), we can read that tourism can enhance development and community well-being by "stimulating the pride of local communities".

Ecotourism is a form of tourism that is made up of cultural/indigenous, rural, and natural tourism (Holden, 2016; Bluwstein, 2017; Cole, 2006; International Ecotourism Society Website). Ecotourism is a form of tourism primarily, but not exclusively, focused on experiencing natural areas, which fosters environmental and cultural understanding, appreciation, and conservation (Bluwstein, 2017; Pasape et al., 2015, International Ecotourism Society Website). The specific objective of Eco-tourism is studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations found in these areas (Holden, 2016; Acott et al., 1998). For attraction to be regarded as ecotourism-oriented, it should primarily involve the natural environment, with associated cultural elements. Learning and appreciating are core elements of the

interaction between the tourists and the environment; ecotourism should be environmentally, socially-culturally, and economically sustainable (Holden, 2016; Pasape et al., 2013). The definition of ecotourism of the International Ecotourism Society is "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (International Ecotourism Society Website).

Based on these definitions found in the literature, I argue that hosting communities and a certain type of relationship with hosting communities, are the premises of the ecotourism experience, therefore, it is possible to define an ecotourism experience or project, as community-based tourism. Such tourism experiences are, one way or another, taking place on community-owned land, or delivered through community-owned hospitality businesses, based on protected areas managed by the community, or community practices, culture, rituals, and traditions are the object of the tourism visit. In this study, ecotourism and community-based tourism in protected areas are overlapping concepts, from which stems similar implications around values such as cultural respect and environmental and social sustainability of the tourism model.

Community-based tourism is a form of tourism promoted by a turn in values cherished by global institutions the choices of government, investors, and NGOs in the Global South in touristic destinations Such paradigm shift occurred following a political, legislative, and social values turn between the 90's and the 00's generally known, in the Global South, as decentralization[1] (Yüksel, 2005; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016).

However, not all ecotourism experiences are community-sensitive or pro-community, despite being labeled as community-based. On-the-ground case studies are needed to assess the role of the community, a role that often materialized too weakly, despite a highly celebratory narrative of community-based tourism advanced by institutions and development practitioners (Nepal and

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[1] (see Chapter 2): a shift in the political, legislative, and investment realms, where democratic and equitable outcome is obtained through a process where institutions' accountability is enhanced. Enhanced accountability is in turn obtained through greater power, authority, and responsibility of either local administrations or local/community organizations and institutions (as separated by national, and central government institutions and organizations) (definition elaborated by the author, based on the thinking of authors such as Ribot, Agrawal, Brinkerhoff whose bibliographical references can be found in Chapter 2).

Saarinen, 2016)Despite the consensus that tourism can be successfully used as a powerful tool for economic development worldwide, there is still a gap in developing specific strategies on the sustainability principles that could materialize tourism development associated with a satisfactory tourism experience, without leaving the destination communities worse off (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). However, eco-tourism appears to be the tourism segment where sustainability discourse (especially social sustainability) is advanced (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016).

Simultaneous, tourism development contributes to the expansion of market-based logic in new areas (rural areas) and sectors (market-based production of sustainability); it hegemonically fosters a dominant development paradigm that is based on commodification and market integration (Bluwstein et al, 2017; Fletcher, 2010; Castree, 2008). It is within the capitalistic expansion dynamics of tourism that accumulation by dispossession occurs in tourism (Harvey, 2005; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016; Benjaminsen et al, 2013), leaving local communities impoverished, and discontent about conservation (Benjaminsen et al, 2013). Nonetheless, a sustainability-oriented narrative of (Eco- or community-based) tourism characterizes public, academic, and governmental debate (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016),

Indeed, many authors and international organizations' policies–(among which Mwamwaja,2006; Pasape,2015, 2016; Holden, 2016; Corbisiero, 2021; International Ecotourism Society, and the United Nations World Tourism Organization, have reflected on what makes Ecotourism sustainable. Relevant components for tourism sustainability comprise (among others):

1. using tourism resources sustainably;
2. reducing over-consumption and waste;
3. maintaining diversity;
4. integrating tourism into national and local planning; supporting and involving local communities;
5. consulting stakeholders;
6. skills development, training, and marketing tourism responsibly.

A limitation in the study of Eco-tourism lies in its definition, as suggested by Bluwstein, 2017, who points out that the definition of ecotourism suggests that it is

inherently good; being a win-win approach to both the environment and local people, especially when Eco-tourism concept and practice is imagined in the context of developing countries. However, a nuanced perspective on the promises and perils of ecotourism is needed (West, et al, 2006). For instance, the ecotourism definition "suggests that 'natural areas' are already out there, ready to be discovered by tourists" (Bluwstein, 2017:101) (namely, it does not problematize how Protected Areas in the Global South are born and managed). When established, protected areas in the Global South are enforced by military or para-military staff, and create a trade-off between the conservation of biodiversity and community livelihoods, leading to resentment and conflicts. Such conflict and tradeoffs arise from the ongoing entry of market logic (commodification, commercialization, assignment of market value to natural resources and landscapes) into rural/indigenous life (Bluwstein, 2017; Castree, 2008; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). This does not mean that the market cannot become an ally of local communities, and the affirmation of the rights of indigenous communities (see Gardner, 2016), nor that governments are the most suitable, most capable, most interested actor in protecting community rights (Kicheleri, 2021; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). Nonetheless, the state of the art suggests that there is a need for more aware, complex, alternative approaches for the investigation of tourism and the implementation of models of tourism development. This must occur to unravel conflicts, inequalities, injustice, and colonial power dynamics in Ecotourism and conservation (Neumann, 2003). Likely, a political ecology approach can be suitable to foster the adoption of a critical and more complex, place-based approach investigation of tourism (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). In addition, the state of the art suggests that the solution must start by listening to local instances and interpreting local meanings and perceptions.

As argued by Chabal (2009), only local-context research can provide insightful, non-tautological answers, for instance, the spread of social movements that fight protected areas in the Global South. As argued by Chabal (2009), local people are the source of unexpected strength, resiliency and thus place-based agency which forges alternative visions and solutions, and this is why this study is centered on communities' point of view: their perspective may inform about alternative, more reflexive solutions.

More and more scholars are joining local communities in criticizing the conservation model Ecotourism is based on because it is often presented as a homogenous block of pro-communities' pro-nature, sustainable experiences. Ecotourism should be questioned, criticized, and problematized (Bluwstein, 2017; West et al, 2006; Saarinen and Nepal, 2016). This would allow have more honest debate (both public and academic debate) around a notion of eco-tourism that is not assumed to be inherently good. The debate on the sustainability of ecotourism is far from being resolved, and it requires further theoretical (Corbisiero, 2021; Wondirad, 2019; Jamal e Camargo, 2018; Seba, 2012; Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Parks et al., 2009; Weaver, 2007; Sharpley, 2006; Wall, 1997; Acott at al.; 1998; Nelson, 1994) and empirical investigations (Wardle et al., 2018; Brandt e Buckley, 2018; Ruhanen, 2013).

Lastly, research, political decisions, and development programs in conservation and tourism heavily draw on vaguely defined concepts and classic theory economic objectives that have little to do with the reality of Global South Countries. Such concepts and development objectives, furthermore, are elaborated in Western countries, based on Western rationality, culture, and knowledge, and only then applied to non-Western contexts. Often, this arrangement leads to a total misunderstanding of the local reality and the failure of such projects (Neuman, 1998; Saarinen and Nepal, 2016; Persoon and Minter, 2020; Virtanen et al, 2020; Reyes-García 2022b; Dawson and Longo, 2023).

The working definition of Ecotourism adopted in this study is the one informed by the academic debate here reported, which heavily stems from a critical, political ecology perspective on the coloniality of Ecotourism and conservation.

1.2 Wildlife, indigenous, and cultural tourism; issues of definition

In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa and Global South countries wildlife-based and cultural and rural tourism are highly connected, usually enjoyed in the same visit/journey. The issue of the definition is not a minor concern in tourism, especially given the implications that follow specific conceptualizations. Any labeling, therefore, leads to issues that deserve problematization, especially regarding culture-based tourism, whose labeling and understanding may reiterate

colonialism mindset and reinforce colonial power relations. The same goes for nature-based tourism given the conflictual origin of protected areas (Cole, 2006).

Wildlife-based tourism is a very common form of ecotourism undertaken by tourists traveling to Sub-Saharan African countries and the Global South (Gardner, 2016), if not the most common. Wildlife-based tourism can be of two types: consumptive (hunting tourism) and non-consumptive (photographic tourism). Wildlife protection is among the main purposes of national parks or game reserves in African and Global South countries, mainly because it constitutes the main tourist attraction (i.e. tourism resource). Tourists are interested, in this context, in a specific "part" of biodiversity, namely wildlife. Such a model of protected areas (National Parks and Reserves) is known as conservation fortresses because is militarily enforced (Dawson and Longo, 2023; Spence, 1999), and centrally managed and communities are denied access to such areas (Bluwstein, 2017), see more in paragraph 2.8.

Wildlife-based tourism is one of the most rapidly growing markets on the planet (Fernández-Llamazarez et al., 2019), together with the Eco-tourism market segment (Pasape, et al., 2013; Corbisiero, 2021). The magnitude of the wildlife tourism sector is also given by the fact that it has become a leading foreign exchange earner in an increasing number of countries in the Global South (Fernández-Llamazarez et al., 2019), therefore governments of these countries heavily invest in the growth of the sector and large interests are tied to it. Unfortunately, such a tourism segment is also highly conflictual because land access and natural resources and tourism/hunting interests are at stake. Consequently, Bluwstein (2017) claims there is a necessity for problematizing Protected Areas, as the case of wildlife-based ecotourism well illustrates the territorial ambitions of powerful tourism system actors implicit when referring to nature and the environment.

Indigenous tourism and cultural tourism comprise activities associated with the visit of indigenous groups (the former) and experiences aimed at the knowledge of different cultures, traditions, and rituals (the latter). However, such labeling is employed meaning very different tourist contexts. Usually, the former is employed to refer to indigenous people-based tourism experience in Global South Countries; and the latter for the experience carried out in art cities in the Global North (Cole, 2006).

23

Tourism, however, is considered among the primary development tools for indigenous communities, given the steady growth rate and the increasing preference for tourism for extreme environments (United Nations World Tourism Organization website). Combined with the "sustainability" turn in social values described by Murphy (2012), a nexus between tourism and the quest for and development of Indigenous and local communities can be observed in 2012 indeed, the tourism sector was one of the first corporate sectors to recognize the importance of the UN Declaration of Rights of Indigenous People (UN, 2007), when the Larrakia Declaration on the Development of Indigenous Tourism was adopted by the World Indigenous Tourism Alliance (WINTA) in 2012 in Darwin, Australia. The Declaration followed the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, adopted by the General Assembly of UNWTO in 1999. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (herein UNWTO) developed a set of guidelines and principles for the sustainable development of indigenous tourism, collected in UNWTO (2022), giving an initial answer to the need to undertake, and develop such tourism segment with particular attention to its implications and challenges.

Indigenous (alternatively referred to as Ethnic tourism) is commonly associated with the customs of indigenous peoples. Other definitions of ethnic tourism as revised by Cole (2006) focus on people living out a cultural identity, whose uniqueness is being marketed to tourists. The focus of tourists' visits is on cultural practices, settlements dances and ceremonies, and shopping for curios. However, Cole (2006) also acknowledges a racialization of tourism labeling: the use of the term ethnic is problematic. "Ethnic" commonly refers to the "other" people, not the ones producing the categorization and the labeling. "'Othering' is indeed thus a "prerequisite aspect and consequence of tourism" (Cole 2006: 91). In a nutshell, Cole concludes, tourists and tourism definitions are based on an ethnocentric view of the human groups they visit and it is now widely accepted by anthropologists of tourism that "much of contemporary tourism is founded on the 'Quest for the Other''. Furthermore, the touristic process contributes to stereotyping alternative lifestyles and world views as something primitive and backward. The "Other belongs to a premodern, commodified, imagined world and is authentically social" (Cole, 2006:91).

To address that, UNWTO (2022) indeed issued a set of guidelines for all tourism stakeholders, called to protect, and respect the cultures of indigenous

people, their rights, and their ancestral traditions. Respect for cultural values and the cultural capital of indigenous groups, their physical, spiritual, and cultural relationship with their traditional lands and customary laws, is the necessary premise for indigenous groups to benefit from tourism and enhance their agency and autonomy in it.

Respecting the management models that the indigenous communities wish to apply in tourism development, engaging in a thorough, transparent, and permanent consultation process on the planning, design, and management of tourism projects, products, and services is another necessary precondition. This sustainability-oriented tourism process includes a dialogue between indigenous and non-indigenous stakeholders (governments, destinations, tourism companies, and others), as well as the indigenous community's consent to any tourism development is necessary (UNWTO, 2022). Against this backdrop, we argue that tourism development should not be imposed on communities, but it should be desired and then implemented by communities themselves, as the result of a reflexive, autonomous, place-based process to avert coloniality in the development of tourism.

Nonetheless, within the global framework of neoliberalism, e, tourism is a tool of capitalist expansion that transforms differences into the global discourse of consumerism, whereby 'otherness', people culture, and people rituals become commodities. Some would say a commodification of other people's culture, fetishization when instead is a kind of institutional racism that celebrates primitiveness' (Cole, 2006:91). Cole (2006) concludes that the dichotomy between ethnic and cultural tourism serves to entrench inequalities white people and brown/black people; the rich and poor, meaning the former is used for the 'primitive other' and the latter for the high arts in developed nations.

Current institutional efforts such as those undertaken by UNWTO (UNWTO, 2022), and the UN decade dedicated to Indigenous people or the Permanent Forum (UNPFII -Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2003)Howeverare not sufficient to tackle racialized outcomes of tourism development in Global South Countries.

International organizations, policymakers, the academia should acknowledge power relations and colonial exploitation when advancing critics on the role of local and indigenous communities in tourism, and possibly work to

overcome a racialized labeling of tourism activities that may contribute to a colonial tourism discourse and practice.

1.3 Good Governance of Eco-tourism: participation, transparency, accountability

Governance is a concept that expresses the performance of decisions, expectations, and power in society. Various definitions of governance have been put forward. For instance, governance is the process by which decisions are made and implemented (or not implemented). Usually, governance involves institutions, authority and collaboration (or conflict) in allocating resources and coordinating or controlling activities in society or the economy, in this sense governance is the exercise of political, economic, or administrative power to manage a country's resources, affairs, and societal problems. It comprises the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests and mediate their differences (Pasape et al., 2015; Pasape et al., 2013; UNCEPA, 2006). Governance comprises the positions that govern institutions' use of exercise power, especially coercive power. Governance describes how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources to guarantee the realization of the public good concerning human rights. (Pasape et al., 2015; Pasape et al., 2013).

Alternatively, defined by the World Bank (2010) as the way power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Good governance produces sound development management as its outcome. It comprises the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised, and the process by which governments are selected, monitored, and replaced. Actors articulate in the system of governance to solve conflicts and adopt decisions. Governance should be characterized by acceptance by the public (i.e. legitimacy) and in achieving broad participation (in the sense of democratic outcomes). Ù

If we look at the governance of specific sectors such as natural resources, land, and tourism in developing countries, it is possible to observe two primary models: centralized and decentralized. In centralized governance regimes,

institutions and organizations achieve their goal and enact government regulations, following a top-down approach taken on by the national centralized agencies (central of federal governments) with clear bureaucratic procedures. In decentralized governance regimes however, local agencies and institutions act autonomously through networks, in cooperation with community organizations and community institutions, that are called to participate in the decision-making and policy-making process that become hybrid and fluid, where responsibilities are spread within and outside the government structure (Dillinger et al., 1999; Brinkerhoff, and Goldsmith, 2004; Yüksel et al., 2005).

Participation, intended as the involvement of the community, stakeholders, and civil society in decision and policy-making is the first element of good governance taken into account in terms of relevance to this study (community-based, participatory conservation). In addition, participation is becoming the core value of decentralized governance regimes, widely promoted in developing countries to address some issues of transparency and accountability of central governments. Involvement could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2004; Yüksel et al., 2005; De Marchi and Ravetz, 2001).

In their 2015 writing, Pasape et al. simply define participation as the involvement of men, women, and marginalized groups of society in the governance process. Participation can be sometimes addressed as public (to stress the citizenship, and civil society component), or local participation (to stress that participation is something that involves the local community and a process that allows participation at the ground level) (De Marchi and Ravtz, 2001). In the most neutral terms possible, participation or participatory approach to policy- and decision-making is the process of involvement of those affected by the new policy or decision (stakeholders, made of private actors and their associations, civil society, and their associations and regular citizens) in the making process, together with decision-makers.

Is a participatory scheme the process in which dialogue is fostered between rulers and ruled, to assure that decision-making is occurring in a scenario of consensus. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be

taken into consideration when decisions are made. Participants need to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other (Pasape et al, 2015; Yüksel et al., 2005; De Marchi and Ravtz, 2001).

However, the public and political debate around "community participation" needs to start from "participation" as a nuanced concept, not inherently good (just like for ecotourism), but good (namely, beneficial for communities) only if realized in a specific way. Theory and practice of participation are far from being homogenous, and different labels may be applied to the same participation strategy, or the same label may be employed to describe different methods. De Marchi and Ravtz (2001:5) on the need to define participation according to the context and that "participation" itself, is not prescriptive enough, say:

"The current enthusiasm for participation needs, however, to be tempered by the recognition that participatory design must be highly sensitive to the social, economic, and political context. Simply exporting methods developed in different contexts without questioning their cultural and political assumptions may prove sterile and even counter-productive. Cultivating sensitivity to context and respect for values and visions that are grounded in local history and traditions are key elements of participatory processes."

Against this backdrop, Arnstein (1969) comes in handy, because he defines citizenry participation as a ladder, with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program. He distinguished different types of possible participation, to shed light on "community participation". On the bottom rung, you have the participation of manipulated individuals. This can still be called participation, but the extent of "participation" is subjected to "the education" of the community, which is considered unable to contribute, unless "educated". In the middle rung, we can find that the community can express their ideas and state their opinions, but "participants" lack the power to be also heard. In the middle rung, institutions are not held accountable for actually including community voices in laws and policies. Eventually, on the top rung, citizens are real participants, with the power not only to gather and express their instances but also with the power to exercise control over decisions affecting them.

Good Governance should be open, transparent, accountable, equitable,

and responsive to people's needs, which in this study are considered as the foundational elements for food tourism and conservation governance. Ideally, governance is linked to an ideal democratic process in which the voiceless are heard, the powerless are empowered, the disadvantaged get a fair share and all stakeholders are in a win-win situation (Pasape et al, 2015; Brinkerhoff, & Goldsmith, 2004).

Transparency in governance ensures that corruption is minimized and that all actors are equally aware of informed about decisions, while equitability and inclusivity make sure that the views of minorities are taken into account, and the voice of vulnerable groups is heard when decisions are made. Specifically, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights links the pillars of good governance to the respect of human rights, in the sense their respect can only occur in a proper and conducive environment to which all stakeholders contribute (i.e. good governance), including appropriate legal frameworks and institutions as well as political, managerial and administrative processes responsible for responding to the rights and needs of the population (OHCHR UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Right Website).

Good governance provides the conducive scenario for the full respect of human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information, and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability, and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance (according to the definition of the UN OHCRH). In a nutshell, good governance provides a set of values and procedures, shared between institutions and authorities that can be used to lead society to a desired objective. These objectives are represented by the present and future needs of society assuring a pattern of good results, ideally with no externalities produced in the process (Pasape et al., 2015, Brinkerhoff, 2000).

Breaking down to individual components of good governance that are relevant for the analysis, transparency means, that the enforcement of decisions is taken according to a shared set of rules and regulations. Besides, it means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be

affected by decisions and their enforcement. How to achieve that? Through stakeholders' meetings to foster participation, having a viable system of info sharing, publicly exposing revenues and expenditures of an organization/institution; having clear procedures and non-overlapping roles and responsibilities; reducing bureaucracy, and promoting a culture of transparency (Pasape et al., 2015, Brinkerhoff, 2000)).

On the other hand, accountability means that decision-makers in the government, the private sector, and civil society are accountable to the public and institutional stakeholders, which means that enforcement actions and decisions must respect the shared and collectively approved set of rules and regulations (Pasape et al, 2015).

In a system affected by highly unbalanced power relations (such as Ecotourism in Global South countries), it is reasonable to expect that good governance (especially transparency, participation, and accountability) -which represents an ideal outcome- hardly materializes. In particular, as identified by Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Goldsmith (2004) decisional structures and governance in Global South countries heavily rely on mechanisms of clientelism, which are enforced to sustain the patrimonial interests of government officers or other key, powerful stakeholders.

Having said that "good governance" represents more an ideal goal than an actual governance arrangement and based on the information about clientelism-patrimonialism[2], which characterizes governance and decisional systems in Global South Countries, on-the-ground investigation is needed to assess the extent of awareness, informed, and transparency-based community participation, in the community-based Ecotourism scheme of Enduimet WMA. As scholars of political ecology and participation have taught us (Arnestein, 1969; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016), values such as "sustainability" and "community benefit" which are largely presented in the narrative of ecotourism, need to be unmasked, because often used rhetorically.

Inspired by such debate on pillars of good governance and the complexity of defining (and enforcing) grass-root participation, accountability transparency,

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[2] For "Patronage" see paragraph 2.1.

and the dynamics of community participation of Enduimet WMA governance will be investigated and discussed with participants, to highlight the perspective of the local community regarding decisional and power dynamics.

2. GOVERNANCE OF LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN AFRICA AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH: BETWEEN DECENTRALIZATION AND CONSERVATION MODELS

2.1. Devolution and Decentralization Reforms: opportunities and challenges of the global reformist wave of the '90s

At the end of the 20th century, many countries in the Global South had excessively centralized administrative and government systems (Collins, 1974). Given the political and intellectual turn that was shifting the political debate and political fulcrum back to the local level, where communities and local administrations are, many governments in Africa and other developing countries undertook huge reforms of decentralization of the state administration, under important pressures of the international community (Yüksel et al., 2005). The milestones of this huge reform process comprise the World Public Service Reform Program (PSRP) of 1990 and the Rio Declaration of 1992. Another recent example of particular interest and impact is the development of initiatives under 'Local Agenda 21' which encourages local participation in decision-making. In addition, organizations such as IMF and WB included "decentralization reforms", as part of eligibility conditions for loans within the Structural Adjustment Programs (1990's). In the vision of these institutions, reforms were needed to address es of governments' accountability and corruption which resulted in a highly clientelist and rent-seeking-oriented decisional structure (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2004). Moreover, reforms in many countries in the Global South were needed to address the problems of lack of qualified personnel, poor management skills, lack of institutional transparency, and systemic lack of financial resources.

Furthermore, in these contexts, the legacy of colonialism is still strongly affecting local tenure systems, which results in dualistic and fragmented (Collins, 1974): on the one hand, there are local land tenure systems, where local and indigenous communities' rights should be protected by customary rights while government or private institutions can rely on formal land ownership rights that result to be more legally-powerful than community rights, leading to phenomena such as violent evictions, forced relocations and land grabs (Chitonge, & Ntsebeza, 2012; Beinart and McGregor, 2003; Kironde 2009, Borra et al, 2011).

Many land and resource governance reforms, that occurred in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 90's-00s, go in the direction of the enhancement of land rights and increased land security for local communities, commonly employed in traditional agriculture or forestry-related activities. However, flaws and challenges affect these reforms, ultimately failing to strengthen community land rights and increase land security (Dressler et al., 2010; Gardner, 2016; Ostrom, 1980; Ribot 2004; Ribot et al., 2006; Nelson 2007, Beinart and McGregor, 2003). Partly, the hardship to implement an effective solution for dualistic and fragmented tenure systems in the Global South. These interventions are bound to fail" because they are not adjusted to African realities Whilst African states may grant individual rights to land, what goes on at the local level is another matter" (Pedersen, 2016:105). Indeed, land matters are much more complex than that (formal tenure= good; informal tenure= bad), and in the paragraph dedicated to Land Tenure we are going to see that formal rights do not equal security of rights, and vice versa (Robinson et al., 2018; Yuta et al, 2020).

Since developing countries have embarked on these major reforms, governmental programs and legislative efforts started focusing on service distribution enhancement and resolving issues of democratic, bottom-up representation; as well as working to enhance consensus and legitimacy in decision-making and enforcement (Greenhalgh, 1989; Yüksel et al., 2005; De Marchi and Ravetz, 2001). Local participation in policymaking almost *became a condition sine qua non* for sustainable development, or at least for sustainable policymaking. Besides, the observation and study of local politics gained importance, because it can inform about networks of power and how actors relate with each other according to the distribution of such power (Bogdanor 1987; Ribot et al., 2006). Such reforms slowly impacted every sector of the political, administrative, and economic life of the countries undertaking them. Instances of community participation, and community-based management started spreading in the institutional debate, especially affecting tourism and natural resource sectors, allegedly, changing forever mutual power relations and dynamics of democratic participation.

The study of decentralization/devolution reforms and their impacts on governance can cover different themes: community power, local government

institutions, the local political class, and political subcultures (such as clientelism or patronage). Besides, the observation and study of local politics are extremely important, because can inform about networks of power and how actors relate with each other according to the distribution of such power (Bogdanor 1987; Ribot et al., 2006). Indeed the major initial steps of governmental reform started with the institutionalization of local administration bodies, which in many Southern Countries were either lacking or underdeveloped (Collins, 1974).

Local government can assume different arrangements. Goldsmith (2002) and Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2004) are seminal works that show how "community" and "local government" are not homogenous realities, instead, they deserve investigation for a nuanced understanding of the different patterns of communities and local government. According to Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2004); Nelson and Agrawal (2008), and Chabal (2009), the "model" of local politics and administration is typical of African countries as well as Southern European and Mediterranean countries and is known as "patronage". In such a model, the function of the administration is the distribution of benefits to specific individuals or groups to meet values of reciprocity and obligation. In this case, legitimacy is based on the exchange of favors, and the power of the law is less strong than that of the "client." In conclusion, patronage and clientelism are considered institutional factors, apparently ubiquitous at least in the African context, that undermine "good governance" and the realization of community benefits and democratic accountability as a consequence of decentralization reforms (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2004Nelson &Agrawal, 2008; Chabal, 2009). Despite arguments related to clientelism and patrimonialism that are commonly advanced to sustain the failure of reform efforts in African countries and the failure of democratic participation in these contexts, it is also important to problematize the observation of the phenomenon of clientelism. In this regard, is interesting the cultural approach adopted by Chabal, 2009 about clientelism and patrimonialism in the African context: the political phenomena obey local rules of morality (obligation and reciprocity) and rationality, which results in the attempt to reconnect local politics to local moral values (and in this way gain legitimacy) after colonial rule disconnected power from local legitimacy. Reconnecting leadership and power to local morality rules, (or in other words, satisfying the demand of local clients) allows to hold leaders accountable to the local community, even if this

occurs through "Informal" channels. In this perspective, clientelism is a necessary component of accountability for the local political economy which fulfills mutual obligations. The author suggests that a more complex approach should be adopted when wondering why reforms -elaborated on Western-elaborated concepts and agendas – fail when imposed on (rather than elaborated specifically for) different contexts. Effective governance, reduction of corruption, and informed grassroots participation require the construction of accountable institutions at all levels of government and a secure domain of autonomous decision-making at the local level. But "these interventions are bound to fail because they are not adjusted to African realities (Pedersen, 2016:105).

Ribot et al., (2006) specify administrative decentralization (the creation of administration bodies at the local level, which Ribot et al. define "Deconcentration" is said to occur when powers are devolved to appointees of the central government in the local arena. When powers are transferred to lower-level actors who are downwardly accountable, even when they are appointed, the reform is considered political decentralization. Political decentralization (also called democratic decentralization) involves the transfer of power to actors or institutions that are accountable to the population in their jurisdiction. Elections are the mechanism that ensures this downward accountability. However, elections and budgets are often structured to make elected officials upwardly accountable. According to Ribot, Agrawal & Larson's (2006) analytical framework, it will be easier to understand the implications of the 90's community-based reforms, especially in terms of access to resources and protection of ownership rights. The analytical framework is composed as follows:

(i)   Main actors

(ii)   Nature of powers transferred

(iii)   Outcomes

(iv)   Accountability Mechanisms/ Mechanisms limiting local authority

Ribot et al. (2006) use this framework to analyze the state of devolution over the management of resources (to conclude whether communities were actually (de facto) entitled to greater powers to manage forests, or if such devolution only occurred de jure. The authors, after comparing different reforms

in different African countries, conclude that most community-based/decentralization policies are mostly rhetoric, a façade, with very small contributions and empowerment of communities. We can read in Nelson and Agrawal (2008: 558 citing Batterbury and Fernando, 2006: 1861) that "the central state does not relinquish enough control to local people eager to receive it. This is the fundamental challenge to decentralization reforms". The operative framework adopted by Ribot et al. (2006) greatly aligns with my investigation needs for the case of community-based conservation Enduimet WMA, and it is consistent with the debate introduced in Chapter 1 and paragraph 2.1. on the need to unmask certain dynamics (Nepal and Sarineen, 2016; Ribot et al, 2006; Nelson and Agrawal, 2008), to assess to what extent participation and power devolution and grass-root democratic participation are occurring *de facto* or only *de jure*, as consequences of the devolution/decentralization reforms and programs undertaken in the Global South in the 90s.The very premises of my investigation are located with this debate inspired by the approach of political ecology: power relations and issues of representation are not erased by the decentralization wave. Since then instead, a new scenario came to life, one affected by a *tension* between *de jure and de facto* devolution/decentralization. This is the framework adopted in this study to discuss the implication of the land reform and community-based reform that occurred in Tanzania between the 90s and the 00s and to discuss the case study Enduimet as a participatory conservation/tourism scheme.

In particular, the state of decentralization/devolution is observed in land and resource governance at national (Tanzania central government) and local level (Enduimet) as they also represent an initial opportunity for communities to self-determine their development, thanks to (allegedly) greater autonomy. Greater autonomy and greater decisional power for local communities lie at the heart of models of CBNRM- Community-Based Natural Resource Management); and CBC – Community-Based Conservation, which characterize Integrated Development Programs (Nepal and Sarineen, 2016). These programs started multiplying in African and Global South Countries, during the decentralization/devolution wave of the 90s-early 00s, of which Enduimet WMA represents an interesting case study. ù

2.2. CBNRM: Community-Based Natural Resource Management: premises and shortcomings of a new resource governance model

The premise underlying CBNRM programs is that sustainable management is most likely where local users can manage and extract benefits from natural resources. CBNRM efforts are a response to centralized management regimes (Nelson and Agrawal, 2008). CBNRM is alternatively referred to as CBC (community-based conservation) (Bluwstein, 2017). Within CBNRM, is possible to distinguish projects and policies inherent to the management of forests, water bodies (in that case one would refer to CBNRM), and projects more strictly dealing with biodiversity conservation, whereas in the context of Sub-Saharan Countries and Global South countries are addressed as CBC. In Bluwstein (2017), we can read that CBC and CBNRM are interchangeable terms they both refer to an attempt to extend biodiversity conservation into communal lands through the active enrolment of local people, their knowledge, and practices in sustainable resource management and conservation interventions.

In CBNRM's view, the development of the anthropogenic component is primary and, through it, conservation goals are also achieved. It envisages activities that can generate a small economic surplus within the protected areas (photographic tourism, controlled hunting activity, handcraft selling) and sustainable use of resources within the protected areas (dead-wood-only collection, use of shrubs for making traditional dwellings, traditional medicine, beekeeping, and so on); a diversification of rural activity with an eye on the multifunctionality of agriculture: silviculture and small-scale production of manufactured goods; as well as vocational training and capacity-building workshops (Murphree, 2009; Dressler et al., 2010). In this sense, CBNRM programs can be identified as Integrated Development Programs, because they aim at creating development (usually in the form of poverty reduction) in association with other (integrated) goals (Langanm, 2017; Nepal and Sarineen, 2016).

Drawing on access theory, the observer of the CBNRM scheme should consider interests and power relations to explain who has access to what and under what conditions. In this fashion, state and international actors have a very strong interest in preserving resources in Global South countries. In the wildlife sector, for instance, central governments want to retain direct authority over land, because of tourism revenues, whereas conservation NGOs have the same interests, because

of huge funds coming from donors. Communities, on their behalf, are interested in independently defining their interests (among which, from my critical perspective as a white researcher I identify as maintaining their livelihoods, resource (efficient) use, and possibly equal access to those resources). Consequently, actors' interests clash leading to land conflicts that arise because the police/army force (authorities' expression of power) is used to 1) preserve authorities' interests and 2) exclude communities from their ancestral land. Access theory shows how powerful interests of tourism and conservation are bound to prevail, at the expense of communities, also through the use of violence. On the other hand, the concept of accumulation by dispossession helps visualize how as a natural tendency of capitalism (the way it attributes market-based value to every aspect of the human and of the non-human) resources become concentrated in the powerful nucleus at the expense of those not part of the nucleus (Harvey, 2005; Kicheleri et al., 2021; Moyo et al., 2016; Moyo et al., 2017; Benjaminsen, T. A., & Bryceson, 2012).

Alternatively, CBNRM and CBC programs can be seen as phenomena of capitalistic expansion (neoliberal conservation, Fletcher, 2020), into formerly non-exclusively capitalistic spheres (sustainable use of resources, preservation of traditional landscapes, and related knowledge and practices). According to the rationality of neoliberal conservation, the most meaningful and beneficial relationship between society and nature is "through markets." The primary goal behind these initiatives is to develop markets to deliver more benefits to more "stakeholders." In other words, CBNRM pursues the marketization (attribution of market value, the subjection to market logic) of communities' livelihoods and cultures. These programs lead to value substitution, loss of traditional value, and proximity bonds in favor of market-based bonds, market integration of unequally powerful actors, may result in unequal participation of the different groups and stakeholders in the community, highly unequal distribution of costs and benefits, generalized impoverishment because of accumulation by dispossession, although they are often accepted by local communities because of the economic incentives that conservation-based economic activities (carbon trade or ecotourism) should offer (Fletcher, 2020, Castree, 2003 and 2008). It has to be noted, nonetheless, that critics of neoliberal conservation and neoliberalism-oriented commodification of nature can reiterate colonial power and primitive accumulation dynamics (Harvey, 2005), whereby the market becomes the entry point for external actors to

benefit from local resources, more than the local communities administrating those resources (Fletcher, 2020), resulting in a dynamic of resource dispossession very similar to the ones that characterized the beginning of European industrial capitalism in the era of imperialism (Flecther, 2020, Harvey, 2005).

On another symbolic and pragmatic level, CBNRM as a project of neoliberalism expansion becomes a tool that imposes a certain, hegemonic vision of what is sustainable development. Such vision elaborated elsewhere is not the product of a reflexive process occurring within communities, it is instead imposed through coercion and violence (Murphree, 2009; Dressler et al., 2010). In other words, CBNRM could be framed within the tendency of capitalism to co-opt alternative lifestyles, practices, livelihoods, beliefs, and cultural systems into something responsive to capitalism's needs. And when the alternatives resist co-optation, their repression is legitimized. Neumann (1998) is an early opponent of CBNRM in Africa, indeed. He suggested that many efforts to involve local peoples have only succeeded in reproducing earlier more coercive (neo-colonial) forms of conservation/natural resource management. These new community-based projects expand state authority into rural areas. However, according to the same author, the issue is not the participatory stance; rather "the reasons for this situation can be traced in part to the persistence in conservation interventions of Western ideas and [Western] images of the Other. These stereotypes result in misguided assumptions in conservation programs which have important implications for the politics of land". (p. 559). In this fashion, we argue the same as in Ruddle's (2016) "Repacking Colonialism", but in conservation and ecotourism: the prevarication of Western imaginary (and western-attributed value) of sustainable development, nature, and wilderness, and its impositions on the local context through policies based on vaguely-defined principles (such as the one of participation, or good governance) that appeal to universally-good values of justice and democracy, are used in practice to reiterate power dynamics that produce a neo-colonial outcome (Harvey, 2005). An outcome where foreign capital (either investors or donors' capital) is used "for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world" (Nkrumah, 1965:x).

CBNRM is an approach that, at least at a theoretical level, draws on the conviction that humans should not be excluded from nature; that humans have influenced nature but their influence is still important, even if the value of

biodiversity is very high (endangered species are highly valuable, such as wildlife for hunting tourism or safaris); and that communities are capable and should participate in conservation, and that conservation should also serve the purpose of community development (Dressler et al., 2010). The CBNRM approach should therefore embrace the intrinsic value of the traditional knowledge that locals have of their natural environment and should build from there to make communities the true protagonists in managing the resources available to them, i.e CBNRM should increase local communities' agency in natural resources and land, underpinned by stronger, secure rights, and consequently, sustain self-determinate sustainable, place-based development Together with the valorization of traditional ecological knowledge, another pillar in CBNRM. -Central to achieving greater community agency in resource management - is more robust local ownership of the land and its resources. CBNRM also represents an attempt to intervene where customary land rights of locals have been obliterated by the delineation of protected areas.

Good and transparent governance challenges affect the implementation governance of CBNRM. Factors such as *patronage, rent-seeking behaviors,* and *lack of down-ward accountability* jeopardize equal participation of communities and thus interventions to strengthen their rights. Nelson and Agrawal (2008) efficiently sump up the institutional factors undermining decentralization (or community-based) reforms: their implementation is dependent on state authorities' patronage interests, which in turn are shaped by the relative economic value of wildlife (or land, or any other natural resource highly valuable on global markets); the degree of central control over commercial utilization; and the accountability of governance institutions.

Indeed, different scholars outline a common outcome for CBNRM reforms, in contexts of high resource value and low institutional accountability (Like wildlife in sub-Saharan countries), that is that such reforms often occur only on paper (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). The literature debate again highlights a tension, between policy design and their failure. Such tension is explored in this study, within the framework set by this debate: to what extent are the (ideal, good, community-oriented) premises of CBNRM materializing on the ground?

Ribot (2004) points out that the prevalent failure to transfer sufficient decision-making powers to the local level resulted in decentralization reforms that are only charades (see also Ribot et al., 2006). Such challenges are by no means

restricted to natural resource management reforms. They characterize decentralization and devolution processes in the Global South more generally. In the community-based approach, the decentralization of power is more in the rhetoric, than in the practice, indeed the customary right of communities remains secondary to state power to dispose of and therefore, we argue that policies based on community participation (implying a variety of "participation status" as in Arnstein, 1969) are unable to address community issues in the Global South (poverty, lack of power, lack of rights, unheard instances), whereas it serves very well the rhetoric purposes of market-based, capitalistic solutions for sustainability. In this fashion, the nexus of conservation, land, ecotourism, and natural resources represents a very interesting point to observe how decentralization reforms affect communities: dynamics such as land conflicts, de-facto re-centralization against de jure devolution, and accumulation by dispossession jeopardize community rights and undermine the outcomes of the reforms (Kicheleri, 2021; Moyo et al., 2016; Moyo et al., 2017; Benjaminsen, T. A., & Bryceson, 2012, Dressler at al., 2010; Harvey, 2005)

In a nutshell, Ribot et al. (2006) negatively conclude that the power to allocate resources continues to be monopolized by central actors, who "make policy and implementation choices that serve to preserve their interests and powers" (Ribot et al., 2006:1865). In addition, the formulation (and prescriptive power)) of local participation results vaguely defined (De Marchi. Coupled with the scarce institutional quality described so far, the scenario in Global South Countries does not allow for consistent decentralization of power and ownership rights of land and resources (also touristic resources), resulting in the old dynamics of exclusion being replicated, despite the foundation values advanced in CBNRM programs. Against this backdrop, a way more radical view of community should be considered instead, to avoid "Failure by Design" (Moyo et al., 2016). Such a radical, but we argue necessary, view, is expressed in the principle of self-determination and food sovereignty embedded in local and indigenous communities' social movements (introduced in the next chapters) expressed in trans-local political struggles of indigenous people and local communities, and land reforms and land security interventions should start embedding local instances to become for effective for their beneficiaries.

2.3 Land reforms in Africa and the Global South in the time of decentralization

Institutional reforms, such as land tenure reforms, occurred widely in Sub-Saharan and Global South countries at the end of the colonial era and again at the end of the Cold War- the beginning of the 21st century. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, former colonies and former URSS countries undertook land reforms to address excessive centralization, while strengthening ownership of productive factors and improving rural productivity. Nonetheless, despite the strong conviction that centralized land and productive systems do not deliver efficiency or equity, most decentralization attempts have failed or, when implemented, have accomplished very little. Coherently with the factors that undermine *de-facto CBNRM*, also land reform targeted to equity and rural ownership failed to materialize, mainly due to a lack of political will that left power relations regarding access and management of land and environment unchanged, resulting in reforms being "no better than the policy environment in which they were carried out" (Greenhalgh, 1989: 77)

In general, when trying to understand the implications of land reform, governance is a key aspect to consider because decentralization is mainly a governance process. The legislative and institutional changes generated by the reform are going to affect the whole power structure and the relationships among actors, thus, decentralization affects how decisions are made and the outcomes decisions produce. To understand governance matters in the land, we borrow Kironde's (2009:1-2) words:

"Good governance in land matters is of a technical, procedural, and political nature. This is because rights over land cannot be separated from civil, political, and human rights, and are dependent on the political, administrative, and professional readiness to ensure fair treatment and equal opportunities for all. In many African countries, control over land rights is a means of accumulating and dispensing political and economic power and privilege through patronage, nepotism, and corruption. The role of the State as landowner and ruler is critical to governance. It is important, therefore, that those institutions responsible for land governance (including those responsible for land owned by the State) operate in a transparent, accountable, and efficient manner. In addition, experience has shown that where such institutions are decentralized (facilitating devolution of decision-making power and authority to local communities and other stakeholders in

general), land resources are likely to be more productively used and better preserved" (Kironde, 2009:1-2)

The outcomes of land reforms in Africa and the Global South are largely dependent on state authorities' patronage interests, which in turn are shaped by the relative economic value of land and nature, the degree of central control over commercial utilization, and the accountability of governance institutions. However, despite a decentralization and community empowerment rhetoric, the implications, and the current state of implementation of land reforms have not resulted in greater control (nor greater power) over the management of land and resources on behalf of local communities. In other words, land becomes another interesting entry point for analyzing the governance of resources and governance of decentralization/devolution/participation, which is particularly relevant for local communities.

Favorable land intervention for local communities revolves around ownership rights, grounded in appeals to indigeneity or customary rights that give a group a right based on its relationship with the land (Gardner 2016; Dorner, 1992; Greenhalgh, 1989; Kironde, 2009). Ribot, Agrawal & Larson (2006) legitimize this view, deeming that local people's "ownership" of local decisions will turn into more effective projects, and ultimately, more socially and environmentally sustainable development. However, the authors show a variety of strategies that governments use to obstruct the democratic decentralization of resource management and, hence, retain central control (the "mechanisms limiting local authority", point iv of Ribot et al. (2006)'s framework)

In this regard, Pedersen (2016) reminds us that land ownership in Africa is not as individualized as in the West. Rather, it is marked by its communal character, therefore land rights are subject to constant renegotiations; land rights and institutions have a fluid and dynamic nature that is not fully controlled by the state and these elements are of paramount importance in access analysis. "A distinction between state-provided rights and what people do to secure access to land is becoming increasingly common in access studies". Berry (1993:26) writes about the increasing number of scholars who 'portray African cultures and institutions as fluid and ambiguous, subject to multiple interpretations and frequent redefinition in the course of daily practice'. "(Pedersen 2016:106 citing Berry 1993).

Researchers such as Berry and Pedersen add another element to Access Theory, or the analysis of the factors that affect access to land (who can access what, when, and where), and these are local agency and cultural norms. They criticize land reforms for being too state-centric (rather than donor-centric, dismantling the "foreign-imposed" narrative), namely based on excessively formal administrative structures that seek to increase state control over land, and so identify implementation barriers in local factors rather than external factors (Pedersen 2016). In this sense, Pedersen is trying to reject the imperialism hypothesis, by locating the power/rights bottleneck within national governments and not in "foreign powerful" actors. However, we argue that the imperialism and neo-colonial land paradigms precede governments' choices to retain power. Therefore, the dispossession hypothesis cannot be rejected or dismissed, instead, it offers an additional explanation of the power relation that determines access to land. As said earlier, colonial dynamics affect land management in Africa and Global South also on a more abstract, although key factor: land/natural resources policies are implemented for the satisfaction of internationally imposed agendas (sustainable resource management, carbon sequestration, biodiversity conservation), based on Eurocentric/western values and objectives imposed --and not adapted- to local contexts (Persoon and Minter, 2020; Iocca and Fidelis, 2022; Amaodu 2012; Townsend, 2020). Having said that, we argue that Global South governments' (national level) and communities' (local level) sovereignty in environmental policies is constrained, ultimately their policies are informed by interests stemming from the Global North.

2.4 Land Access, Tenure & Security: useful concepts to understand land matters for local communities

FAO (2002) defines the tenure system of land as "the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, concerning land". The importance of land in Africa's development is underlined by the fact that the majority of the population derives their livelihoods and incomes from the transformation of nature. Therefore, land remains the most important factor in African development policy (Kironde, 2009) and the core of communities.

"In rural areas of most sub-Saharan Africa, land is not only the primary means of generating a livelihood, but also often a main vehicle to invest, accumulate wealth, and transfer it between generations. The importance of land resources makes its management critical for agricultural production and for development in general. This includes how access to land is regulated, how rights to it are defined and conflicts around land ownership and use are resolved" (Kironde 2009:1.).

FAO (2002), written shortly after the new wave of land reforms talks about the effect of the end-of-90s land reforms on marginalized groups, such as women, the elderly, and minorities. When land values increase because of new planning activity or because of external investments, scarcely empowered groups (such as women, minorities, or rural communities in general) can be marginal and excluded from the process and the benefits of the development of the area. According to FAO (2002), a strong correlation elapses between the decision-making powers that a person enjoys and the quantity and quality of land rights held by that person. In rural areas, inclusivity or social exclusion often depends directly on a person's land-holding status, this is why access to land is a crucial aspect of power and it is governed through land tenure systems. For convenience, "land" is used here to include other natural resources such as water and trees. Rules of tenure define how property rights in land are distributed within societies, along with associated responsibilities and restraints. In simple terms, land tenure systems determine who can use what resources, for how long, and under what conditions. Tenure forms can be simplistically categorized as "private", "communal", "public", "state-protected land", and "customary". Commonly, land rights associated with land tenure include access, withdrawal, management, exclusion, alienation, transferability, and due compensation in the event of expropriation (Robinson et al. 2018, Fao, 2002)

Inadequate access to land (and more broadly to natural resources) has been a critical challenge to rural communities in Africa. The constraints related to the tenure system, such as insecurity of land tenure, unequal access to land, lack of a mechanism to transfer and consolidate rights have resulted in under-developed rural areas, high landlessness, food insecurity, lack of resource sovereignty, and degraded natural resource (Razzano, 2020; Razzano 2023; Salami et al., 2010; Chitonge & Ntsebeza, 2012; Langan, 2017; Moyo et al., 2017).

To sum up, access rights deriving from a peculiar tenure system are diverse and individuals, or groups, can hold multiple rights on land. There are use rights, control rights -the right to make decisions on how the land should be used- and transfer rights – those to sell or mortgage the land. FAO (2002) highlights how the poor mostly have only use rights. A woman may have the right to grow crops to feed the family, but her husband is the owner of that land. The way land rights to land are distributed and enjoyed can be very complex, which norms affect land rights, then? Rights over land are affected by both statutory and customary laws and land administrators must bear in mind that conflicts can arise between traditional norms and formal laws. Local norms, as enforced by community members, are most likely to prevail over national norms, particularly in rural areas. For any land legislation to be legitimate and enforced, it needs to be accepted by the local community. This is why local community involvement in the process of the design and implementation, as well as an inclusive approach used during information and education campaigns, is of paramount importance, to avoid future conflicts deriving from an ill-conceived and scarcely participated land reform (FAO, 2002).

On a more negative note, women's land rights, are usually weak or non-existent in many locations of the Global Soth (Chu, 2011), and divorce and inheritance laws are usually a limitation to women's rights. Generally, women's rights are neglected, or absent (either in law or in cultural norms of a group), in the Global South (and Sub-Saharan Africa specifically), and women are more exposed to risks associated with dispossession (land grabbing) and food insecurity (household food insecurity in particular, associated to the fact that is the woman the one who carries alone the whole burden of family food provision) (Chu, 2011; Fao, 2002b). Still, discussion and provisions to address women's land rights are lacking in many developing contexts (Chu, 2011; Robison, 2018). Tenure security interventions should be differentiated according to each context. Moreover, different strategies lead to different outcomes: some interventions can work on formal aspects such as strengthening women's property rights to address the inequalities that are rooted in customary tenure systems; in other cases, within customary rules, informal locally enforced institutions, and social mechanisms intervene to compensate for distortions, deceiving legislative and/or cultural prescription and allowing women to access land. Women's land rights add to the complexity of land

tenure and security issues, and only place-based strategies adapted to specific contexts can address the issue.

Land tenure security, in contrast, belongs both to the realm of perceptions and effectiveness of institutions (both formal and informal ones). Tenure security reflects "a landholder's confidence or belief (real or perceived) that agreed-upon rights, i.e., the form of tenure, will be enforced and upheld by society" and institutions (Robinson et al., 2018:4). A common but misleading assumption is that private land tenure is inherently more secure than customary and collective tenure because tied to more formal/legally codified rights. Land rights issues are more complex than that and formalization of land rights in developing countries has not been a linear process, whereby formalization led to secure tenure systems. First, such a correlation (between formal/private rights and tenure security) ignores transaction costs in private systems, assuming communities can efficiently monitor and enforce rights. It also "overlooks rules, rights, or norms, legally or locally enforced, which may exist within a customary framework that proves to be internally coherent and enforced, and thus secure, in practice" (Robinson et al., 2018:4).

The correlation between private ownership/security of tenure should not be given for granted, on the very contrary, I suggest that development practitioners and policymakers should be open-minded and learn lessons from local and Indigenous communities on sustainable, collective management of collective good. Indeed, if one looks at what development practitioners said about land security, during interviews collected and analyzed by Yuta et al., (2020), tenure security is two-fold, *de facto* and *de jure*. In the study, several land rights practitioners characterized the security of land tenure using *de jure* terms (i.e., terminology related to *de jure* aspects of land tenure, such as titling, that are legally recognized and enforced). Others did so using de facto terms (i.e., terminology tied closely to *de facto* aspects of land tenure, such as customary rights and systems that may not be legally recognized but are recognized and enforced by community norms or standards) (Yuta et al., 2020). Formal titles do not necessarily produce land tenure security. A few practitioners explicitly argued that de jure terms are insufficient for conceptualizing land tenure security, indeed. One practitioner argued that legal title security was "conditional on the strength of the legal system to uphold the conditions of that title and follow due process, thus creating uncertainty around the security of land tenure" (Yuta et al., 2020:5). Conversely, security is possible without

legal title or recognition, since *de facto* rights can also be locally enforced by social norms and rules that active within communities, in areas with weak government enforcement. The enforcement of unwritten social norms informally improves the security of land tenure on the ground.

Despite formalization being a critical pathway for strengthening land tenure security, it is influenced by local arrangements of both formal and informal institutions (Yuta et al., 2020), based on that, I argue that land regulations and reform should be open to include local perspectives on land tenure security. Formal institutions can be legal systems, policies, and written rules that legitimize a de jure tenure system. Formal institutions determine how land rights are administered, enforced, and applied (Yuta et al, 2010; Robinson et al, 2018). On the other hand, informal institutions include customary land rights, rights enforced through recognition of community norms and values, or a mix of both informal and formal rules. Such institutions may constitute a tenure regime in which rights are de facto upheld by land users themselves, without formal statutory recognition(Yuta et al, 2010; Robinson et al, 2018).

Commonly, solutions to tenure insecurity focus on affecting de jure aspects of security, such as improving formal governance capacity and fostering formal land agreements with communities. Therefore, when governments or development projects aim to address tenure security, they choose the path of formal mechanisms to legally recognize land rights. These might include titling; the incorporation of customary systems into a statutory framework; or processes of devolution of management for the gain of communities. Other interventions focus on the government's capacity to uphold land tenure reforms, therefore improving institutional capacity. Examples are to realization of documentation systems, such as land registries, transparent and accessible by the public. Other ones focused on governance, such as intervention aimed at the clarification of institutional responsibilities, the simplification of overlapping and plural tenure systems, the implementation of dispute-resolving mechanisms, or the improvement of monitoring and evaluation systems of tenure governance. Finally, some projects focus on informal institutions. These usually start evaluating the local tenure setting first, i.e. governance environment and local norms; secondly, they identify sources of insecurity, conflict, and inequality. Usually, these programs are completed by education and outreach programs to foster and increase the knowledge and skills

necessary for land registration. The focus of these interventions is usually marginalized populations because are often excluded from benefitting from land rights within customary/traditional systems (i.e. women in patriarchal societies) Land policymakers and practitioners (usually in the field of conservation and tourism work closely) should make sure that tenure systems recognize basic human rights and safeguard against external as well as intracommunity discriminations toward marginal groups whose rights are often overlooked in Global South: women, peasants, pastoralists, indigenous groups, minorities (Robinson et al., 2018; FAO, 2002b). Addressing the gap between de facto and de jure tenure has been the pillar underpinning land reform efforts to formalize community land rights in much of the developing world. One way of doing so is by legally recognizing traditional customary rights, and enforcing nationwide land titling programs, as those promoted by the World Bank in the Global South in the 90's and 00s (World Bank Website; Kironde et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 2018; Yuta et al., 2020).

The work of such institutions can become distorted and even collapse in case of external claims and pressure over land (represented by land reforms or development interventions that have impacts on local practices of land management, or represented by external actors such as central governments, investors, conservation institution) that could overwhelm the internal ability to enforce rules x)., Neoliberal development or conservation intervention increase land pressures, transform resource value, and exclude certain groups who claim access to resources under traditional or customary management and can lead to a generalized worsening of the condition of local communities(Langan, 2017; Robinson et al., 2018). Conversely, it is important to valorize local informal or semi-formal institutions within a customary tenure, which cannot be erased by the land security equation. In this perspective, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers cannot exclusively focus on the formal aspects. Traditional land tenure systems can alternatively enhance intra-group inequalities or address market and legislative distortions that prevent marginalized groups from accessing land.

In conclusion, the matter of security of tenure and how to address it does not have a unique, inherently good solution. A tension between formalization and informal or semi-formal institutions, customary rights, and law-based rights manifests on the ground and worth to be investigating carefully to elaborate long-term solutions, possibly without adopting a biased stance.

2.5 Land Grabbing: the undesired outcome of the capitalistic production of space

We have introduced a key mechanism associated with capitalistic expansion, not limited to the early stages of capitalism (primitive accumulation, Harvey, 2005) (Fletcher, 2020) In the early stages of capitalism, colonies, and their territories allowed the spatial reorganization of a surplus of labor and capital, opening up new markets, providing new resources for the economic growth of the West. Based on these authors, I argue that Former colonies still provide the frontier in the era of modern colonialism, and Land-grabbing or (land dispossession) is the way.

Dispossession (of land, of resources, of value creation) lies at the very core of capitalistic accumulation of value. Dispossession intended by critical geography (Harvey, 2005, Harvey, 2003) is the main dynamic that allows the proliferation of globalized capitalism. It reiterates imperialism dynamics of resource/wealth accumulation in certain areas of the world while dispossessing others. In this chapter, we are going to present land grabbing (the dispossession of land resources), its causes, and its consequences (Harvey, 2003, 2005).

Land dispossession can be regarded as one of the results of the capitalistic production of space (Fletcher, 2020, Nepal and Sarineen, 2016, Adam, 2012; Harvey, 2005). Through geographical expansion and spatial reorganization, surpluses of capital and labor find a way to be absorbed, it is in this sense, that capitalism is in constant need of new frontiers, to reproduce and expand (Harvey, 2005, Nepal and Sarineen, 2016; Fletcher, 2020).

The current "land rush" (Arezki et al, 2015) follows the multi-sectoral crisis started in 2006-08 (of food, fuel, finance, and fiscal sectors), "Powerful transnational and national economic actors from corporations to national governments and private equity funds have searched for 'empty' land often in distant countries that can serve as sites for fuel and food production in the event of future price spikes" (Borras et al., 2011: 209). Land-grabbing is the concrete outcome left when you "unveil" many commercial agreements and land-acquisitions between corporations and central governments. Pushed by a lack of

land in developed countries (coupled with current environmental and legislative limits to agricultural expansion and land clearing), companies seek to acquire land elsewhere to keep expanding their nature-based productions. Typically, land grabbing includes acquisitions by foreign companies in developing countries to meet land needs of the biofuel, pharmaceutical, and agribusiness sectors (Arezki, 2015; Borras et al., 2019).

Land acquisitions on behalf of investors, occur against a backdrop of disempowered local communities, who are ultimately the result. juxtaposed to central governments that have huge interests in such land concessions (because such agreements fuel foreign currencies into the economy while offering a very good chance for personal rent for government officers and leaders) (Borras, et al., 2011). Communities are not consulted during the agreements and central governments just give the land away to investors. We have argued in the previous paragraph how the security of land tenure is a plague throughout the Global South (Robinson, 2018; Kironde, 2009) and how, in such countries, tenure systems are conflicting and overlapping: at the institutional and legislative levels, the private and formal tenure system is being implemented, often communities regulate access to land through customary tenure, underpinned by informal institutions and socio-cultural norms. Such a gap between formal and customary tenure and lack of security of land rights creates space for non-transparent land deals detrimental to communities.

Traditional land-grab literature refers to international powerful actors acquiring land exploiting corrupt or indebted governments with little ability to regulate the transaction or prevent buyers from targeting the poorest rural communities, expelling people with non-traditional land titles from their land. We have previously seen how Pedersen (2016) tries to reject the imperialistic factor, locating the blame in a corrupted, poorly accountable government. However. Global actors are a constant variable in the grab equation: whether investors are interested in biofuel crops an international conservation NGO, or an internationally-set political/developmental agenda, global capitalism dynamics of value allocation and commodification of natural resources ultimately affect decisions over land at the local level, in a neo-colonial paradigm of land-related decisions. , governments themselves are being incorporated into the global

dynamics of imperialism and neo-colonialism that attribute specific value to land and this is demonstrated by the fact that most Global South countries enact policies and regulations to satisfy the international development and sustainability demand, despite their real contribution to local wellbeing and poverty reduction remains unsubstantiated (Langan, 2017), denoting a colonial power dynamics between the global institutions who set political objectives, and the governments in the Global South who have to implement them

Land-grab can assume more nuanced forms, such as "green grabbing", namely land grabbing as a consequence of national environmental and developmental policies (Kicheleri, 2021; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Fairhead, 2012). Premises, functioning, and implications of green grabbing are considered relevant for this study, specifically regarding how the international pressure (advanced by international organizations, developed countries' governments, and donors, i.e. the powerful Global North actors) to extend environmental conservation[3] and reduce the environmental impact of human activities, actually find its way at the expenses of global south disempowered rural communities, who bear the highest costs for countering climate change and biodiversity loss: they see their land shrank, due to the expansion of protected areas and their possibility to transform nature that sustain their livelihoods reduced, due to environmental education programs or anti-deforestation programs (that put a hold on activities such as tree cutting, charcoal making, expansion of agricultural land).

In the context of conservation, land grab logic works slightly differently, but substantially in the same way: foreign capitals (such as the ones provided by international donors), through -often foreign- civil society organizations (conservation NGOs), fund national governments to increase environmental conservation efforts, that inevitably occur on communities' land, who hold weak, customary rights. Therefore, communities face forced evictions, losing not only

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[3] that finds expression in several multilateral policy initiatives including Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+), the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Convention on Biological Diversity's Aichi Biodiversity Targets, the International Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), a plethora of environmental impact certification schemes, not to mention the latest Global Biodiversity Framework "30x30" Target, adopted following the latest COP15 in December 2022. Most of these measures are criticized by Activists for the rights of Indigenous People (Survival International, 2022)

their land but what sustains their livelihoods (Brockington and Igoe, 2006; Wickama et al., 2005). Land grabbing for the means of conservation is usually addressed as "green grabbing"- "whether linked to biodiversity conservation, biocarbon sequestration, biofuels, ecosystem services, ecotourism. In some cases, these [actions] involve the wholesale alienation of land, and in others the restructuring of rules and authority in the access, use, and management of resources that may have profoundly alienating effects" (Fairhead et al., 2012:237).

Green grabbing relies on neo-colonial forms of resource alienation, as well as on rhetoric of "education of communities" aimed at the interruption of assumed destructive local practices. Yet it involves novel forms of valuation, commodification, markets for pieces and aspects of nature, and an extraordinarily new range of actors and alliances (from venture capitals to ecotourism companies). Land grabbing in general is the produce that follows the commodification of nature and the penetration of market logic into the rural economy (Gardner, 2016).

I introduced green and land-grabbing phenomena because they helped me to argue my underlying research assumption: the need to adopt a radical vision of communities, the one embedded in the social movements of Indigenous People and Local Communities, inspired by the right to self-determination and the principle of food sovereignty. Such principle inspires a vision of local communities that corrects the market distortions that originate when communities in disadvantaged contexts unequally participate in global markets (such as biofuel, agribusiness, and ecotourism,) or get affected by dynamics of nature commodification that characterize neoliberal environmental conservation.

Cases of land grabbing are widely reported in the literature, but knowing the exact extension of the phenomenon is difficult. The Land Matrix Observatory gathered data and produced infographics on his website updating them in real time. The current extent of the acquisition phenomenon (difficult to determine) is about 99 million hectares and the number of contracts between those concluded, failed ones and those in the process of being concluded are about 2,600 contracts, and they are for the greatest part, concentrated in Global South countries (The Land Matrix Global Observatory Website); of which about 800 contracts (covering an area of about 31 million hectares) are in Africa. The World

Bank conducted a report (2011) [4]revealing that actual agricultural production was started in only one-fifth of the acquisition projects. Unfortunately, the countries ceding their land are countries where malnutrition is chronic.

In his book, Lester Brown (2011) illustrates very well how these investments/projects based on land commonly end up failing, especially farming projects. Many companies start monocultural cultivations in tropical or arid areas, later realizing that growing certain varieties with modern techniques in these settings does not yield as hoped. Harvest failure usually marks the abandonment of development projects in those areas, which can no longer be exploited/accessed by local people as they are ceded to other owners. Land-grabbing alters local people's access to resources by introducing outside actors and affecting the level of food security of local people (Razzano, 2020; Sulle and Nelson, 2009; Nelson et al, 2012)

Evictions or relocations of communities usually follow land acquisition/land lease (Wickama et al, 2005; Nepal and Sarineen, 2016), and represent a very common consequence of land acquisition/conservation intervention in many countries of the Global South, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America see for instance Razzano, 2020; Holmes 2014; Nelson, Sulle, and Lekaita, 2012; Wickama, 2005).

The national government alternatively uses objectives of national/rural development, investor acquisitions, and biodiversity conservation goals to justify such relocations, often enforced using military or police force (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2013). In such occasions, violence escalation and rights violations are very common (Dawson and Longo, 2023). It is possible to identify a chronological order in the preferred "ethical" legitimization of evictions: evictions and relocations for the sake of national development (infrastructures or spatial reorganizations for service and infrastructures access) characterized the first decades of independence of post-colonial states (see Tanzania villagization program under the Ujamaa era in the '60s/'70s that invented villages as the unit of rural production and demanded/imposed communities concentrate in those spatial units); then when liberalization of markets started spreading in the 80's in the "Third World" (and in Tanzania too), the global land rush (the ongoing scarcity of idle land to

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[4] Cited in Brown (2011)

extend production) resulted in land acquisitions on behalf of investors and consequent evictions by the government; and then we started witnessing "Green garbs", namely land acquisitions and evictions for the sake of environmental conservation (such as in Wickama et al., 2005 and Brockington and Igoe, 2006).

It is hard, however, to separate these episodes chronologically. Truth be told, the justifications of land acquisitions are mixed throughout time: green grabbing did not start recently, but is the very foundation of the establishment of National Parks throughout Africa since the end of the XIX century. Game reserves were born from the desire of white hunters, at the expense of local communities. Likewise, the objective of biodiversity and environment conservation are today's national objectives, part, and parcel of governmental objectives of rural development. Or if we look at the case of Ethiopia, we can see how national villagization programs have been undertaken in the last decades (2011), presented as rural development when instead those relocations were the result of land deals between foreign investors and the central government (Razzano, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Since the communities under threat by land grabbing are highly dependent on nature (pastoralists, farmers, hunting and gathers, and other indigenous communities), depriving them of their land and forcing them to relocate somewhere else, possibly abandoning nomadism, means threatening their way of life and jeopardizing their only source of livelihood, which goes against the right of self-determination, a basic rights of the indigenous population, and which ultimately produces the generalized impoverishment of groups and individuals belonging to certain groups, as in the case of Northern Tanzania Maasai people (IWGIA, 2016). Against this backdrop, we identify the practice of resistance and struggle undertaken by communities as a viable alternative to capitalism.

Not only land grabbing introduce international actors in land dynamics, affecting (reducing) community access to resources, with severe repercussions on community food security, but it also leads to violence and conflicts, directly jeopardizing local communities' chance to self-determinate. It is by adopting the perspective of local communities (usually theoretically expressed in the instances of good sovereignty and self-determination) that I reject capitalistic dynamics of accumulation of wealth, the commodification of nature, and the penetration of

market logic into the rural economy as tools for development and modernization and grabbing is not only as a matter of local conflicts over access of land but as a matter of global expansion of neoliberal capitalism can be sustained only through the oppression and exploitation of weak communities and violation of human and indigenous people rights (Razzano, 2020). Adopting the lens of food sovereignty and self-determination, per se, will not eliminate the problems of conflicts and dispossession, but at the very least it will help put the problems in a less simplistic perspective than that of community participation and development and at the same time will reveal the underlying nature of such interventions.

In the following paragraphs, we are going to see how Tanzania's local administration and land reforms (both committed to decentralization of authority and power and stronger rights and greater responsibility of local communities in the management of land and natural resources) responded to international pressures and global dynamics and what were their outcomes for local communities. Interestingly, different scholars identified the dispossession of land and weaker rights as the outcome of these reforms (such as Kicheleri, Moyo, and Benjaminsen for the case of Tanzania and its community-based reform of environmental conservation; or Myenzi 2005 and Schreiber 2017 about the land reform). The analysis of land and devolution reforms in Tanzania is a necessary prerequisite to reach the research objective, to explore the outcomes of these from villagers' perspectives, and to assess to what extent de facto decentralization/devolution has occurred in the local context.

2.6 Local Administration Reform in Tanzania: central-local government relationship and the work of Village Councils

Today, following the 1999 and 2006 amendments (Miscellaneous Amendments) to the Local Government Act 1982, the Regional Administration Act 1997 (changing the name of regional administrations to regional secretariats), and the Zanzibar Local Government Bill Act 2014, the current administrative division of the Republic of Tanzania looks as follows: 25 regions in mainland Tanzania, 40 urban councils and 132 rural district councils, whilst on Zanzibar there are five regions, four urban authorities and seven rural district councils (Tidemand et al, 2010, CLGF Website)

After the independence from the UK, the internal subdivision of the state counted 68 councils (between District and Town Councils) partly constituted of elected councilors and partly of appointed members; with no provision for democratically elected bodies below the district level (the local level of public administration) in the Constitutions (Collins, 1974). Since then, the function of decentralized institutions has been to combat on the ground the three major barriers to development: poverty, illiteracy, and the spread of disease.

Governance of public services and access to them on behalf of the population heavily relies on decentralization institutions of administration. Social and health care services were provided to the population by a mixture of central, local, and religious government institutions (Collins, 1974). However, Systematic constraints were hampering the work of local administration (herein LA). Lack of adequate funds and mismanagement, low human capital level of administrative staff, and lack of technical training of district councilors in administering the territories locally led to the slow but steady decline in the financial resources of local authorities; until their abolition in 1972. Centralized government administration replaced the District Councils and Urban Councils through the establishment of the Regions and Sectoral Committees, tasked with planning, land development, and the provision of welfare services (URT, 1977; Collins, 1974). Consequently, the expenditure soon became unsustainable for the government, given that all services and land development projects had to be financed from the national budget; in addition, the geographical remoteness between the various centers within the regions (URT, 1977) and the poor conditions of administration made it impossible to impose and collect taxes, which further contributed to emptying the central state coffers (Collins, 1974). Against this background, the national government engaged in important, long-term efforts for the infrastructural and socio-economic development of the country, although LA institutions had to be rebuilt. In 1978, some urban authorities were re-introduced (Act No. 11, 1978) after the 1972 abolition, but they remained dependent on funds promulgated by the central authority and were left without the ability to retain financial resources, resulting in difficulties in the implementation of spatial and sectoral development programs. In 1980, with an amendment to the Constitution and the enactment by Parliament of Acts 7 and 8 of 1982 (URT 1982), local government authorities were re-introduced and assumed full functions in

1984. Since then, the constitution has been given recognition by the local government and is supported by the Local Government (District Authorities) Act 1982 and the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act 1982 (Commonwealth Local Government Forum website; URT, 1982).

From 1985, the nation experienced major political changes, with the resignation of President Nyerere and the consequent end of Ujaama (from Swahili "community," or "African way to socialism") and the introduction of a multi-party system (1992). This was the era of major reform programs, especially desired by the international community, notably the Public Service Reform Program (PSRP) of 1990 and the Local Government Reform Program of 1998, and the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Program promoted by World Bank and IMF; introduced to address the problems stemming from the sudden integration into globalized free-market and the abandonment of nationalized economic production. The Ujamaa era created, after the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the structures for the establishment of large collective farms to pursue modernization. The program had heavy and long-lasting consequences on land management dynamics: without formally reconciling communities' forced movements with existing patterns of land rights and tenure, the Ujamaa program a very specific spatial setting in rural areas conglomerated in villages ("villagization"), that should be intended a "natural" spatial unit of the African country, rather the expression of a specific objective of the government (Tidemand et al, 2010; Gardener, 2016).

Regarding offices and mandates of LAs, the Ministry for Regional Administration and Local Government is responsible for local government in mainland Tanzania and is currently under the Prime Minister's Office. On the mainland, there are three types of urban authority: city, municipal, and town councils. In rural areas there are two levels of authority: the district councils with the township authorities, and the village council. In Zanzibar, urban authorities are either town councils or municipalities, while all rural authorities are district councils. *wards* and *mtaa* (streets in Swahili) are subdivisions lower than the district level, there are At the lower level than the village, there are sub-villages. Administrative subdivisions below the district level, are still changing. New units are often institutionalized, for instance in the case of villages splitting into more villages, as it happened during my stay, while I was observing the case study of

Enduimet WMA, Synia village was split into three villages and the three now form the Ward named Sinya (see chapter 7). Borders as well, can change often (for administrative reorganizational purposes, just as a consequence of a border survey, or following a border dispute resolution). Local government authorities have executive functions, as they are in charge of executing and implementing national policies, providing services improving infrastructures, and enforcing law and order. Local authorities also have legislative power, in that they can issue regulations governing their areas of responsibility. Not only at the district level (District Council and City Council) but also the Ward, Village, and Township authorities can issue written regulations (by-laws). Local governments are primarily responsible for the delivery of primary health and social welfare services. They are guarantors of the socio-economic development of the territories; they administer urban planning; regulate the expansion of population centers and food markets; arrange for standards in livestock breeding and agriculture; they are also in charge of cultural offerings; water infrastructure and accessibility; natural parks and green areas. The village government has at its disposal various tools for bottom-up participation (such as participatory budgeting, public hearings, and service committees open to the public) and ensures that the segments of the population targeted by development projects are genuinely questioned and involved in such projects (CLGF Website, Tidemand, et al, 2010)

In addition, the district (as an administrative unit) has the authority to establish a protected area or assign an area to a new use; regulate urban sprawl and building codes; regulate areas for commercial use; and encourage commercial development in its area (CLGF Website).

District and ward committees are composed of both elected and appointed members. Therefore, local officers cannot be considered purely downward accountable to communities. District councils comprise members elected from each ward (intermediate administrative level); the Members of Parliament (MPs) representing the constituency in which the urban area is situated; and women members appointed by the National Electoral Commission, in proportion to the number of elected positions on the council, including MPs. District level authorities either respond to local communities -through ward-level elected officers, an administrative level between District-level and Village-level- and to central

government. Committee chairmen and mayors of urban authorities, for instance, are appointed by elected members. In rural areas, the village assembly (which is composed of all residents over 18 years of age) elects the village council (which is in turn composed of many committees with specific functions, such as the security committee, or the land use and planning committee) and a village chairman (*mwenyekity*); who will go on to sit on the Ward Development Committee. In rural areas, the smallest administrative units are villages (*Kijiji*), which in turn can be divided into hamlets – sub-villages (*kitongoji*) (CLGF Website website).

Ward and village are administrated by appointed public officers, namely Village Executive Officer and Ward Executive Officer (VEO and WEO respectively), assisting the village chairmen (elected) in their work, they mainly have executive and management tasks. They take care of budget and bookkeeping and all the village administrative activities. Indeed, the Swahili word *mtendajii* means "*the person who takes action", the "person busy doing things*"; as opposed to *mwnyekity*, meaning the *"owner of the chair."* The two names, as explained by my field mediator and translator stress the difference between the active role (the former) and the highly representational, political one the latter. Being appointed public officers, VEO and WEO are accountable to the government (locally represented by the District Officer), while the village chairman instead is an elected political leader, a member of a political party, and accountable to the villagers. The village council, indeed, is the representative body of village administration.

Village assemblies (all villagers, above 18 y.o.) are the statutory management authorities over the village lands and should hold ultimate decision la power over land (the assembly also holds the power of final approval of village by-laws and village boundaries). The assembly should be consulted before main decisions regarding the final approval of village land use plans, and the integration into conservation schemes or tourism projects. It is a key decisional body in land and WMA decisions (boundaries, land use plans, and WMA action plan) according to the Local Government Act (1982 and following revisions); Village Land Act (1999), and the Wildlife Conservation (WMA) Regulation (2002) and following revisions.

Furthermore, regarding land and conservation in village areas, the village council is entitled to approve and formalize changes in land ownership, land use destination, and land allocation (up to 50 acres). It is also entitled to the allocation and management of tourism revenues coming from the WMA (community-based protected area) and to set up meetings between the villagers, the WMA, and other tourism/conservation stakeholders (NLUPC, 2020).

At the village or ward level is possible to identify key mechanisms or institutions for local land management and conflict resolutions. Assisted by the Land Use Committee (8 to 10 people proposed by the Village council and approved by the village assembly) and the Village Land Use Management Team, the village council also deals with the preparation of the Village Land Use Plans, which is ultimately approved by the Assembly. Another noteworthy local institution is the Baraza Conflict Resolution mechanisms (a ward-level- institution made up of 7 villagers proposed by the Village Council and approved by the Assembly) that helps villages resolve disputes and conflicts about land when it cannot be handled by the village government (NLUPC, 2020). Tanzania's land tenure framework (reformed in 1999 with the Land Act and the Village Land Act) in combination with Tanzania's local government structures, defines the rights and responsibilities of the village councils and village assemblies and provides a strong foundation for participatory management of communal land and resources such as forests (Kiffner et al., 2022). Our argument, however, is that despite according to such reform full decisional power is given to the village and participation in decisions is assured, de facto, villages are more of a consultive organism with very poor participation opportunities, losing most of their clout (Kicheleri, 2021; Moyo, 2016; Moyo 2017; Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Veit, 2010; Myenzi, 2005).

In the following paragraph, we are going to define how the local level has been affected by the Land reform and how village power can easily become an empty shell (Kicheleri et al, 2021). We are going to outline how decentralization reform affected institutions' accountability on land matters. The main novelty introduced by the reform consists in the fact that Village councils (village-level, grassroots authorities) are given the authority to administer and manage land (categorized as "Village land"). Previously, Tanzania came from an extremely centralized tenure regime, set up during the *Ujamaa* era, during which land

proceeds were acquired by state cooperatives, in charge of market allocation and distribution.

Under Land Acts N° 4 and 5 of 1999 (the main acts of the reformed land regulation), community-level institutions entered the game. According to the provisions of the Village Land Act (and the Local Government Authorities Act of 1982), village land is under the managerial authority of a Village Council, elected by a Village Assembly. A Village Council is the corporate entity of a registered village, while the Assembly includes all residents over 18 years of age. The Village Council is accountable to the Village Assembly for land management decisions and accountable to the District Council for what concerns revenues and budget (Veit, 2010). For what concern the "general land" category (which is not village land nor land under protection for specific purposes such as environmental conservation), it is managed and administered by the Ministry of Lands, although the ministerial key person has delegated much of the powers to the district councils and their land officers. Land Administration officers in District Councils are local-level actors, but they are accountable to the Ministry of Land (upwardly accountable). Furthermore, all urban land falls under the General Land category, as well as "unused/underutilized" village land. District councils coordinate the activities of the township authorities and village councils, which are in turn accountable to the district for all revenues received (Pedersen, 2010, 2011, Myenzi, 2005).

Being the institution in charge (Village Council) a downwardly accountable institution (to the Village Assembly) (Pedersen, 2010, 2011, Myenzi, 2005)., it is possible to argue that the Tanzania reform is a case of decentralization reform, at least, in terms of actors involved (Ribot et al, 2006). Said that, it is important to discuss whether "downwardly accountable local decision-makers can effectively exercise their powers." (Ribot et al., 2006:1867). Village land represents the main category of land in the country (counting up to 70% of the total land), but given the blurred definition of "village land", it is challenging for (the only) downwardly accountable authorities (village leaders) to fully exercise their powers.

We are going to deepen the analysis of the land reform to bring about the tension between decentralization and centralization mechanisms which are in such a scenario the implications for local communities.

2.7 Tanzania Land Reform: a missed opportunity

Balancing the state interests in commercial investment with the interests of rural communities has been one of the most contentious aspects of land tenure debates in Tanzania for the past 20 years (Kironde, 2009; Mpogole, H. & Kipene, 2013; Myenzi, 2005) The relationship between rural communities and land appears threatened by (legitimate) national interest in attracting large-scale investments or foreign investments, which deploys on lands worked by villagers in a very conflictual context (Nelson et al, 2012; Sulel e Nelson, 2009)At the national level, the government enforces FDI-oriented investments policies (NBS, 2022; URT; undated) that end up pirating locals of their livelihoods, underpinned and legitimized by the "underdevelopment" or "underproductivity" that characterize Tanzania rural productive systems (small-scale farming, agro-pastoralism, Saruni, 2021, Myenzi, 2005; Rogers, 2009; Sulle and Nelson, 2009, Salami et al, 2010). It is interesting to note how Mpogole & Kipene (2013) have noticed that in the political debate around land in Tanzania, land is alternatively scarce when it refers to the expansion of local land management systems (small-scale farming and agropastoral, deemed unable to create growth in economic terms, Saruni, 2021), whereas it becomes abundant when it refers to the attraction of FDI.

"Like some other parts of Africa, Tanzania is perceived to have abundant land. This perception has resulted in unsubstantiated concepts such as Tanzania having idle, barren, underutilized, unproductive, degraded, or abandoned land. […] the perception that farmland is abundant and underutilized is not always substantiated. In many cases, land is already being used, yet *existing land uses are not recognized because the people using it have no formal land rights or access to the relevant laws and institutions. The concepts of land abundance are used to justify the allocation of land to large-scale investors, often without consideration of the interest of all land users*" (Mpogolo and Kipene, 2013:1). What Mpogolo and Kipene (2013) ultimately argue is that institutions in Tanzania alternatively adopt a land scarcity or land abundancy rhetoric according to the agenda.

For instance, In the 2008 Guidelines for Sustainable Liquid Biofuels Investments and Development in Tanzania it is possible to read that "Smallholder farmers, underutilize arable land, as production systems remain archaic." (Sulle & Nelson 2009:36)   Similarly, backwardness and unproductivity concerns are expressed by government institutions regarding pastoralism (Saruni, 2021). The

same position is upheld in the 2013 National Agricultural Policy (URT; 2012), in which it is possible to read that the average agricultural growth rate is insufficient to lead to significant wealth creation and alleviation of poverty; and that the national policy objective is to develop an efficient, competitive and profitable agricultural industry and to facilitate the transformation of the sector into a commercial and competitive one. Furthermore, it is very interesting to read the point on land tenure: "The existing land tenure system is not conducive for long-term investment. Insecurity of land tenure has led to a decline in the productive capacity of land because of non-sustainable land use practices" (URT, 2012:24). Therefore, acting on the security of land tenure is identified as necessary by the government.

Among the institutional efforts to address the issue, is the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC). It is responsible for commercial investment in land. It is estimated that the country has about 44 million ha of arable land, yet only a small part is currently under production (URT, 2012). Tanzania has extensive areas of land, however, due to the climatic and environmental conditions it supports relatively low human population densities and low-intensity land uses, such as nomadic pastoralism and shifting cultivation, especially in arid and semi-arid areas. The country is also endowed with temperate climate areas, extremely suitable for land-based activities. The Centre, indeed, was created with the specific goal of "encouraging and coordinating investments in Tanzania and advising the government on related matters" (TIC Website). The TIC is a database for plots potential for investment. The Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) coordinates data collection in four linked phases earmarking, identifying, acquiring, and allocating land to a needy investor. National strategies such as the Tanzanian Development Vision (TDV) that sets major national development objectives for the year 2025 call for greater investment in sectors such as tourism, and agriculture (URT, undated) (and biofuels too, see Sulle & Nelson 2009) and it identifies the land as a marketable asset to be capitalized (Myenzi, 2005), therefore it is the interest of government agencies to allocate larger lands to large-scale investments. In addition, poverty reduction claims are usually associated with as outcome of these projects, even though their contribution to communities' well-being remains often unsubstantiated (Sulle and Nelson, 2009; Nelson, et al, 2012; IWGIA, 2016) where they contribute to landlessness and displacements (IWGIA, 2016; Sulel and Nelson, 2009; Nelson et al, 2010) following the capitalistic expansion dynamics of

accumulation by dispossession, Therefore, policy and implementation documents reflect a tension between community-sensitive values (embedded in the political debate and the institutional and policy discourse after the community-based turn - on paper- demand participation, respect, and equality, and goals of modernization that are expected to materialize through investments and marketization of rural livelihoods, within a neoliberal discourse In other words, based on the literature cited in this paragraph, and personal analysis (developed paragraphs 2.7.1 to 2.7.8) of the Land reform of 1999, my argument is that Tanzania government has missed an important opportunity Land reform, which could have contributed to resolve major issues and create sustainable, plural, participatory process for rural development

2.7.1 Brief Historical Hints on land management and tenure in Tanzania

By the royal decree of 1886, all lands in Tanganyika, whether used or not, inhabited or not, became the property of Kaiser William II, the last emperor of Germany. According to this decree, lands whose ownership could not be established by documentary evidence were to be considered devoid of all ownership. Communities could prove their right to use by physically occupying and exploiting the lands. Those that were unused, were also considered to be devoid of ownership (Veit, 2010). Thus, more than one million hectares were wrested from communities and given to settlers with full titles of use and ownership, for them to settle there. Tanganyika was assigned to British control in 1922 by the Supreme Council of the League of Nations because of Germany's defeat in World War I. The British passed their land tenure legislation in 1923, namely the Land Ordinance Cap. 113. It governed Tanzanian land matters for most of the country's modern history. This ordinance declared all land as public and vested under the control of the Governor; except for the titles lawfully acquired before the commencement of the ordinance. It required, however, that public lands shall "be held and administered for the use and common benefit, direct or indirect, of the natives of the Territory", and that the Governor "have regard to the native laws and customs existing in the district in which such land is situated." The Land Ordinance effectively centralized land administration authority in the colonial Governor (Myenzi, 2005; Veit, 2010).

Land Ordinance Cap 113 introduced a land tenure system called the Right of Occupancy, which recognized either granted or deemed right. The granted one was statutory; while the deemed right was customary, following native laws and customs. (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013). The Governor was also given powers to grant the right of occupancy (the right to occupy and use the land for a period of up to 99 years) to natives and non-natives and to demand a rental for the use of non-natives. The Governor acted as if the British government was the trustee and beneficiary, and he could dispose of land virtually at will. In 1928, the Ordinance was amended, and customary law was formally recognized. Since then, the right of occupancy included the title of a native or a native community lawfully using or occupying land, following the native law and custom - deemed right of occupancy, namely customary right. Despite the recognition, what evolved was a dualistic system of land governance, whereby rights granted by the state were superior to customary rights. Judicial decisions clarified that the two did not enjoy the same status in courts of law (Veit, 2010).

Before colonization, Tanganyika land used to be organized in Chiefdoms, based on tribes. The role of Chiefs -pre-colonial land authorities spared from colonial intervention- substantially diminished when the executive powers of Chiefs and chiefdoms were abolished in 1963 (Kironde 2009; Mpogole & Kipene, 2013). The 1963 regulations, the Freehold Title and the Government Leases Act, respectively, converted *full ownership* titles ("freeholds," which applied to less than 1 percent of the land) into *lease titles*, lasting up to 99 years, separating ownership from use rights (the government owns all the land, and leases out only use right up to a certain period). The 1963 occupancy rights rule obligated lessees to pay rent for use, for a period not exceeding 99 years. The turning point, for acquisitions by parastatals and state corporations, came with the enactment of the Rural Farmland Act of 1965. The Rural Farmland Act empowered the government to acquire underdeveloped private land and to transfer it to people who would occupy it and develop it -in practice, the land was transferred to state corporations, parastatals, and state-led cooperatives, such as the NAFCO- National Agricultural and Food Cooperative (Veit, 2010).

Tanzania's first president, Julius K. Nyerere ushered in a series of laws that expanded the domain of "public land" and abolished freehold tenure, to pursue the objectives of his self-reliance strategy inspired by socialism and declined into Tanzania's post-independence reality. With Act No. 47 of 1967 (within the broader reform process of Nyerere that started with the so-called Arusha Declaration), the president's land acquisition powers were strengthened but introduced an important clause, namely compensation. Under the Arusha Declaration (1967), the country's development program aimed at state ownership of all means of production, including land, thus ensuring equitable access to resources and state-produced goods and services (Myenzi, 2005).

In the post-independence era, the new state did not fail to abuse its power, acquiring land on behalf of the president without providing proper compensation. In the name of the public interest, enshrined in Act 47, more and more inhabitants were removed from their lands to establish state enterprises and farms or to allocate them to foreign investors, although the latter enjoyed huge tax incentives. In both cases, this use change had no positive impact on the welfare of the population, whose only means of livelihood was land. Other pieces of legislation that affected the population's (composed mainly of small farmers) access to land- but did not improve their situation, were the 1967 Arusha Declaration, the Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975, and the Land Regularization Act of 1982 (Myenzi, 2005).

From 1967 to 1973, the government implemented a villagization program - *Ujamaa*- namely the *African way to socialism*, which involved the relocation of about 80% of the rural population to around five thousand less scattered villages. The goal was to create the structures for the establishment of large collective farms and pursue the modernization of agriculture; however, the relocation occurred without formally reconciling their forced movements with existing patterns of land rights and tenure. In the formed *cooperative villages,* public land was identified as the one where members would farm together, and of which they would share the proceeds (Sulle & Nelson, 2009; Mpogole & Kipene, 2013; Veit 2010; Collins, 1974).

In Tanzania's recent history, the villagization process was probably the major land access changer, compared to pre- and colonial tenure systems, since it actively redistributed smallholders access to farming land -not owned, but

collectively farmed- and imposed sedentariness to nomadic tribes. However, the villagization program failed to deliver the promised facilities failed to involve the Maasai and other ethnic groups dedicated to pastoralism and agro-pastoralism in planning and implementation, and, above all, failed to secure their legal rights of occupancy of these communities. Some commentators, such as Århem (1985) and Parkipuny (1979, cited by Århem (1985) defined villagization as a governmental campaign *imposed upon the pastoralists* (Århem 1985:24). Unfortunately, many pastoralists experienced villagization as a threat to their transhumant way of life and their culture as a whole. Villagization imposed a new authority structure on the community and represented a step towards the imposition of a new settlement and land use pattern, difficult to reconcile with the pastoral values. Coercion occurred during the villagization program when Maasai settlements were burnt down to push the Maasai to *accept* the new location and lifestyle (Århem, 1985).

The Tanzanian government did not introduce major reforms or amendments to the inherited 1928 Land Ordinance despite the recently gained independence, thus it did not create a new tenure regime, and local authorities were not legally vested with the powers to govern the land. The ownership of land was vested in the President, who became the trustee on behalf of all citizens. By simply replacing the word "Governor" with "President", the tenure system inherited the 1928 provisions that centralized authority in the executive branch. Instead, villages were allocated land in public meetings without following any formal procedures. In the post-independence years, customary tenure was ignored, and large portions of customary land were alienated (Mpogole & Kipene, 2013). Despite good intentions, these development programs were accompanied by human rights violations, especially as a result of *Ujaama*, which during the 1970s forced the population into a forced resettlement program. The many villages in rural areas were amalgamated into new functional units for work in state agricultural cooperatives (Myenzi, 2005). The decades following independence ('60s, '70s, early '80s) were characterized by presidential ownership and full control over land, even though compensation was introduced in case of dispossession.

In the 80s, due to economic stagnation of the state cooperative model, Tanzania embarked on the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to enter a free market and private sector-led economy. The liberalization of the economy led to a rapid increase in

land acquisitions by local, national, and foreign investors. Progressively, centralized land administration, inefficient bureaucracy, and past administrative measures have created widespread confusion about land tenure patterns. Private investment increased competition for land and pastures. In turn, the competition for land pointed out the need to safeguard land rights; therefore, new land reform was about to be introduced (Mpogole and Kipene, 2013).

Following Nyerere's resignation in 1985 began an important era of reform that changed the system that regulated land ownership and land use in Tanzania. Changes in the system of regulating land ownership once again involved large-scale land seizure, to the detriment of rural communities and smallholders. This time what was encouraged was private investment, particularly foreign investment, in line with the dogma of privatization, advocated by the international community for entry into the market economy. The code of conduct for state administrators was rewritten, removing any regulatory barriers to the involvement of public officials in private companies. So the ruling class, which already controlled land on behalf of statal and parastatal enterprises, found itself in a privileged position to acquire land for private profit (Nelson et al., 2012).

Appropriations were concentrated in rural territories, particularly those with agricultural and touristic or economic potential, such as the northern areas of the country, such as the Arusha region under study or the Mara or Simiyu region, where the Serengeti National Park is located, because of the high value associated with wildlife and hunting tourism. There are also documented major community land grabs in the Simanjiro district, (Manyara region, where mainly ranching and mining are practiced), claimed by state officials; as well as the sale of land by village leaders, who acted without checks or mechanisms to balance their power. There are numerous cases of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in the pastoral highlands of the north, where much of the land has been allocated for intensive agricultural development or the establishment of nature reserves, practices by which the government has contributed to making the security and livelihood of the population even more fragile and thus creating a context conducive to conflicts between different groups, in the name of the collective good (Nelson et al., 2012).

In the early 1990s, became clear that the problem related to the land tenure system needed a solution, even internationally; because without a clear legal framework regarding land ownership and which institutions were responsible for

allocations, foreign investment faced many obstacles and the country's development could not get off the ground. A Presidential Commission of Inquiry was then formed in 1991 to definitively investigate the regulatory and social problems related to property and boundaries. Extensive research was carried out, gathering citizens' opinions for the development of a socially equitable management system that took into account the values, interests, and rights of all groups (Myenzi, 2005)

Thereafter, the government prepared the country's first-ever National Land Policy (1995/1997). However, the policy was developed with limited public participation and did not incorporate many Commission's recommendations, including those regarding land decentralization and democratization (Myenzi, 2005).

2.7.2 New political and regulative framework of land tenure

The reform started with the formulation of the Tanzania National Land Policy in 1995. The vision is that farmland is abundant and underutilized. As such, the policy identifies land as a commodity that can be leased, rented, and used as collateral for securing loans. The recognition of land as a commodity is important in promoting rural investment, to make the agricultural sector of Tanzania more productive and efficient (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013).

The novelty introduced with the reform consisted mainly of two new legislations: the Land Act, No. 4 of 1999 along with its Land (Amendment) Act of 2004, and the Village Land Act, No. 5 of 1999. The acts came into force in May 2001 (URT, 1999ab). They are intended to facilitate an equitable distribution of and access to land by all citizens and that any such use complies with the principles of sustainable development" (URT, 1999a). The reform was one out of many, in a new wave of land reforms passed by Sub-Saharan African countries during the last couple of decades (Pedersen 2010; Wily 2003). Tanzania's reform was needed to cope with the international pressure to embark on a market economy, and it had to represent an institutional reform towards decentralization of power and responsibilities of management.

Last, but not least, it was needed as a response to the increasing number of conflicts over land. Land conflicts are difficult to manage, especially since only a few land plots are registered. The reform aimed at the recognition of existing land

rights and the improvement of tenure security, by securing customary land rights (defined as deemed rights of occupancy, in the 1928 amendment of the Land Ordinance). Customary (or deemed) land rights are now given equal status to granted (or statutory) rights of occupancy. However, despite the efforts of inquiry and research, the 1995 National Land Policy and the 1999 Land Act (Land Act No. 4 and Village Land Act No. 5) took into consideration only a few of the recommendations produced by the commission leaving out some key issues: radically decentralize land title in the person of the president, in favor of locally elected administrative bodies such as village assemblies, district councils or the national assembly. In the second instance, the committee recommended making the land issue a constitutional category, to increase the security of tenure and the effectiveness of the law, seeking the broadest possible consensus, as a parliamentary amendment has less power and is susceptible to political changes and the distribution of seats among parties. Thirdly, the commission, gathering impressions and instances from the people, suggested a participatory administration mechanism, parallel to the central bureaucratic system, which would solve some chronic problems related to administration by the archaic state government structure. This recommendation met with resistance and was left out of the new normative acts (Myenzi, 2005).

The '99 national law defined, despite the demands of civil society, the land as public, but delegated to the president on behalf of the people, as the repository of trust, without actually changing anything from the statements of the 1961 Act. For these reasons, the new laws were seen as instruments that further fragmented land tenure security for rural communities, representing more the rights of those already well established in the socio-economic system, such as investors or large buyers (Myenzi, 2005).

2.7.3   The Land Acts

The Land Act stipulates various categories of public land as *reserved land*, *village land*, and *general land* (URT, 1999ab).

Village land is administered and managed at the grass-root level by Village Councils. To fulfill the provisions of the acts, the village must acquire a certificate of

village land (Certificate of Title) held by the village council, namely the possibility to acquire written and registered documentation of customary land rights.

A title in village land is called a Customary Right of Occupancy). The certification procedure includes:

- Agreement upon the borders among neighboring villages.

- Proper demarcation of borders, a formal certificate of village land is issued in the name of the president and registered in the National Register of Village Land (To understand the extent of success note that officially recognized villages, with formal Certificate of Titles are found within the borders of National Parks still today).

- Definition of three land-use categories on behalf of village authority: communal village land, individual, family land, and reserved land. Reserved land in this context is that land set aside for future individual or communal use decided at the village level, and it needs to be distinguished from the national reserved land category, mentioned below (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013; Kironde, 2009; Wily 2003; URT, 1999).

Reserved land includes all land that is set aside for various purposes including forest, wildlife conservation, environmental protection areas, marine parks, and public utilities (spatial planning and future infrastructure development). This land is managed and administered by government agencies. Within reserved land, both customary rights and granted rights can be issued, depending on the character and purpose of the reservation (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013; Kironde 2009; Wily, 2003).

General land is all the land that is neither village, nor reserved, and all unoccupied/unused village land. All urban areas fall under this section, except areas identified as reserved land, or that are considered hazardous land. This category is managed and administered by the Ministry of Lands, although the ministerial key person has delegated much of the powers to the district councils and district land officers. Regulation of general land falls under the provisions of the Land Act of 1999. A title in general land is called a Granted Right of Occupancy (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013; Kironde, 2009; Wily 2003; URT, 1999).

Mpogole & Kipene (2013) report that is not possible to have an exact estimation of the proportions of reserved, general and village land. But Kironde (also cited in Mpogole &Kipene, 2013) reports the following figures: village land

accounts for about 70% of the total land in Tanzania. Reserved land accounts for about 28% while general land accounts for only about 2%, mainly urban. Only about 2% of the rural land and about 20% of urban land carry titles, or have a potential for titles (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013; Kironde, 2009; Veit, 2010; Schreiber,2017).

Categorization becomes crucial as the bodies charged with its administration changed: Village Land fell under the administration of the Ministry of Local Government and thus under local-level administrative bodies; land defined as "general" fell under the administration of the Ministry of Land and Housing and Urban Development; land designated for reserves fell under the administration of the Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources. Only a presidential decision can shift land from one category to another (Kicheleri, 2021).

"About the Acts

 - The Village Land Act no. 5 governs land in village areas.

 - The Land Act No. 4 governs land in cities and other areas.

Land is divided into three main categories:

 - Village Land includes all land within Tanzania's 11,000 villages.

 - Reserved Land is land set aside for special purposes, for instance, forest reserves, game parks, and land for public utilities.

 - General Land which includes urban areas and land earlier allocated by Tanzanian governments.

All land is owned by the president, but rights over land can belong to citizens:

 - Granted Right of Occupancy is held outside of village land, or in village land if acquired before the land acts came into force. It may last for up to 99 years. Land needs to be surveyed before a Certificate of Occupancy can be issued.

 *- Customary Right of Occupancy is held when a person has hold of land under the customary law applicable in the area. It may be owned for an indefinite period. **F**ull customary rights exist whether written certificates are being issued. Certificates of Customary Right of Occupancy (CCROs) are issued in rural areas by village councils. The Customary Right of Occupancy is different from Granted Right of Occupancy, but according to the law the two are given equal effect and status"* (Pedersen, 2010:6).

Other legislations affecting land*:* The National Human Settlements Policy (2000); The National Environmental Policy (1997); The Land Act Cap. 113 (1999);

the Village Land Act Cap. 114 (1999); the Environmental Management Act Cap. 191 (2004) and the Land Use Planning Act Cap. 116 (2007) (National Land Use Planning Commission, 2020).

Village land is primarily allocated to residents in the village and Rights of occupancy are primarily issued to Tanzanian citizens or groups of citizens. Organizations interested in acquiring land are required to show that the majority of the shareholders are Tanzanian citizens. The only legal exception from the prohibition of allocating land to foreign companies or associations is for purposes of investment, by the Tanzanian Investment Act, 1977. Non-resident persons and non-village organizations may apply for rights over village land but will then be submitted to certain conditions. These measures were put in the Village Land Act to safeguard village land from passing into the hands of foreigners, as investors' target is the village land. However, for the village land to be available to investors, it must first be converted into general land as unoccupied or unused; only then the right of occupancy or leasehold may be issued. Unfortunately, about 70% of land in Tanzania is unregistered, although it might be in use. Most of the unregistered land belongs to villages and if that land is deemed underutilized, it can easily be transferred into "general" land and become the target of investors (Schreiber, 2017; Veit, 2010).

According to Kironde (2009), around 165,000 lots are in land registry nationwide, although the registerable potential could be over 8 million. Targeting unregistered village land for investments implies that land will be transferred from the hands of communities whose livelihoods depend on it, to the hands of investors. Over time, this process may create land conflicts, since new actors from the international arena would affect land access on behalf of local communities (Mpogole &Kipene, 2013; Kironde, 2009; Wily, 2003).

The reform goal is to foster the creation of a land market, to improve agricultural investment, therefore enhancing land productivity and economic growth. The reform does not aim at redistributing land. The 2004 amendment to Act No. 4 of the Land Act indeed, defines the law's priorities as facilitating the commercialization of land, allowing the sale of unexploited land, and offering favorable terms for foreign investors.

The amendments, for the first time in the history of Tanzania's land tenure system, enshrine the commercial value of land and allow its sale, which was

previously prohibited, to protect the customary rights communities held over their land. This opens the way for speculative investments. Recognizing the new and increased value of the land, the availability of which, however, remains unchanged, leads to higher prices, making the land an exclusive resource. On the one hand, the 1999 reform is considered very advanced by the international community in terms of recognizing customary rights and equating them with property rights, on the other hand, it leaves numerous concerns about the actual security it brings to rural communities, smallholders and the most marginalized groups (the poor, herders, women, minorities) (Myenzi, 2005).

However, it is a reform that provides the creation of better administrative systems to secure tenure rights; for example, through the establishment of local institutions to administer land and settle disputes in rural areas. Unfortunately, the implementation of such institutions has been a slow process. The major reason is the lack of plans for implementation on the national level and the lack of resources on the local level (Pedersen, 2010).

2.7.4 Strategic Plan for Implementation of the Land Laws (SPILL) and the Property and Business Formalization Program (MKURABITA)

Management of land rights is vested in local governments and institutions at the village level. Implementation is allocated to villages and districts, that lack the necessary resources (Pedersen, 2010). Resources and key competencies in rural areas are scarce. Access to information about the proper procedures is restricted. Without external funding and the involvement of the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development or other government agencies, it has been difficult to carry out even basic implementation activities, therefore impossible for village councils to take on their management responsibilities (Pedersen, 2010). Kironde (2009) identifies the shortcomings of the registration process: limited human and financial capacity especially in local administrations; inappropriate standards, regulations, and procedures for land use planning, regularization, and surveying; diffused lack of a long-term well-resourced plan to register land parcels in the country. Moreover, the author defines the approach of the state as a "centralized state-centered approach which sidelines communities" (p.12).

The implementation of the land reform proved to be a long, and not always easy, process. Implementation is envisaged to last for decades, it started with the Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws, (SPILL) finalized in 2005. Whereas the land acts emphasize recognition of all existing rights to land, especially customary rights held by rural communities, SPILL has been criticized for being too focused on enhancing economic growth. The objective of SPILL is to contribute to the achievement of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA) and this should justify the focus on economic growth. The focus on economic growth may be incompatible with improved tenure security. Since governmental programs usually do not identify pastoralists and small-scale farmers as contributors to productivity and economic growth, these communities could suffer further expropriation of land for investment purposes (Pederson, 2010).

Implementation activities were left to the local authorities. Officials from the Ministry for Lands and Human Settlement Developments stressed that the villagers and local authorities are the ones responsible for the implementation of land acts. After SPILL had been completed, the EU financed a follow-up project. However, the main goal was to make land available as collateral for loans through titling and, thereby, to contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction (Pederson, 2010).

However, the project focused narrowly on titling as a prerequisite of economic growth, according to a classical economic view: if poor people successfully obtain titles to their land, it is widely believed that they will be able to use them as collateral to get loans and gain capital to invest and create growth. Some important conclusions were drawn from this EU-funded pilot project. Firstly, village land registries for storing documents and registers were needed before issuing CCROs at the village level (Village Registry). Secondly, equipment and GPS technologies were required at the district level. Lastly, villagers needed more information about land reform and how they could take advantage of it, to increase security of tenure. A report from MKURABITA found that 89% of land in the country was not formally titled, whereas the Ministry projected that mass registration would generate large economic benefits by enabling people to obtain credit (Schreiber, L. 2017).

Kironde (2009) argues that land policy implementation programs are good, but they are not adequately funded. Fund allocation, indeed, was only 5.3% of the expected cost. The Ministry of Land does not issue regular public reports, indicating

progress towards budget financing. Pedersen (2010) criticized implementation projects as being hasty and implementation to lack local participation. The outcomes of pilot projects, in some cases, were irregularities, land grabbing, and vulnerable groups being left out.

2.7.5 The Implementation of Village Land Laws

The most important innovation of the 1999 Land Acts is that they make customary rights of occupancy legally equivalent to any granted right. The goal of this section is the understanding of what is Village Land, according to the law, and what are outcomes of the implementation of laws related to village land are. In their book, Sulle and Nelson (2009) (as well as Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005) highlight that the analysis the Land reform must start with a clear understanding of the definition of local communities' rights over land, according to the law.

The reform was primarily conceived to remove the 'dualistic' character of land rights, that had prevailed since the colonial era (Sulle & Nelson, 2009¸ as well Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005). Understanding village rights over land is challenging because the Land Act and the Village Land Act contain several conflicting provisions about the definition of Village Land. The Act purposefully provides wide scope for defining village lands, and the customary rights of occupancy held in such lands; yet many villagers and communities do not have security in their customary land. Tanzania's Village Land Act has the potential to provide villagers with secure rights over customary ownership, but laws have not been effectively implemented and enforced, leading some community advocates to call for reform (Veit, 2010).

Village land is any land within the boundaries of a registered village; it is any land agreed to be the land of a given village, according to the agreement between that village and its neighbors; it is any land that villagers have been using or occupying for the past 12 years. With a Certificate of Village Land and Customary Rights of Occupancy, lands included in these definitions, are formalized. However, even villages that do not have this certificate possess customary rights over their land (Sulle & Nelson, 2009; Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005; Schreiber, 2017).

The Village Land Act, enacted in 2001, legally recognized the possibility to register certificates of both communal land and individual land, within rural areas, but ownership is still insecure. Besides, the Act led to a decentralization of the land registration system and gave individual villages the power and responsibilities to manage the registration process. They lacked the technical know-how to carry out village surveys. Further, the central government agencies played the role of the policymakers, but not of the implementers, and had neither the financial resources nor the coordination capacity to assist (Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005; Schreiber, 2017).

The -legit- interest of the state in formalizing tenure of land will sooner or later have to reckon that most land in Tanzania is held under customary tenure arrangements, and that is not either surveyed or registered. However, the Land Act of 1999 and the Village Land Act legally recognize customary tenure rights and empower village governments to manage Village Land. The law provides that customary rights of occupancy automatically apply to village lands in perpetuity, but what happens to that either not surveyed, registered, or unoccupied land? Unfortunately, the Act has created considerable confusion and conflict about this, since it does not better define "unoccupied or unused village land" -considered General Land, under the authority of the Ministry of Lands-. The distinction is of particular importance for communities holding land held under customary tenure arrangements (Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005; Schreiber, 2017).

The Village Land Act establishes the procedures for village land formal recognition, and those relevant to rural communities are the procedures for the formal registration of customary land rights, at both the community and individual/household levels; including the procedure for registering Village Land by obtaining a Certificate of Village Land (or Certificate of Title) and the procedure for the individual certification of Customary Right of Occupancy (URT, 1999ab, Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005; Schreiber, 2017).

Village land is formally registered if it obtains a Certificate of Village Land, although the Village Land Act provides that villages without this certificate possess customary rights over land which falls within the definition of Village Land. Since the law provides for the equivalence of granted and customary rights, on paper, whether the village registers its land or not, there should be no difference in terms

of rights over land use and administration. However, villages must hold a village land certificate as a precondition for village administration to take over the responsibility of land administration. Besides, villages are required to have a Village Land Use Plan, as a prerequisite to issue CCROs. In this scenario, it is difficult to perceive customary rights as equal to granted, formal titles of ownership. Anyway, as previously mentioned, even when a Village is officially entitled to rights over its land by a Certificate of Village Land does not mean it is spared from conflicts, for instance, the injustice suffered by those villages that lie within National Parks and are in constant conflicts with TANAPA authorities, despite being officially recognized as villages by their Certificate of Village Land (Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010 and 2011; Myenzi, 2005; Schreiber, 2017). This is in line with Veit's (2010) acknowledgement: that many villagers and communities still do not have security in their customary land, due to the poor implementation of the law. He also mentions a general lack of knowledge about the law and regulations -including the procedures and forms for various Village Land transactions- among local government officials and villagers. Kironde (2009) points out that there is considerable ignorance of both the law and the procedures related to land ownership and dispute resolution, in both rural and urban areas.

Unfortunately, consistently with the old tenure system, the Land Act places ultimate land ownership— "radical title"—in the president as a trustee for all Tanzanians, making land tenure a matter of usufruct rights. The state still holds the imposition of development conditions, land rent, and detailed bureaucratic control of all aspects of land use and ownership. As a result, the Act has not substantively changed the way that most land in Tanzania is administered or governed. "The dualistic statutory-customary character of land rights that has prevailed since the colonial era, remains" (Veit, 2010:6).

Furthermore, looking at other laws, such as the Forest Act of 2002 and the Wildlife Conservation Act of 2008 (URT; 2008), and the Constitution itself, appears easy for the central Government to encroach on the powers of village governments and expropriate land after a fair compensation is paid (Veit, 2010; Kironde 2009). Under the Village Land Act, the central government also has the authority to transfer Village Land into General Land or Reserved Land and therefore can legally acquire Village Land in various ways, including willing seller—willing buyer purchases or by compulsory land acquisition. For such transfers, the Minister publishes in the

Gazette the location and extent of the land, as well as a statement on the reasons for the transfer. A copy is sent to the Village Council, who in turn is given a minimum of 90 days before the transfer can take place. If the targeted area is less than 250 ha, the Village Council must submit its recommendations to the Village Assembly for approval. If the land is more than 250 ha, the Minister must consider and respond to all recommendations from the Village Assembly. Moreover, the Village Land Act contains some worrying provisions, including those that empower the government to transfer Village Land to General Land without seeking and obtaining village government approval, especially in case of (apparently) unutilized land. It is quite easy for the central government to transfer village land under its authority and this is perhaps the most criticized aspect of the Village Land Act. What the advocates of local communities' rights denounce is that the procedures for transferring Village Land to General Land do not strongly guarantee that most villagers will be properly informed of dispossession intent, nor does it give the village government the final right of veto (Veit, 2010). Lastly, As the government wants to promote conservation and accelerate private investment, communities have to be concerned with the government's will to exercise the authority to acquire land for development and conservation purposes, since villagers do not have the authority to veto the transfer to General Land.

2.7.6 Participatory Land Use Plan Management as a direct application of the Village Land Act and of the National Land Policy[5]

According to the e National Land Policy (1995); The National Human Settlements Policy (2000); The National Environmental Policy (1997); The Land Act Cap. 113 (1999); the Village Land Act Cap. 114 (1999); the Environmental Management Act Cap. 191 (2004) and the Land Use Planning Act Cap. 116 (2007), the National Land Use Planning Commission (NLUPC under the Ministry of Land, housing, and Human Settlement Development), elaborated the guidelines for participatory land use planning (NLUPC, 2020).

Land use planning is a key prerequisite for effective land management and the legislation of Tanzania prescribes it in a participatory way, to assure democracy,

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[5] The section is based on the government guidelines documents of 2011 and 2020 produced by the National Land Commission (NLUPC, 2011; 2020)

and social sustainability, and hopefully enhance consensus towards land-related choice and reduce conflicts.

The District and Village governments are demanded by national regulations and guidelines (N LU P C, 2020) to undertake Land Use Planning jointly, for equitable and participatory management with the ultimate goal of increasing land security, formalization, and border surveys for the twofold purpose of enhanced rural communities' livelihoods, and sustainable land management. The desired results of land planning and management are obtained when "[6]development efforts of all relevant sectors are well integrated; technical and political roles of the institutions concerned are well defined; and opportunities are provided whereby stakeholders come to an agreement which reflects their interests in a balanced way".

The village level re-becomes the arena of stakeholders' participation and collaboration, where the Village Assembly, Village Council, and land users may forward their interests, negotiate, and ultimately come to a compromise. Since these participatory instruments of land governance are highly advanced community-wise, we introduce them here by asking ourselves: "Do villages develop village land use plans? Do they develop them in a participated way? Does land use planning at the village level help to respect traditional land use diversity? How does a protected area, such as the WMA, influence land use planning and management, and to what extent is it influenced by land use planning decisions at village level?". These very questions guided focus group discussions during data-gathering activities to shed light.

The participatory approach to Village Lande Use Plans (NLUPC, 2020) considers the following:

- The needs for land-use planning and management are, in the first place, identified by the land users themselves, who are directly affected by the land conflicts and land degradation, and who are likely to benefit from improved resource management;

- The villagers participate fully in agenda setting, resource allocation, and controlling the planning process. The capacity of local decision-making is built through the mobilization of local institutions and knowledge;

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[6] Ibid: 4

- The process of information gathering and analysis, priority setting, and the formulation of village plans are local-people-centered and flexible and fosters collaboration between disciplines and sectors;

- The major role of district staff (outsiders) is introducing, guiding, and facilitating the idea of participatory land-use planning and resource management rather than making the plans themselves.

The expectations of this approach are as follows:

- Village land-use plans are implemented and, since they are created by the village communities themselves, reflect their needs and are better adapted to local conditions;

- Land disputes are minimized and the interests of the various stakeholders (men, women, youth, crop producers, pastoralists, etc.) are likely to be balanced and respected since the plans have been created through dialogue;

- Land productivity will increase and benefit the various stakeholders since the plans reflect the stakeholders' interests and are implemented;

- Land use planning emphasizes systematic assessment of the physical, ecological, and socio-economic conditions concerning peoples' needs now and in the future, through stakeholder involvement and integration of the relevant sectors.

The basic principles of participatory land use planning are efficiency (available land resources are used in such a way that they produce maximum benefits), equitability (provide benefits to all socio-economic categories of land users including women and youth), and sustainability (do not result to degradation of the resource base and are viable in the socio-economic context). Additionally, land-use planning should improve rather than constrain local decision-making.

The outcomes of the participatory process considered in the National Guidelines (NLUPC, 2020) are the following:

- Perceptions of villagers have changed and their institutions have improved their capacity to plan and manage land matters, by considering the interests and strengths of all stakeholders; resolving land conflicts; allocating land; maintaining land security; up-dating land-use plans; and communicating with the district;

- The village has a sound land-use plan which reflects the interests of all parties involved at the village and higher levels in a balanced manner and which is well respected;

- Natural resources are managed in a more efficient, equitable, and sustainable way, leading to higher production, and improved standards of living, particularly for those whose positions are most at risk, such as pastoralists, women, and youth.

The main steps of a Village Land Use Plan, as summarized by the National Land Use Planning Commission (NLUPC, 2020)

- The District PLUM (Participatory Land Use Management) authority sets up a team to visit the village and educate villagers on participatory administration of land, values of equity and inclusivity, and more broadly on rights and duties of local communities stemming from the Land reform. According to Kironde's (200) conclusions cited before, this informative work on behalf of District Authorities is poor, because villagers know very little of what the Land reform entails, in terms of rights and procedures. Moreover, the District is in charge of technical assistance and know-how (i.e. brings GPS devices and teaches how to use GPS devices). The work of the District PLUM Authority is to ensure integrated land development, facilitating planning and management while balancing the interests and needs of the different sectors and stakeholders interested in the land. The District Authority also sets up workshops and meetings with the villagers and the stakeholders and during them, the district suggests projects for instance in forestry, water management, or wildlife, locating the development of the district within a broader Land Use Framework Plan. In this fashion, land use planning increasingly becomes an active part of socio-economic development at the local level.

- Village surveys its borders and environmental features and maps resources, and land uses, with District technical support.

- During village meetings, land is hard to find a balance between different interests and necessities.

- A proposal for a village land use plan is made and goes back to the village assembly for discussion and approval.

- The village council can adjudicate land parcels or issue individual certificates of use and occupancy (called Certificates of Customary Right of

occupancy) to applicants. Title deeds do not give ownership rights, as we saw before, ownership of land is exclusively in the hands of the President. In the context of Tanzanian villages, CCROs are land titles with a formal power: they can be used as collateral for loans and are considered by the government a tool of land security, being a formal title deed. However, as in their name, a CCRO refers to a customary right (a tradition/customs-derived right, as contraposed to a statutory right derived from the legislation and an agreement of leasehold). In theory, according to Tanzanian legislation statutory and customary rights are equally powerful. Unfortunately, the cost of application for CCROs is left to individual villagers and this represents a barrier to accessing them.

- A Village Land registry is set up to collect all the cadastral data generated during land use planning.

Not only individual land parcels but also common areas should be surveyed, and their uses planned within the Village Land use plan. As in the guidelines of 2020 (NLUPC, 2020), common areas are vulnerable to encroachment and misuse and the delimitation of communal land parcels (grazing areas, Community facilities, communal and forest reserves, water sources, roads, and livestock routes) should also be conducted and boundaries marked with concrete beacons immediately after the land use plan is approved. In this fashion, villages can delimit common areas for communal uses (such as water access, grazing, forestry, and conservation).

Indeed, during resource mapping, not only development needs are identified, but also environmental issues or degraded areas can be identified, and strategies to cope with them are discussed, within the participatory scheme dispositions. At the same time, the government promotes sustainable use of resources and the District has the mandate to educate the community and train village officers in sustainable resource management, to spread sustainability practices at the village level plan land uses accordingly, and promote integrated, inter-sectorial land plannings as in their mandate (see the functions of the District PLUM Team in NLUPC, 2020).

Villages are encouraged to set aside village forests and water bodies for both livelihoods and climate change mitigation; and the villages that are contiguous neighbors to wildlife protected areas (National Parks, Game Reserves, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, and Game Controlled Areas) are encouraged to demarcate 500

meters as buffer zone or identify and demarcate community wildlife management areas (WMAs) within village boundaries. This area is supposed to be a buffer to mitigate destruction by wild animals, and also the destruction of wildlife habitat by human activities. Villagers are invited by District Officers within the framework of participatory land use planning to establish WMA in collaboration with the Wildlife Division at the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. A Wildlife Management Area may be formed within an area of more than one village, in this case, respective villages shall enter a joint village land use management agreement prepared by procedures provided for in the WMA regulations. (NLUPC, 2020).

it was deemed important here to show the functioning of participatory land use planning at the village level, and to introduce the WMAs as one of the land uses identified during this process: the creation of WMAs on Village Lands is allowed and legitimate because its institution stems from village-level planning, even though the tenure categorization of WMAs is peculiar and controversial: plannings apportion of village land to become WMA *defacto*Means that the village is losing authority on such land, even though such sovereignty loss is not clearly expressed in the WMA regulations, which result blurred and non-transparent, confirming, as in Kicheleri et al, (2021), that Tanzania WMAs are just another tool of dispossession.

2.7.7 The nature of powers transferred and outcomes

If we observe Tanzania land reform from the point of view of its detractors, and we frame it within the theoretical perspective assumed in this study (namely critical observation of CBNRM schemes and devolution reforms to unmask recentralization mechanisms and accumulation by dispossession dynamics (such theoretical approach is the one proper of political ecology, and more in particular of Marxist political ecologists, as in Nepal and Sarineen, 2016, Harvey, 2005, Fletcher 2020).), we can argue that the government of Tanzania elaborated a land reform and introduced a legal category that would strengthen the power and rights of communities, but only *de jure*. *De facto*, communities are excluded from the proceedings of investments and development projects, their autonomy over village land is extremely limited, and central government powers remain unbalanced. In this perspective, according to Ribot et l., (2006), the analysis of the Tanzanian land

reform highlights several specific mechanisms that central governments use to limit the scope of reformsThese mechanisms ensure that the outcomes of reforms will not threaten the privilege of the existing political authority. Shifting "village" labeled land into "general" labeled land is such an easy task for the central government, that it represents the perfect mechanism to reverse the devolution process. According to Veit (2010), it is quite easy for the central government to transfer village land and common grazing areas under its authority, and this is perhaps the most criticized aspect of the Village Land Act.

The main argument of detractors of the reform concerns different aspects. Firstly, according to the Village Land Act, the village government has the responsibility and authority to manage land, including issuing certificates of Customary Rights of Occupancy within their area and establishing and administering local registers of communal land rights. They also have the responsibility of border demarcation, to fulfill their land use planning responsibility. However, the acts provide that the Minister of Lands, Housing, and Human Settlements Development can transfer Village Land into one of the other two categories, therefore administrated by the central government. In addition, Government officials hardly recognize customary rights as equal to statutory rights and hardly respect the legal authorities of village councils over Village Land. Likewise, they do not value traditional land uses. Expropriating village land is an easy task within the new regulative framework, since other laws, such as the Forest Act of 2002 and the Wildlife Conservation Act of 2002 and following updates (URT, 2002) and the Constitution itself, allow the central Government to encroach on the powers of village governments and expropriate land after a fair compensation is paid (Veit, 2010; Kironde, 2009 (Veit, 2010; Pedersen, 2010, 2011)

Secondly, when in the '90s the reform was demanded by international institutions and local communities started advancing their land-based claims and instances, especially land conflicts, exacerbated land scarcity, and bureaucratic lengthy procedures.; a Commission of Enquiry on Land Matters was set up to gather voices and needs from the local population, but eventually, the policy was developed with limited public participation and did not incorporate many Commission's recommendations, including those regarding management decentralization and democratization (Myenzi, 2005).

Thirdly, the reform provides the creation of better administrative systems to secure tenure rights and reduce conflicts; for example, through the establishment of local institutions to administer land and settle disputes in rural areas. Unfortunately, the implementation of such institutions has been a slow process. The major reason is the lack of plans for implementation on the national level and the lack of resources on the local level. This outcome deeply limits the innovative scope of the land reform toward authentic protection of the rights of local communities (Pedersen, 2010).

Moreover, the reform aimed at the recognition of existing land rights and the improvement of tenure security, by securing customary land rights. Unfortunately, given the unclear provision over village land rights and the presence of blurred borders (or the complete lack of it), the current scenario of land scarcity, and the growing demand for land, land conflicts are far from being solved. Village-level dispute settlement organisms are provided by the law, but unfortunately, their implementation has been a slow process.

The reform is a highly neoliberal, market-oriented reform, and the vision behind it is that: fand is abundant and underutilized and needs to be capitalized. As such, the policy identifies land as a commodity that can be leased, rented, and used as collateral for securing loans. This is probably the main reason why the overall reform outcomes are not comforting for the local population. The outcomes of the reform are highly dependent on the interests of central government actors in preserving the extraction of value from the exploitation (or conservation) of natural resources (Nelson and Agrawal, 2008), becoming a tool of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2005). Land value is in turn shaped by the size and structure of the tourist and agribusiness industry. The financial value of land-based activities, when directly controlled by state agencies and carried out on community lands, amplifies incentives to maintain control and resist devolutionary reforms (Nelson and Agrawal, 2008).

In conclusion, the power in the hands of villagers is partial, if non-existent The state still holds the imposition of development conditions, land rent, and detailed bureaucratic control of all aspects of land use and ownership (Veit, 2010; Pederson, 2010; Myenzi, 2005). Village-level land authorities and customary rights of local communities are not respected, despite they are protected by the law. As a result, the Act has not substantively changed the way that most land in Tanzania is

administered or governed. "The dualistic statutory-customary character of land rights that has prevailed since the colonial era, remains" (Veit, 2010:6). It is thus possible to argue that the new land laws jeopardized the security of tenure of the majority of rural inhabitants, especially peasants, and pastoralists while embracing the rights of well-connected people in society who either come in as investors or purchasers of land from the poor.

Against this backdrop, the government agenda is to pursue land-based investments (mainly in agriculture and conservation/ecotourism) which ultimately lead to land dispossessions because power and authority over land results are concentrated in the hands of the Central government. By identifying "underutilized" or "non-utilized" (Mpgole and Kipene, 2013) plots of land, registering them in the Tanzania Investment Center Database, and changing the destination of that portion of land from village to general or reserved, the central government can realize all of its aspirations on communal lands, without any consultation process, nor weapons in the hands of communities to reverse such decisions, unless they acquire enough know-how and resources to survey every land plot in the village and assign them a land use. Still, then, presidential powers and the "Public good" interest of development and/or conservation can be used to legitimize dispossession and disenfranchisement.

2.8. Community-Based Conservation in Tanzania: Wildlife Management Areas Reform And Challenges

2.8.1 The Community Wildlife Management Areas policy and its implementation: premises, governance, opportunities, and challenges

We have presented the advent of the community-based turn in tourism and conservation, its premises, challenges, and outcomes in Global South countries. In Tanzania, Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) were introduced in 2002 to enhance the community's efforts in wildlife management and conservation. They are confirmed to be a strategic entry point for the Ministry in addressing biodiversity conservation issues in the upcoming future, as showed on 31st of May 2023, when the Ministry, together with its strategic partners Honeyguide NGO, USAID, and Gef (Global Environmental Facility) in Dodoma, and launched the National and Anti-

poaching and Wildlife Management Areas Strategy identifying the WMAs as a strategic ally of the government against poaching activity. According to TANAP Website, there are currently 38 Wildlife Management Areas at different stages of establishment, countrywide. Among them, 22 have attained Authorized Associations-AAs status and have the right to utilize wildlife resources, while the other ones are still in the process, and are going to become operative soon.

WMAs consist of portions of village land set aside for purposes of wildlife conservation and the development of wildlife-based enterprises, nature-based tourism, and hunting tourism (Sulle et al, 2011; Nelson, 2007; Nelson, 2004). This means that the land where the community settles, farms, or grazes within village borders) are set aside to connect National parks (with the main function of providing ecological corridors for wildlife to roam freely). Unfortunately, conservation arrangements can lead to conflicts between conservationists and the villagers, given the immediate trade between rural livelihoods and tourism (Bluwstein, 2017), and the WMA scheme has also been heavily criticized, also as a tool of accumulation by dispossession (Kicheleri et al., 2021; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012).

Within an imaginary tourism package in the observed context of the Northern Circuit of Tanzania, what the community-based protected areas are coming to represent is a cheaper alternative to sleeping inside National Parks. Lodges and accommodations services are cheaper and highly variegated inside community-based protected areas (such areas border National Parks or are very near to them). There are camping sites, glamping, and lodges for very different budgets. These alternatives allow tourists to visit and sleep in areas very rich in wild animals, for cheaper prices.

The establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs from now on) is provided in the Tanzania Wildlife Policy of 1998 and the Wildlife WMA regulations (URT, 2002 and 2005 and 2008, 2012). WMAs are established to encourage community conservation through their and other stakeholders' involvement in taking joint responsibility for and investing in the sustainable management of wildlife and other natural resources. The legal base for WMA to work is the devolution of use rights for wildlife to local communities, for them to capture the resource's economic benefits such as revenues from tourist-related investments, tourist hunting, meat sales, subsistence hunting, etc. The government also enacted the

Wildlife Conservation (Wildlife Management Areas) Regulations of 2000, coupled with Guidelines for Designation and Management of Wildlife Management Areas of 2002, to support the implementation of the Wildlife policy towards the establishment of the WMAs.

Before the establishment of WMAs, during the process of liberalization of tourism investments, agreements between the villages and tourism companies developed, thus tourism businesses were well established in villages in tourist areas at least since the 90s, when WMAs got in the way, creating resentment in those villages that were gaining good profits from tourism already, making WMAs a form of re-centralization of tourism benefits, taking them away from the individual villages that were successive with investors, to the supra-village organizations that run the WMAs (Nelson, 2004; Sulle et al, 2011; Gardener, 2016; Kicheleri et al., 2021).

Breaking down to the steps necessary to establish a WMA, several villages (usually identified among those located near National Parks, where a previous corridor of buffer zone projects was planned) are reached out by the District Game Officer, often accompanied by representatives of some big conservation NGO (such as African Wildlife Foundation, WWF or Honeyguide NGO, who were a key partner of the government when at the beginning of the 2000s WMAs were being established all over the country). Together, the district authority and the conservation institutions "educate" villagers on the WMA policy, the scope and the necessity of conservation actions, and the benefits generated by tourism (Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Monduli DC, EWMA 2005; Sulle, et al., 2011; Kicheleri et al., 2021).

Once several villages are convinced that they want to establish a WMA on their land, they must develop land use plans to identify the land they want to cede and formulate the implementing decrees or by-laws that make the land use plan effective. After that, villages establish a community-based organization (CBO) that is granted user rights to wildlife by the Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). The CBO is thus the authority (so-called 'Authorized Association) of the WMA. The CBO has to develop its governing, leadership, and management. Then, the CBO is registered under appropriate legislation (e.g. Societies Ordinance). It is defined as an "umbrella" organization because it is a supra-village organization, where multiple villages come together,

cede their land and elect representatives from every village to administer the CSO in charge of the WMA (Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Monduli DC, EWMA 2005; Sulle, et al., 2011; Kicheleri et al., 2021). Then, the CBO has to identify wildlife conservation and other compatible land uses (such as forestry, fisheries, seed handling, beekeeping, and pastoralist areas, livestock grazing), and develop the WMA land use plan to enforce measures of conservation. The Land Use Plan of the WMA is called the General Management Plan or Resources Management Zone Plan (Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Monduli DC, EWMA 2005; Sulle, et al., 2011; Kicheleri et al., 2021).

Once the CBO has been officially registered, village land use plans and by-laws have been developed, and an overall Resource Management Zone Plan or General Management Plan for the WMA has been developed and approved, the CBO can apply for the approval of user rights on wildlife, from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The Wildlife Conservation (Wildlife Management Areas) Regulations of 2002 require the aspiring WMA to prepare a General Management Plan (GMP)- or a Resources Management Zone Plan (RMZP) is allowed as an interim measure- before an area can be legally declared a WMA. When the Ministry approves the application for wildlife use rights, the CBO becomes an 'Authorized Association' (AA), namely authorized to manage, and utilize wildlife in the WMA, to develop tourism wildlife-based activities and eco-tourism activities (Nelson, 2004; Monduli, EWMA, 2005; Sulle et al, 2011). Each WMA decides in its constitution the number of representatives coming from each village, and in Enduimet WMA there are 3 representatives from each village (of them one must be a woman) – this information was provided during interviews with participants.

The AA is the key management body in all WMAs and is responsible for overseeing all investment activities within the WMA as well as conservation efforts. Investors sign contracts with the AA, who then must report to the WMA board of trustees, which is formed by villagers from member villages. Trustees oversee WMA operations hold it accountable and address any external conflicts that are beyond the capacity of the executives and AA councils. The AA has an Executive Board that is entitled to decisional power, especially in matters of zonation and access/exclusion rights (i.e. the executive board that makes the final approval about who can access where). It is chaired by a chairman democratically elected among villagers. The AA also works thanks to the key roles of the Secretary and

the Treasurer. Then, there is the WMA District Advisory Board, whose mandate is advising the AA on matters relating to the coordination and administration of the WMA, in collaboration with government and other external stakeholders. Moreover, there are the AA sub-committees. Each committee is chaired by an elected chairman, and each committee has specific mandates (i.e. Finance and Planning Committee, and the Discipline Committee).

There is also a WMA Manager, whose work is guided by the work plan (the GMP) and by the budget approved by the AA. He is the head of management operations. The manager is assisted in management operations by several officers, such as the tourism officer, in charge of the tourism strategy. Enforcement of the dispositions of the WMA is left to Village Game Scouts and the WMA rangers. Furthermore, as prescribed by the WMA regulations, each WMA has to be associated with a sponsoring NGO that provides funds and technical support to the AA, at least in its initial phases. Enduimet was supported by HoneyGuide NGO (who took part on 31st March 2023 in the launching of the WMA strategy in Dodoma as a strategic partner of the Ministry), while major international conservation NGOs supported the implementation of WMA countrywide as government partners. Those are AWF African Wildlife Foundation, and World Wildlife Fund (WWF), among others (Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Monduli, EWMA, 2005; Sulle et al, 2011).

The ratio behind WMA is simple: the CSO (a non-political organization, it is indeed a Civil Society Organization) is made up of democratically elected representatives. Elections are the main mechanisms that ensure community control over WMA administration. When the CSO has to approve decisions, representatives either discuss among themselves and provide suggestions before their final approval or the representatives report decisions and issues of WMA management to the Village Assembly (all villagers above 18 y.o) during village meetings. Decisions are discussed, feedback is gathered, and the representatives go back to the CSO board for final approval of decisions. This representation mechanism is supposed to underpin the overall democratic representative process of the WMA.

WMA revenue distribution is the following: Wildlife Division (Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources division entitled to wildlife management outside National Parks) receives 35% of WMA revenues, WMA keeps 65% and uses 50% of it for AA/WMA administration and redistributes the other 50% to member villages

(Nelson, 2007; Nelson, 2004: Sulle et al 2011). The central government is still retaining hunting block allocation rights, despite the promise of the Wildlife Division of devolving such rights to the WMAs and it still retains the greatest share of hunting trophy fees, even when hunting is done in the WMA: only 45% of are kept by the WMA, but 65% goes to central government. Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012), Hunting tourism, despite not constituting a focus of this study (given the complexity of the matter, it should deserve a separate study) eventually became a lateral part of my investigation, mainly as a controversial matter.

When the WMAs were introduced around 2003–2004, villagers were promised hunting quotas, and that state-controlled sport hunting would be phased out to the advantage of local (village) control. However, devolving control over hunting to the local level was not on the agenda of the Tanzania government. "The hunting industry simply seems too lucrative for decentralization" (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012: 341) besides, "Of the hunting fees collected by the Wildlife Division, 25 percent is supposed to go back to the local level. This includes the districts as well as the WMAs. But it is not clear how much should go to the WMAs, and, here again, there is a lack of transparency. [Besides,] Evidence suggests that the [hunting] sector is controlled by a network of central bureaucrats and politicians in co-operation with Tanzanian and foreign businesspeople" (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012:341-342). Moreover, it is noteworthy that during their study, Benjaminsen and Bryceson "attempted to acquire turnover figures from hunting companies as well as from the Wildlife Division, without much success "(2012, p. 342) and that of the two hunting companies in Enduimet contacted by the authors, only one agreed to share financial information with the researchers.

In general, the authors put forward how the Tourist Hunting Regulations of 2000 prohibits game viewing within a hunting block without the written permission of the Director of Wildlife, a clear mechanism to allow re-centralization of control (Ribot. Et al., 2006) over tourism activities in village lands. Furthermore, the Regulations give the Director the authority to withdraw or revoke investment agreements on village land at, anytime. Hence, the government implements laws and regulations designed to maintain and increase the State's and State officials' power to appropriate valuable resources in rural areas. This is a limit of the devolution process occurring in management on natural and tourism resource

management started in Tanzania in the 00's, (Benjaminsens and Bryceson 2012; Ribot et al., 2006).

Hunting wins over game viewing (in the game of re-centralization attempts by central government) because it is an activity that to a larger extent is controlled by policymakers, and state officers in the wildlife sector, and it represents a very good chance for rent-seeking and accumulation for central government officers. Trophy hunting in Tanzania is based on a system of hunting blocks. Among observers of the sector in Tanzania, there is general agreement that the hunting business is marked by extensive corruption (Nshala 1999, Sachedina 2008, Nelson 2009, 2010). Hunting blocks are leased out to hunting companies by the Wildlife Division for three years. Tanzania is the only country in eastern and southern Africa that does not have bidding rounds for hunting block allocation. The process lacks openness, and the prices are estimated to be well below the market level (World Bank 2008, Nelson 2009). This underpricing creates opportunities for personal rent-seeking for key officials who control the allocation of hunting blocks and the collection of hunting fees.

Figure 2.8: allocation of total income from hunting and photographic tourism fees according to Wildlife Utilization Regulations 2008 and Wildlife Regulations 2012, as elaborated in K. Homewood (2015).
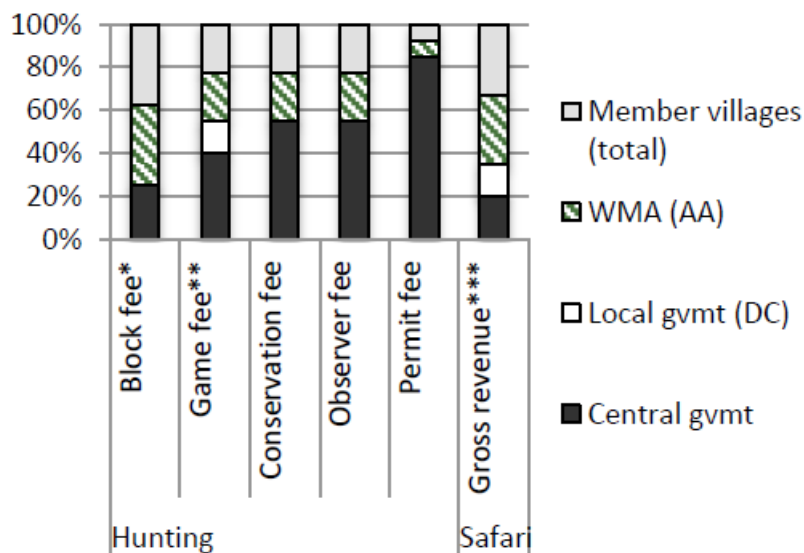
Figure 2.8

* The WMA can negotiate higher block fees than the amount initially negotiated by the central gov, of which it can keep 100% of the premium they

negotiate. ** The highest game fees are for elephant trophies: between US$15,000 - US$20,000, depending on the size. ***Collected by central government7, and then distributed to WMA. Fees include concession fees, bed fees, wildlife activity fees, vehicle entry fees, etc., and are negotiable between the investor and the AA. Source: K. Homewood (2015).

WMA's total revenues have been swinging since their introduction, being quite volatile to allow to determine if their model is a net success or rather a net cost for villagers. In Sulle et al., 2011 assessment of performances, Burunge WMA was interested in a fairly high and growing flow of revenues, although not enough to match the costs member villages are bearing by adopting conservation measures as opposed to agriculture. IN 2011 Enduimet WMA revenues became substantial, even though 2010-2011 revenues were much lower than under previous arrangements, whereby Village Councils were receiving payments directly from tourism companies. Furthermore, WMA's income has been detrimentally impacted by the Pandemic, WMAs witnessed a steady reduction in arrivals, a steep decline in their revenues, and a dramatic reduction in their operations (Shoo et al., 2021). More broadly, Keane et al (2020) tried to determine the overall impact of WMAs on villagers' wealth). The impacts of WMAs on villagers' wealth (measured in the 2007-2015 period) were small and variable, with no clear evidence of widespread poverty reduction (Keane et al., 2020). More specifically, Burunge and Enduimet WMAs produced the clearest evidence for hurting wealth. Nonetheless, both have annual revenues amongst the highest of any WMAs. In common with other WMAs, however, government taxes and WMA administration costs leave only a small proportion of revenues to be distributed to member villages (typically 25%-33%, equivalent to ~USD 0.6/capita/year in Enduimet (Homewood, 2015). In other words, ongoing evaluations throughout the years, of the impact of WMAs revenues on the life of the community produced highly mixed results, and many shortcomings affect the capacity of WMAs revenues to benefit villagers, even when they are affected by positive trends of growth, and at this regard Sulle et al., 2011 concludes that WMA performance in practice is not a net benefit, but a net cost to some communities, particularly when the costs of living alongside growing wildlife

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[7] through CITES. It is a service provider for governments that outsource some services such as revenue collection. See CITES website.

populations are taken into account. Such circumstances threaten the sustainability of the WMA undertaking and need to be addressed creatively.

Finally, we borrow Kicheleri et al., 2021 explanation to introduce quite a delicate and complex matter, which is the main argument to underpin our accumulation by dispossession and lack of self-determination hypothesis in WMAs. Bearing in mind what we said about Land reform and three land categories according to Tanzanian legislation, Kicheleri and colleagues explain very well what occurs at the village rights level:

"Tanzania only has three recognized categories of land, general land, reserved land, and village land. WMAs can be interpreted to fall under reserved land, which is defined as "land reserved, designated or set aside under the provisions of the Wildlife Conservation Act No 12 of 1974" (revised in 2009) according to Section 6.1.a.iv of the Land Act. The 2002 WMA Regulations (URT,2002) are key to the establishment of the initial WMAs in Tanzania, as they specifically refer to the 1974 Wildlife Conservation Act. Hence, the legal status and management of the two categories of land, that is, reserved and village land, are quite different as they fall under different legal jurisdictions [village land under the Village Land Act and reserved land under the Wildlife Conservation Act]. Therefore, according to the WMA Regulation, once village land has been combined with other villages' land and gazetted as a WMA, it seems to change legal status and become reserved land. Thus, if a village wants to withdraw its land from a WMA, this appears to require that the land is transferred from reserved land to village land following Section 5 of the Land Act (URT, 1999a). However, only the President has the power to transfer land from one category to another (URT, 1999b) as all land in Tanzania according to the Land Act is "vested in the president as trustee" (URT, 1999a). Accordingly, through the words "user right" instead of "land right," the 2012 WMA Regulation (URT, 2012), in combination with the Land and Wildlife Conservation Acts, circumvent the powers of the President and establish WMAs as a bizarre, de facto-de jure, category of land by, de facto, turning village land into reserved land through a, de jure, shift of all meaningful rights to such land, from Village Governments to AA's, without changing the legal category of the land. Legally, WMAs, thus, become empty shells of village land, and once [a] WMA [i]s gazetted, the participating Village Councils lost all powers over the part of their village lands covered by the WMA".(Kicheleri et al., 2021:10).

Consequently, of all land rights (see paragraph 2.7 *The Land Acts*) comprised in village land tenure, reformed according to URT 199ab, village members of WMAs only retain access rights once they cease their land to the WMA. Access rights, however, are susceptible to constant negotiations from more powerful actors (such as the central government institutions). This land tenure scenario, where legislative prescriptions are blurred, is not secure for villagers and village government institutions.

Given the competing interests (control over hunting and tourism resources and revenues) and competing mandates between central governments and WMAS (land rights in the hand of the village council and wildlife rights firmly in the hands of the Wildlife Division and the disconnection of the two), Benjaminsen and Bryceson (2012), Kicheleri (20121) and Moyo (2016 and 2017) and others argue that WMA policy reform, instead of materializing CBNRM and a real devolution of power, rather represents an attempt of decentralization of benefits generated by resources on village land, and attempt of dispossession of village-land resources, fueled by patrimonialism and rent-seeking. In this fashion, we can conclude that the outcomes of the WMA policy are still mixed. In other words, applying Ribot et al., (2006) analytical framework, we can say that despite a local actor has been institutionalized and given rights and power to use wildlife and generate revenues, many mechanisms are still at the disposal of the central government of retain control and benefits, not to mention an insecure land tenure framework that reduces and manipulate the nature of the power theoretically transferred to the local level. Furthermore, studies around the performances of the WMAs highlight structural shortcomings, such as land conflicts among stakeholders, mostly over land, border, and payment of revenues; shortcomings in terms of limited transparency and accountability of external actors; limited results in terms of capacity building of villages; re-centralization mechanisms that potentially vanish the intent of the WMA reform; hard-to-materialize long-lasting benefits for the local communities (Nelson, 2004; Sulle, 2008; Sulle et al., 2011; Homewood, 2015; Moyo et al., 2016, 2017; Keane et al., 2020; Kicheleri et al., 2021; Shoo et al., 2021) Nonetheless, given the impactful benefits communities would have at their disposal thanks to tourism, WMAs could represent an important opportunity for communities. Many factors, however, hinder the materialization of long-term benefits for communities, who are

struggling tensed between development opportunities, rights neglection, and land/resources dispossession and conflicts.

2.8.2 The institution of Enduimet WMA: challenges and opportunities

Enduimet was originally conceived in stakeholder meetings held in 1997, following a wildlife survey conducted by researchers and national and district wildlife authorities. Conservationists were concerned about the depletion of wildlife in West Kilimanjaro from bushmeat poaching, which was reaching alarming rates (Poole and Reuling, 1997 cited in Nelson, 2004). At that time, plans for the establishment of WMA in the area were developed with strong institutional and international, support to increase local responsibility for wildlife emanating from the villages (HDIC et al, 2010).

According to the EWMA RMZP of 2005,[8] the Vision of the WMA is an "integrated, well managed and self-financing WMA in which nationally-important biodiversity is protected, essential ecological processes are sustained, and stakeholders fully support and tangibly benefit from wildlife conservation efforts in the area". The goal is to enhance ecological, economic, and social values to positively contribute to the rural economy of the area. The measurable objectives of EWMA[9] are poverty reduction, land conflict reduction, and wildfire reduction (Monduli DC, EWMA 2005 RMZP)[10]

Despite the provision of the 2002 Wildlife Conservation (Wildlife Management Areas) Regulations (URT 2002), according to which every WMA must develop a General Management Plan and use a Resource Management Zonation Plan only as an interim measure, Enduimet does not have a GMP yet, due to budget

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[8] Monduli DC, Enduimet WMA (2005) Resource Zonation Management Plan (2005-2010). Due to schedule incompatibility between the author and Enduimet Management, I could not receive a more recent version of Enduimet RZMP on time to ultimate the dissertation. However, the information reported and analyzed are basic and foundational, (i.e. vision, mission and main zones) and it is legitimate not to expect major changes. Furthermore, updated information about the document were shared during interviews with WMA Management and reported throughout the dissertation. In addition, Enduimet is currently working based on an extraordinary extension of the 2017 RZMP because of flack of budget. The current RZMP is about to expire, and if budget availability will be confirmed, Enduimet will adopt a General Management Plan by April 2024.

[10] Unfortunately, follow up studies are not available, and we are still waiting from Enduimet Management to share documents and reports that possibly assessed such goals.

constraints revealed during interviews with WMA officers. The Zonation Plan or General Management plan must be updated every five years. Zonation is the

ENDUIMET WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREA
RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ZONE MAP

Resource Management zones

Resource Management zones		WMA Boundary
	Resource Management zones	
	Enba	
	Embarnati	
	Olkunonoi	
	Forest_residence_and_cultivation	
	Rombo	
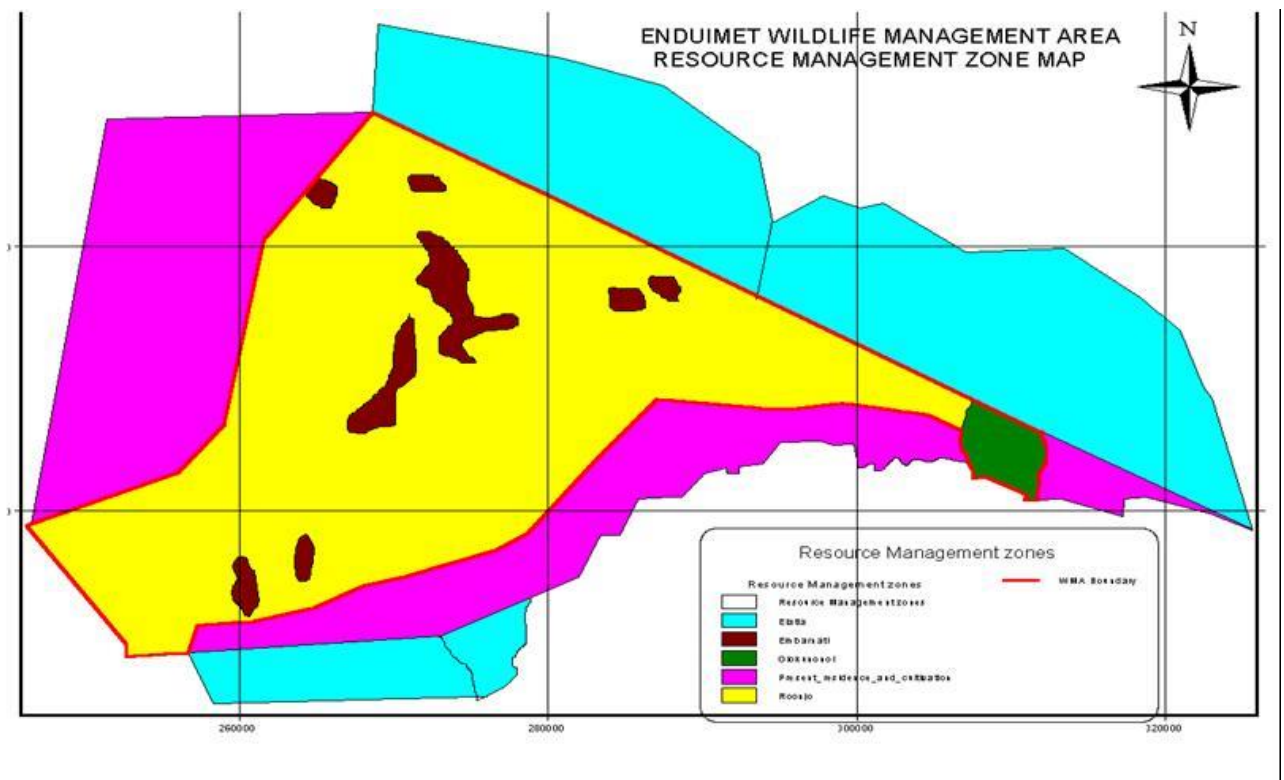
process of evaluating and classifying lands for sustainable use and of identifying management practices to preserve the outstanding resource values of WMA. The resources management zoning scheme designates where various management strategies will protect outstanding resource values by defining what can and cannot be done in different areas of the EWMA. The difference in the types and levels of land use distinguishes one management zone from another. Four management zones for the EWMA (Enduimet WMA) identified in the RMZP (Monduli DC EWMA 2005):

Figure 2.8.2: Enduimet Zonation areas. Source: Monduli DC EWMA 2005.

Olkunonoi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone (dark green in the figure). It is a migration corridor of elephants and many other species between the Kilimanjaro, Arusha, and Amboseli National Parks. It is key to maintain the corridor to preserve the ecological integrity of Kilimanjaro. The corridor has potential for agriculture as well, which is identified as a threat to this zone. Allowed uses: fuel wood collection of dead wood only; photographic safaris; education and training visits; beekeeping;

livestock grazing and use of watering points; research activities; hiking; silkworm farming; seed processing; game viewing. Forbidden uses are agriculture; mining; human settlements; tourism hospitality facilities of any kind (camping also is forbidden); hunting; tree felling and charcoal burning.

Ronjoo Zone. Ronjoo accounts for 80% of Enduimet WMA land (in yellow in the figure above). It includes the entire WMA, excluding the Olkunonoi-Kitenden Wildlife Corridor and areas with settlements (Embarnati Zone) in Sinya, Tingatinga, and Ngereiyani villages. This zone is the hub of economic activities, and it also hosts the highest levels of visitors. The majority of Enduimet's outstanding resources are contained in this zone. Ronjoo Zone harbors outstanding wildlife species that move between Arusha, Kilimanjaro, and Amboseli national parks; as well as forests, water sources, traditional medicines, birdlife, and building materials. This zone is critical for communities and for conservation purposes which makes its management problematic, tense in a delicate balance. In this zone are allowed the same activities in the corridor, plus tourism activities such as picnicking, hospitality infrastructures, hunting, digging of sand, and other building materials. Forbidden uses are agriculture; mining; off-road driving; human settlements; tree felling; and charcoal burning.

Elatia Zone (in light blue in the figure): this zone includes extra WMA areas such as ranches and farms in West Kilimanjaro and even in Kenya, and the villages of Longido, Kimikouwa, and Engikaret in Monduli district. During the preparation of the resource management zone plan, it was recognized that EWMA management issues were not all confined to the WMA boundaries. In addition, the activities of WMA may have effects outside the boundaries of the WMA. The zonation process considered the WMA within the broader context of the surrounding region, thus needed to address adjacent land uses that influence WMA resources. Therefore, for this zone proposed uses are the promotion of awareness-raising programs and efforts to ensure that the migratory corridors to Amboseli National Park are secured through effective engagement with Ranchers and authorities on the Kenyan side. Village governments are also encouraged to remove bomas (herders' semi-temporary settlements) within the wildlife corridors.

Embarnati Zone (brown areas in the figures). The zone includes human settlements that exist inside the EWMA. Minerals, sand, and wetlands are found here, as well as tourism resources (cultural resources such as typical settlements

and beautiful scenery). Both settlement and tourism are allowed in the area, which makes its management critical to balance.

One of the significant aspects of Enduimet WMA is the full integration of livestock grazing with wildlife in the WMA itself. Within the area set aside for the WMA, villagers are still allowed to graze their livestock according to traditional pastoralist practices. This co-existence with livestock was key to the WMA's acceptance by the local community, which is a very important component of pastoralists. Without such provisions, the WMA could never have advanced in Enduimet (Sulle et al., 2011).

Unfortunately, conflicts occurred and still occur in Enduimet due to overlapping and unclear regulations over investments and hunting concessions, overlapping land claims, and lack of transparency. Enduimet was indeed selected as a case study because of the conflicts and challenges identified in the literature (such as Nelson, 2004 Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Sulle, 2011). Its investigation is therefore deemed highly informative on the complex and conflictual relationship between community-based protection schemes and the community.

A conflict arose recently in 2022, between the game reserve and the WMA because Enduimet Management and the Wildlife Division assigned the same hunting block to two different investors. A plenary multi-stakeholders meeting will be held in the following months, and updates will be presented once shared with the researcher by WMA management. During the meeting, surveyed borders will be confronted with the information available to the Central Government, to establish once and for all whose claim is the legit one. Details and implications of this conflict are found in the result chapter (Chapter 8)

Going back to the foundation of Enduimet WMA, the process was marked by conflicts and pressures on the community and investors. Sinya village only joined Enduimet in 2009, after external pressures relocated Sinya investors to another village so that Sinya could not intercept tourism revenues while refusing to join the WMA. Furthermore, after external pressure from the central government and the African Wildlife Foundation, the village replaced the village government that was skeptical about the WMA and elected a new, favorable village council. After the election of the new village council whose replacement raised concerns, and after the loss of its remunerative investor, Sinya approved to join the protection scheme (Benjamin, et al., 2013; Sulle et al., 2011)

It is possible to identify several challenges in Enduimet that corroborate Sulle (et al., 2011) Specifically, Human-wildlife conflicts undermine the peaceful and fruitful development of Enduimet. Furthermore, the authors stress that for some member villages revenues are much lower than they were under previous arrangements when Village Councils received payments directly from tourism companies (Sinya village in particular, because it had very successful agreements with private investors). This element fosters resentment between villages with abundant wildlife (that had previous remunerative agreements with investors) and villages with less or scarce wildlife (that now receive the same amount of revenue tan the ones rich in wildlife) (Sulle et al, 2011, Nelson 2004). According to Keane et al., 2020 in recent years Enduimet stood out for having very high revenues, compared to other WMA, these do not positively impact villagers' wealth and have been heavily impacted by the pandemic. Budget figures (ENduimet WMA 2018-2023) are in line with general findings in Shoo et al. (2021) according to which the Corona-19 pandemic generally affected all WMA drastically reducing revenues and operations.

Furthermore, key challenges were identified by WMA stakeholders during the realization of the first Enduimet Resource Zonation Management Plan (EWMA RZMP, 2004), such as illegal harvesting of natural resources; community not tangibly realizing benefits of legal utilization of wildlife; poor performance of village game scouts; widespread wildfires; poor communication (roads and telecommunication); widespread property damage by wildlife; conflicting policies and legislations that make decision making and ordinary administration lengthy; an increasing number of livestock units; human activities blocking wildlife migratory routes in particular in Kitendeni corridor; and widespread conflicts over land, water and natural resources (Monduli DC, EWMA, 2005; Odumbe, 2009). Lastly, the process of membership of some villages was characterized by external pressures and lack of transparency which in turn led to remonstrative and boycotting actions on behalf of villagers, such as the forced interruption of tourism activities through road blocking or car and property damages (Benjaminsen et al., 2013)

However, Enduimet holds great tourism potential, and some of the development opportunities were identified at the time of its institution: it is endowed with significant potential to generate revenue from tourism activities for the development of the villages because located in a highly tourist area and near tourist

attractions (Kilimanjaro Mountain); it is the most researched WMA for elephants in Tanzania; one of the WMA with very unique and extensive plains that contribute to unique, highly demanded scenery; and last but not least, Enduimet is the only WMA that protects a cross border corridor between Kilimanjaro and Amboseli national parks (Monduli DC, EWMA, 2005) which makes it even more strategic and a case of best management practice for its trans-national management and coordination capacity between Enduimet authorities and Kenyan authorities.

3. PEOPLE-PARKS CONFLICTS AND FORTRESS CONSERVATION IN AFRICA AND TANZANIA: THE "AMERICAN" MODEL OF IMPOSED CONSERVATION AND OPPRESSIVE CONSEQUENCES

3.1 Imposed meanings

The debate on natural resource management and/or conservation has to be framed within the broader human-nature relationship conception in Western culture, which results in hegemonic compared to alternative world views (Adams and Mulligan, 2012; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016,). Nature in the West has always been considered something different from the human, other than humans, according to cartesian thinking (Neumann, 1998; Gardner, 2016). Nature is rather something that interweaves with the political and economic realm (a political and social process Nepal and Sarineen, 2016), becoming a commodity (Castree 2003) or being neo-liberalized (Castree 2008; Fletcher, 2020). Recently, categories such as "nature", "preservation" "environmental conservation" and "wilderness" have been critically reviewed, given the deceitfulness of the Cartesian Mind/nature dichotomy (Haila, 2000). As in Gerber (1997: 14):

> *"As the analysis of the physical/mental/social has shown, there are no nature/ society, mind/matter or reason/emotion dualisms at the level of the concrete. On the other hand, at the level of abstraction, these categories have played a vital role in bringing about the dominant vision of the world, a vision according to which we act. This vision is being negotiated as new facts arise which render it problematic. The dominant mode of production and the practices associated with it are currently based on Cartesian structures of thought. These structures, however, are slowly being eroded".*

As Gerber shows, there are no dualisms at the level of the concrete"; therefore, admitting that the category of nature is not fixed nor factual, rather it has a socially constructed meaning, is a political action (Brockington and Igoe, 2006; West et al., 2006). Whereas white-dominated capitalism tends to expand and incorporate other realities these, socially constructed meanings constitute absolute laws.

Acknowledging the political interpretation of nature in the Western world will consequently help the formulation of related policies (whether they are

environmental preservation or resource capitalization policies) "to get rid of that duplicity between naturality and technicity" that usually characterize those policies (Dansero et al. 2013: 140). Different scholars are actively criticizing the dichotomy (see Garber 1997, Haila, 2000) and rethinking the possible relationship between nature and development (see Elinor Ostrom's works). What we would like to highlight in our study, however, is that indigenous and local communities, should not be disenfranchised, but rather involved and asked to inspire (at least at the local level) environmental policies (Viratten et al., 20020; Escobar, 1998). In reaction to marginalization and exclusion, trans-local movements of Indigenous and Local communities have started acting collectively (for example around the notion of indigenousness, Hodgson, 2002, 2011) or around sovereignty claims over agricultural factors of production that constitute the base not only of their income but of their livelihood and culture (La Via Campesina, 2021).

Based on that, I argue that these communities (with their livelihoods, culture, and knowledge systems) are already practicing resistance to the hegemonic paradigm, they are building alternatives to the dominant worldview. The daily action of minorities, or IPLCS embeds the critics of the oppressive system and provides the elaboration for alternative strategies. Exactly here lies the irreplaceable value of community's action: in the practice of alternative, and resistance. We believe that local communities affected by an oppressive system are capable of a greater synthesis and resilience capacity that allow them to elaborate strategies to resist and thrive, whereas the scientific and political debate is usually slower in overcoming old dichotomies and holding on to old, passed categorizations of reality. In other words, the West and its institutions should start acknowledging an issue of coloniality in environmental policies and more in the general colonial imposition of meaning around foundational categories, such as the nature of development, or sustainability and conservation of resources (Adam and Mulligna, 2012; Dawson and Longo, 2023)

Understanding the difference between what meanings Western society and African society attribute to human/nature relationships, and the consequent juxtaposition between economic value and cultural meaning of land, environmental conservation, and related practices and policies are a perfect point of observation. They allow us to witness the extent of the political and social construction of meanings and concepts such as wilderness and nature. Such meanings reflect

power relations between those who produce the representation of nature and those passively undergoing this representation (Nepal and Sarineen, 2016; Dansero et al, 2013; Neumann, 1998).

For instance, when an environmental conservation policy is adopted, in a developing country with a top-down approach, and a new conservation area is set up, this will likely result in exacerbated conflicts with the local population that is now prevented from accessing that area (Bluwstein, 2017). On the two sides, the representation of that area, of that space, is certainly different (Neumann, 1998). There is the wilderness notion from the policy-making institutions: the necessity to preserve it as an asset, to be capitalized (this is for example Katz's interpretation of the proliferation of environmental conservationism, linking conservation practices to nature commodification and the notion of bio capitalism). "Driven by a common impulse and portending increased privatization of the public environment, these natural set-asides intend to cordon off discrete patches of nature in ways that efface their historical geographies while simultaneously serving up these preserves for "bio-accumulation" (Katz, 1998: 46).

When Western society started wondering how to preserve the environment, the conception was, once again, that nature has to be preserved as something other than the natural resources the economic system regularly exploits (Dansero et al., 2013; West et al., 2006). This is clear if we look at the origins of environmental conservation institutions, such as national parks.

Indeed, the ratio behind them immediately shows how any ecological action is a political action. National parks are supposed to preserve the aesthetics and the wilderness of nature in a certain area, taking the area away from human activities that will eventually destroy any ecological balance (Neumann, 19989. On the other hand, the establishment of a national park can't help but tame space, and regulate space, by defining appropriate/inappropriate behaviors and activities. For example, the whole process of national parks institution, which occurred in the second half of the XIX century in the USA, is built on eviction and dispossession practices to the detriment of indigenous populations (Spence, 1999; Nepal and Sarineen, 2016; Bluwstein, 2017).

The dichotomy of man/nature is used as a tool to locate local land uses, local human presence, local cultures, and identities in "empty abstract space, where they

became the object of capitalist appropriation through environmental management and conservation instruments (Dansero et al., 2013: 142).

US National Parks represented the role model of environmental protection in most African states, where Western conservation actors and the Western interpretation of wilderness and nature helped canonize the aesthetic of "wild" Africa while meeting the colonists' land needs for game reserves. The Western/white/colonial conception of wilderness and nature lies at the heart of African environmental protection schemes (Neumann, 1998). Geographer Rod Neumann's groundbreaking book, *Imposing Wilderness*, describes the production of the dominant idea of nature in Africa. Neumann starts by quoting a traveling company payoff: "This is the way that Africa should look" (1998, 1). He draws on archival sources, as well as interviews with residents, to show how the production of nature in Africa transformed the identities and rights of African subjects. His research is a significant intervention in how understandings of African parks were forged through historical struggles over who should have rights and access to African natural resources. Neumann's book is essential reading for anyone interested in the relationship between protected areas and livelihoods around the world. The "wilderness" narratives pay very little attention to how that environment is framed and preserved, or to how prioritizing a certain kind of experience shapes the landscape in question (Gardner, 2016).

I was interested in finding evidence of the deep canonization of wild African aesthetics among Western people and I did a small (non-generalizable) experiment: I posted on my Instagram page two personal pictures, literally of the same place (Tarangire National Park in Northern Tanzania, which I had the fortune to visit three times in different times of the year), one taken during the dry season and one taken during the rainy season. In the first picture, there were elephants (quite small because in the background, but still clearly recognizable) grazing during the dry season; in the second there were less recognizable animals (gazelle but very small in the picture because quiet in the background) and baboons (still very small, may be hard to spot if one would look at the picture paying little attention as is common use on Instagram) wandering around during the rainy season. Therefore, in the first picture, the landscape looked like the dry savannah we are used to seeing in documentaries dotted with highly recognizable animals (elephants), in the second it looked like a regular grassland, with very tall grass and

few green trees, with less recognizable animals, although at a closer look, baboons were easy to spot. I asked my followers what they saw in the two pictures, and which place they would recognize in each picture. Result: for the first image I received only one type of answer, namely "Savannah"; for the second picture instead, respondents were generally less sure. The registered answers were either "savannah?" with a question mark, or "forest" or "grassland" indicating a different label was given the second picture. One respondent even answered "Africa" to the first image and "less Africa" to the second image. Another respondent replied to Savanna to both, acknowledging: "I cannot understand if I see Savannah in the second picture because I am aware you are posting it from Tanzania".

I had another occasion to witness the white conception of not better specified "African" landscape in white people, during a brief lecture by Professor Moyo (my Erasmus Supervisor, lecturer at Nelson Mandela University in Arusha) held in Arusha for undergraduate students from the United States, visiting for few weeks Rwanda and Tanzania as part of their Peace-making and Political studies bachelor course. Professor Moyo asked them to draw or write the first thing the students would associate with one of the two countries they visited. For 6 out of 8 students, the image or the words immediately associated referred to exclusively natural elements (trees, mountains, or animals) with no reference to the anthropic component. Professor Moyo used the exercise to highlight before students' eyes their biased conception, their geographical categorization, and consequently to give them a direct experience of the bias behind conservation policy-making and the conflicts it creates: these policies when elaborated for the African context reflect the imaginary where human land uses are not taken into account, are not part of an equation were human and nature co-exist. Conservation policies rather focus on the "creation" of "isles" of "wild nature" neglecting human land uses and fostering conflicts.

Another example from our area of study (Tanzania Northern Circuit) is reported in Gardner's book (2016), where he talks about a U.S.–based tourism company that purchased a former barley farm in the middle of three Maasai villages not far from Serengeti National Park, to establish a nature refuge and promote ecotourism. The company met considerable resistance from Maasai residents, who claimed that it had received the land illegally and that the nature refuge would dispossess them of essential grazing land. In a promotional video made by the

company in 2012, the owners of Thomson Safaris describe their project to prospective clients and supporters, almost exclusively international (likely white) tourists. Unfortunately, it is missing from the video the fact that the company gained access to that land by purchasing a lease agreement for $1.2 million and that the community was against it. It is very interesting to see how the ecotourism code, register, and narrative in the promotional video completely overlooked how land rights were allocated to the investor at the expense of the local community. Instead, the video justified the ecotourism/conservation project invoking a universal claim that ownership of African nature is granted to those who can best take care of the land. Implicit in this narrative is the commonsense idea that the primary value of this land, in the general vicinity of the Serengeti, is for conservation (Garnder, 2016), and because of that, a white man is legitimated in imposing his own will and vision on that land.

It is interesting how in this case as well, appealing to universally good but very vague values and concepts can hide oppressive goals and a colonial mindset, as we mentioned before about the widespread -although scarcely defined- concept of participation. Indeed, Gardner quotes the manager of Thomspon Safari, when he refers to the fact that the company borrowed the land from our future children, that the company does not own the land, it only preserves such land for the future of all humankind; doing the best the company can do to preserve it: tourism. What is even more interesting than that, is that when the author showed such footage to his graduate students in the United States, they agreed with the statements in the video! The video and the student's reactions convey and reinforce the message that the ideas and interests of a relatively small group of people represent the common understanding of African nature and justify the fact should be preserved for all of "mankind."

Likely, the philanthropic-oriented company from the United States that wants to use its economic power to promote conservation, tourism, and community empowerment in Africa was seen by the students to deliver the promise of development that many students wanted to help foster themselves. What is worth noting in this type of colonial narrative is the standpoint of who is producing such narrative: Thompson Safari and its management are conveying a message like it is coming from the whole of humankind, rather than from their own historically situated position, with all its specific ideas, values, and interests (white wealthy man).

Furthermore, the video conveys the philanthropic goal of the business, and the benefits for the local community, namely to "show" to the community how conservation can be a resource to them, depicting how the real long-term benefits of ecotourism materialize when the community and the company come together to use tourism to their mutual advantage(Gardner, 2016).

These examples help to understand how at the visual and narrative level the representation of these places, landscapes, and their value is derived from the dominant discourses of Western conservation and the unquestioned role of well-meaning foreigners in preserving, protecting, and creating new value out of African nature. Such understandings, and meanings of nature, wilderness, preservation, and value (a marketable, touristic one) lie at the heart of political ecology and geography questions about the northern circuit of Tanzania, its world-famous national parks, and the communities that still live in the shadow of the idea of these places, an idea that is elaborated somewhere else and imposed there.

3.2 Shifting paradigms

Beinart and McGragor (2003) summarize the paradigm shift in the history of African environmental management. The old (colonial) paradigm had a view of the natural environment as a resource wholly available for human consumption, so management of it was geared toward control and intensive exploitation. Then the view changed and began to consider the preciousness of African habitats and the need for their protection. In particular, we will see how fortress conservation had started making room for community-based policies to pursue two (neoliberal) goals: the human (market-based) development, and the conservation of wildlife species and their habitats (to be capitalized on the markets as tourist resources, to benefit communities and offer an incentive for conservation)

Chronologically, environmental conservation in African states started with the establishment of hunting reserves. Hunting represented, on the one hand, a means of subsistence and an indispensable rite of passage for the locals and, on the other, the colonizers' pastime. The colonizers' attempt to impose control over the game created tensions with local hunters, but hunting became the "primary concern of the British Empire," and in the latter part of the nineteenth century several game reserves were established. In the early twentieth century, scientific

interest in botany, zoology, and the natural sciences created concerns about the extinction of some endangered species, and this gave further impetus to conservation and led to the signing of the "Convention on the Protection of Animals, Birds and Wild Fish of Africa" by European countries with colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa. Then in the 1920s, with the rise of ecology, the paradigm changed again and the interest in protecting and conserving no longer turned to individual species but to entire natural habitats. It is symptomatic that forests or marine habitats remained excluded from the protection process for a long time, compared to the savannah, the habitat of the large mammals that the colonizers hunted (Beinart and McGragor, 2003; Dansero et al, 2013; Child, 2012Gardener, 2016; Kiffner et al, 2022).

In the 1940s, aligning with the American management model, game reserves would be renamed National Parks. What followed, especially in South Africa and Namibia, was that the reserves became bastions of white settlers practicing wildlife tourism, which was not practiced by the local people. As international tourism increased, reserves became a symbol of the subjugation of local will to national and international interests, particularly when looking at the distribution of costs and benefits related to tourism in protected areas. The price for species conservation was that these areas were made uninhabited so that Europeans could realize their imagination of Africa as an earthly paradise (Beinart and McGragor, 2003; Child, 2012).

This process was not uniform: in East Africa, the lands designated for preservation were of little agricultural interest, sparsely inhabited by humans, and of customary indigenous ownership (lands commonly exploited by indigenous people, over which, however, they have no effective title were included in game reserves or protection schemes promoted by the governments); in Southern Africa, on the other hand, areas rich in wildlife species were made privately owned. The greatest conflicts arose because of forced displacements of human groups by governments from reserves to waterless areas (Beinart and McGragor, 2003).

This wilderness management model is known as protectionism or fortress conservation (or also "fence and fines") and was based on the belief that local populations were the greatest threat to environments and animal species. This involved intensive demarcation of high-value areas, which were then placed under state authority, minimizing the impact of human communities even resorting to the use of force, imposing forced relocations, and, under the justification of resource

protection, ignoring all local demands for property rights to customary lands. This cost the people the loss of land and livelihoods, as well as a certain dislike for environmental protection measures and authorities, which expressed in resistance or boycotting actions, against parks authorities and wildlife. While the well-paid safeguard patrols of southern countries at least facilitated the protection of large mammals; this was not the case in East African countries, where numbers plummeted due to ivory trafficking and poaching, especially in the 80's-90's. Fortress conservation had failed both in terms of human development and conservation of biodiversity, but in those years, conservationists from the Global North gained so much support, and fortress conservation gained momentum: white people had to save endangered wildlife. Elephants were disappearing and it was the duty of the white people to rescue them (Beinart and McGragor, 2003; Mbaria & Ogada,2016)

Environmental conservation expressed in the colonial-derived fortress model also brings with it the imposition of a certain kind of landscape, a certain kind of nature, as we said before. Such ontology of nature is Eurocentrically derived and imposed on Global South countries in a colonial manner. Such colonialist imposition is evident in the glorification of the white hero savior of wildlife and the representation of black people either as poachers or as unaware individuals who need to be sensitized about wildlife; in concepts of wilderness and pristine landscape, that overlook, not to say neglect the human component in the landscape and in the territory (not only in the form of human livelihoods and rural/forestry practices but also in terms of local/indigenous knowledge), almost denying local communities contribution to the local environment and current landscape (In particular see Gardner, 2016, Mbaria & Ogada,2016; and Bluwstein, 2018, Neumann 2003; Denevan, 2011; Neumann 1998.

This model of conservation is therefore imposed on communities, leading to several systematic conflicts. A dynamic of neo-colonial oppression is therefore advanced by conservation agenda, especially through the powerful conservation NGOs and the donors that fuel such agenda imposed on Global South communities (see Kiffner 2022 and Mbaria & Ogada,2016), In the specific case of Tanzania, the independent post-colonial government intensified colonial efforts to create national parks, dispossessing peasants and pastoralists in the name of wildlife preservation. Indigenous groups, and in particular pastoralists, lost access to large territories

112

integral to their system of migratory seasonal grazing, known as transhumance or pastoralism. Along with their assault on pastoral lands, government officials and development experts also attempted to change the Maasai and other pastoralists into ranchers with clear private- property rights. As Neumann (1998) has shown, the state has used the commonsense idea of biodiversity as a universal value to exclude local claims and assert its territorial and political control over its subjects. Scholars like Rod Neumann (1998), and Brockington and James Igoe (2006), have documented how the creation of parks and protected areas was commonly used to dispossess rural land users and enclose communal land for nature preservation and national development. Such scholarship has made the connection between demarcating lands for conservation and securing the foundations of modern nation-states around the globe. This is especially true in eastern and southern Africa (Gardner, 2016). In the past, states like Tanzania have justified evictions in the name of protecting African wildlife and wilderness as a world heritage and the basic duty of a modern nation-state.

Neoliberal reforms starting in the late 1980s took hold in a context also shaped by concerns about the coercive history of centralized conservation. Policymakers, international donors and organizations, and a few interested experts began searching for new approaches to conservation that combined poverty reduction, social justice concerns, and new ideas for the sustainable management of biodiversity. This new approach includes actively incorporating local people into conservation, and it gained influence and legitimacy in the early 1990s. Schemes that embraced these goals went by various names, including integrated conservation and development projects, community-based conservation (protected Areas), and community-based natural resource management (Gardner, 2016). However, the deep critic is moved to CBC in Tanzania is expressed in Nelson (2007); Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Moyo et al, 2017; Benjaminsen, 2013; in Kicheleri, 2021. All these authors conclude that community-based protection schemes are only theoretically advancing a pro-community policy. Truth is that such protection schemes are on the contrary favoring the re-centralization of resources and benefits from such resources (wildlife and tourism natural resources) in the form of a new grabbing, that Benjaminsen and Bryceson (2012) called green grabbing, in the case of terrestrial protected areas, and blue grabbing in case of marine protected areas. Drawing on such arguments, we have previously argued

that community participation, the goal that community-based policies supposedly should aim for, is a weak concept, easy to deceive already in the policy design stage (see for instance Kicheleri 2021) and this is why we support Local community movements advancing self-determination instances.

To conclude, a counter-narrative of conservation policies as well as of the action perpetrated by big international environmental organizations is being advanced by scholars and more importantly by Indigenous Movements and International Organizations that advocate for Indigenous rights, such as Survival International and its "Decolonize Conservation" global campaign. Authors such as Mbaria and Olgda in their "The big conservation Lie" advance "very unpopular opinions" on otherwise universally positive conservation institutions (such as WWF, AWF, but also the IUCN and UNESCO as in Currier and Mittal 2021 and Oakland Institute, 2022) revealing how their interests to promote conservation is so strong, that may get to the point of neglecting communities' rights, condescending to evictions and dispossessions justified by the only fact that the local governments decided for that kind of coercive interventions, forgetting to mention, however, that governments are compelled to act that way because of the environmentalist agenda set by those same organizations (Survival International, 2022; PINGOS forum et al., (2013); Mbaria&Olgada, 2016; Bluwstein t al., 2016; Adams and Mulligan, 2012)

3.3 People-parks conflicts in Tanzania and the imposition of conservation:

The explicative example of Maasai of Ngorongoro Conservation Area

Since the 1950s many game reserves and conservation areas were established in what is the ancestral Maasailand, namely that land extending from central Kenya to central Tanzania where Maasai pastoralists settled after their huge migration across Africa (from Southern Egypt to East Africa) in XV-XVI century. In 1959, the Ngorongoro (that in Maa language means round, or hole, named after the big caldera that characterizes it) Conservation Area Authority and Serengeti (in Maa language meaning Endless Plain) National Park were institutionalized. TANAPA and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority were set up as parastatal organizations entitled to the management of the protected areas,

under the supervision of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) (TANAPA Website, NCAA Website). The areas are contiguous. Serengeti NP won in 2019, 2020, 2021, and 22 Africa's Leading National Park Award by World Travel Awards (World Travel Awards Website); Ngorongoro CA is vested with several UNESCO heritage recognitions of Outstanding Universal Value. Ngorongoro, Serengeti, and Maasai Mara National Park (Kenya) are part and parcel of the wider Serengeti-Mara Ecosystem. The Ecosystem is home to a range of endangered species, such as the Black Rhino, Wild hunting dog, and Golden Cat, and more than 500 species of birds. Between the Ngorongoro area, Maasai Mara, and Serengeti, every year the largest animal migrations on earth occur, involving over 1 million wildebeest, 72,000 zebras, and c.350,000 Thompson and Grant gazelles (whc.unesco.org/en/list/39). Ngorongoro's perimeter includes the spectacular Crater, the world's largest caldera, and the Olduvai Gorge deep ravine. The site has global importance for biodiversity conservation due to the presence of globally threatened species, due to the highest density of mammalian predators in Africa, as long as the highest density of lion population (NCAA Website).

The Serengeti-Ngorongoro area has been recognized as a wildlife area since the beginning of the XX century. Since the German rule, legislation to protect its wildlife was drafted although it was never enacted. During the First World War and with the beginning of British rule, hunting, and wildlife conservation have become the dominant interests to be protected within the area. The first wildlife conservation legislation was the Game Preservation Ordinance introduced by the British in 1921. In 1928, the Ngorongoro Crater was declared a Closed Reserve. All hunting and agriculture in the reserve were forbidden by law. However, hunting for sport was allowed and an Advisory Board was set up to monitor the hunting activity on behalf of the British. In 1959, Serengeti and Ngorongoro officially split into two different protected areas. Conflicts became more and more consistent under British rule, especially in the 1930s and 40s, because the Brits were interested in game resources for hunting, even though that was Maasai land. Especially in the area of Serengeti which became enclosed to communities, after becoming the National Parks we know today. Maasai decided to give the British a portion of land within Maasai Mara which in Maa, means border, the border between the British and Maasai) and Serengeti. Colonial officers convinced Maasai

leaders to exchange all rights to the Serengeti plains, in exchange for secure access to the Ngorongoro highlands and crater. They agreed also because British men offered them veterinary expertise and medicines, and they also started providing roads and infrastructures to the Maasai community. Indeed, when Gardner (2016) was told the story of the creation of the Serengeti he was told: "There was a German man who wanted to keep lions. He asked Maasai elders if they would give him some land to keep his lions. They agreed and gave him some land near an area east of Ololosokwan village called Lobo. When a group of elders went to visit the man, they discovered that he had taken more land for his lions. Each time the elders went to visit him, he expanded the area for his lions. Eventually, the government used this as an excuse to create Serengeti National Park" (Gardner, 2016:38). The greater part of them occupied what today constitutes the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, although some of them were living in the Western Serengeti, the present-day Serengeti National Park. Since 1959 pastoralists *have been confined within* the Ngorongoro Conservation Area.

In pre-colonial times, the Maasai indeed controlled a vast area of land from central Kenya to central Tanzania. However, towards the end of the XX century, they owned less than two-thirds of their former (ancestral) territory. Colonial land policies in Kenya and Tanganyika favored white settlers and smallholder farming, discriminating and neglecting traditional nomadic pastoralists, their land uses, and land rights. Rural development policies in Tanzania meant - and still mean-*modernization*. Rural development among pastoralists means forced decentralization and the shift from extensive pastoralism to mixed farming (Århem, 1985; Walwa 2020).

At the beginning of the independence era (mid-60s), land acquisitions, evictions, and compensation were the main tools to deal with issues generated by rural and land policies during the independence and Ujamaa era (mid-60s to mid-80s) in Tanzania. Not much changed between the colonial land policy and new national land policies, in terms of consequences for pastoralists and rural communities. Both colonial and national police heavily affected their access to land and resources. Competition for land between pastoralists and cultivators hardened and massive encroachments in traditional pasture lands by farmers continued. The villagization program started in the 70's. Villagization was implemented to resettle entire communities from their original land to newly arranged

nucleated settlements, called agricultural or livestock development villages. The Maasai accepted the villagization programme hoping the new policy would give them secure rights of occupancy in their land.

However, since the 70s, pastoralists have been experiencing a steady shrinkage of their grazing land, even though by 1975 a new Conservation Ordinance came into effect and the compromise between exclusive preservation and human development prevailed over exclusive conservationism. In Ngorongoro the Maasai community could live and graze, Ngorongoro became an example of a renovated model of environmental conservation, paving the way for a peaceful long-lasting relationship with the hosting Maasai community, as opposed to the neighboring Serengeti that excluded the community, fostering conflicts and resentment towards wildlife conservation and game hunting (Roger, 2009). The recently instituted Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority not only had to preserve the natural resources of the area, but also safeguard and promote the interests of the Maasai citizens engaged in cattle grazing and small dairy industry in the area. The multiple land use is assured by zonation, and NCA operates under a General Management Plan (the latest being the 2018-2028 GMP) (IUCN, 2020; Rogers, 2009; NCAA Website). This is the same instrument employed in community-based protected areas known as Wildlife Management Areas, where community livelihoods coexist with wildlife conservation in specific assigned zones (see paragraph 2.8)

For the most part, the Maasai living inside Ngorongoro CA have been spared the worst consequences of the process of land enclosure, although Maasai communities not living within CA were harshly affected. However, conflicts arising from the shrinkage of accessible pastureland are visible also within the CA. Prime grazing areas in the Conservation became closed to grazing and settlement. Losing access to the Crater area, as occurred in the late 1970s, meant the loss of important water sources and pastureland crucial in the dry season. The shrinkage of the pastoral resource base created resentment among the pastoralists towards the Conservation Authority. Furthermore, agriculture was prohibited within NCA, in the 70's jeopardizing Maasai's already vulnerable subsistence economy (Århem, 1985). NCAA started a program of food provision and health and veterinary assistance within the reserve to support the community

and fulfill its mission[11]. In the last decades, the population rose and the livestock population rose as well, and today there one million livestock units (these figures are provided by NCAA in its informative footage, recently shared on NCAA Facebook page in 2022, to raise awareness of the worrying scenario of demographic growth within NCA, as a legitimization of the upcoming relocation operations) and around 100 thousand residents (while in 1959 the Maasai population in Ngorongoro was around 8000[12] people).

Against this backdrop, new sedentary settlements are being built in the Tanga region (northern Indian Ocean Coast) for those Maasai from Ngorongoro willing to move there. The demographic data underpinning the instances of relocation reported by the NCAA on the Facebook video are consistent with those provided by UNESCO on their website. Announced in the spring of 2021, the government started a relocation program for over 80 thousand Maasai residents, defined voluntarily by government institutions. However, rights monitoring organizations and local movements are reporting that what is occurring is a violent, military-enforced eviction at the expense of the Maasai community (The Oakland Institute and Legal and Human Rights Centre among others- see The Oakland Institute, 2022).

A response to eviction allegations was sought on NCAA institutional communication channels. Not many of these channels are currently working or in use (only the Facebook profile appeared updated, while the Twitter account, of which a link was provided on the NCAA official website, is no longer functioning). An institutional video on the NCAA Facebook page was found, speaking of the ongoing challenges faced by the Maasai community. The video says that despite for over a century Tanzania pastoralists and hunters and gathers communities have shared the famous NCA with wildlife, their exploding population now poses a threat to their co-existence. Demographic growth is deemed the factor behind worsening life conditions, due to decreasing resources. Noteworthy in this regard are the very recent (March 2022) allegations by the Oakland Institute that such

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[11] Interview of the Author with NCA Authority Cultural Officer, Mr. Andrew Lowassa (Arusha, 2019)

[12] Figures provided by NCAA Senior Cultural Heritage Officer Mr. Andrew Lowassa, interviewed by the author in Arusha in 2019.

violent displacement was asked by UNESCO[13]. The human rights organization Oakland Institute argues this since following a joint monitoring mission from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) called for action to urgently control population growth in the NCA, the Tanzanian government responded by producing an MLUM and resettlement plan that will expand the Conservation Area into Loliondo Game reserve while evicting tens of thousands of residents (Currier and Mittal, 2021).

In this regard, on the UNESCO website (News Section, 21 March 2022), it is possible to read the following statement: "Regarding the displacement of the Maasai people in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area World Heritage property, UNESCO wishes to recall that neither the World Heritage Committee – the intergovernmental body of 21 elected States governing the Convention – nor UNESCO Secretariat have at any time asked for the displacement of the Maasai people". The international organization doesn't comment any further, except for the supportive acknowledgment expressed in the 2021 Committee Decision 44 COM 7B.171 on the challenges faced by the Maasai community due to demographic growth and poor living conditions and UNESCO's readiness to offer technical support, repeating its "proposal to dispatch an advisory mission to support the ongoing dialogue with the relevant stakeholders and rights holders" (UNESCO Website, News Section, 21 March 2022).

Likewise, in the video on the NCAA Facebook page, Tanzania's president holds a speech when it stresses how the government has at heart the interest of its citizens for better quality of life, access to land, proper education alternative livelihoods, liberty, and security. However, the speech continues, that Ngorongoro is critical for tourism in the Arusha region, and it would be impossible to listen to the community instances asking to abolish the conservation area and that the government concorded a voluntary relocation plan. The video says that 500 thousand ha of land has been already allocated to the relocation scheme for Ngorongoro pastoralists. The land is going to host human settlements, agricultural and grazing land, social, community, and health services, along with schools and education centers. The government is committed to a comprehensive relocation

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[13] See Currier and Mittal (2021)

plan, which will cover compensation in line with country laws and regulations on settlements. The government- continues the institutional video is sensitive to the culture and human rights of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers and is committed to minimizing the destruction of their lifestyles. However, without this intervention, Ngorongoro could not perform the conservation of the environment and wildlife and the welfare of its people, and the conservation area would be lost (Razzano, 2023).

Comments under the NCAA video posted on Facebook reflect how controversial the topic is. Many users, some of them identifying as Maasai, claim their rights on their ancestral land, claiming that they are going nowhere. Other users speak of the propagandistic use of demographic growth within the area, reporting the huge growth of tourism revenues around NCA, reporting the hotels and the traffic disturbing wildlife. Other users are just asking for evictions to stop. The Tanga Regional Commissioner visited the village in Handeni (Tanga region, on the northern coast of Eastern Tanzania), where houses for pastoralists are being built in 2022 as shown in the cited video. The video was posted on NCAA FB (9th April 2022). He assured that the government plan is not to prevent pastoralists from living in Ngorongoro but rather to create a conducive environment for those willing to be relocated. A second clip shows Ambassador Dr. Pindi Chana, MP and member of the ruling CCM party, reassuring the population that the program wants to provide schools, infrastructures, and health services and that at least 100 houses are complete. Phase I is about to be completed and the Phase II will follow when toilets and water facilities will be constructed. Another video (posted on 25th April 2022) shows school buildings ready in the Handeni area for those pastoralists willing to leave Ngorongoro and relocate. The analysis of the content of Ngorongoro CA social media and website is found in Razzano (2023).

According to Andy Currier and Anuradha Mittal (2021) study for Oakland Institute, the plan is to evict over 80,000 residents — mostly Indigenous Maasai from their land, further restrict the livelihoods of those remaining, and destroy buildings in Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). The NEW MLUM would expand the size of the NCA from 8,100 km2 to 12,083 km2 by including contested areas from Loliondo Game Controlled Area, and Lake Natron. The plan divides the NCA into four zones, creating new restricted areas where the Maasai are

denied access to housing, livestock grazing, and crop cultivation, in addition to recommending the abandonment of nine settlements — despite opposition from Indigenous residents.

Is Oakland Institute's argument that the international conservation agency UNESCO played a role in advancing the current eviction plans, denouncing patrimonialism interests in the expansion of the conservation area at the expense of local communities? Andy Currier and Anuradha Mittal's study debunks the myth of rising population, used to justify the removal of the Maasai from their land, and reveals how this plan was created without consideration of the needs of Indigenous residents. Current evictions are not about ensuring conservation, but about expanding tourism revenues within the World Heritage Site. Indeed, the number of annual tourists increased from 20,000 in 1979 to 644,155 in 2018, making NCA one of the most intensively visited conservation areas in Africa. The MLUM plan explicitly mentions the financial stakes admitting that by "maintaining the status quo or leaving the NCA to Indigenous pastoralists, the government would lose 50 percent of expected revenue by 2038." (Currier and Anuradha Mittal 2021; Mittal and Fraser, 2018). Furthermore, in 2022, Oakland Institute released a new study (The Oakland Institute, 2022) conducted at two relocation sites — Handeni district and Simanjiro district — and revealed that the sites lack adequate water resources and grazing land while promises of improved social and health services by the government remain unfulfilled. Additionally, the report exposes the failure of the Tanzanian government to comprehensively consult the Msomera and Kitwai hosting communities before deciding to relocate Ngorongoro residents into their villages (IWGIA Website; The Oakland Institute, 2022).

Another institutional condemnation that what is occurring to Maasai people in the Loliondo and Ngorongoro area is a threat of forced eviction is advanced by the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs. Despite non-recognizing the responsibility of the UN organizations (as claimed by Oakland Institute), IWGIA acknowledges that the evictions are caused by the expansion of the Conservation Area, which in turn will lead to forbidden grazing activities and enhanced tourism and hunting activities (IWGIA Website)

Paradoxically, the conflictual and controversial land and resource access situation largely has been created by national rural development and environmental policies that reiterated conflictual land and resource access

dynamics, just like colonial-time policies. State intervention and land alienation, initially done for rural development purposes, such as ranches, wheat schemes, and smallholder farm development, are now done to meet sustainability goals. In the last decades (from the mid-80s until today) this new form of land alienation has played an increasingly important role in national development strategies, and it has had a profound impact on the pastoral societies in the region, for the creation and expansion of wildlife reserves and conservation areas. Unfortunately, foreign and private investment dynamics feed the patronage and accumulative rent-seeking interests of political elites which in turn results in community land dispossession or *voluntary* relocation programs. The use of violence and coercion is reported in land disputes and resettlement operations involving Maasai, even those living inside or near both Ngorongoro CA and Serengeti NP (Århem 1985; Razzano, 2023; Currier and Mittal 2021; Oakland Institute,2022).

Wahagga people and conflicts over access to resources on Mt. Kilimanjaroù

Just like for other tribes, their livelihoods are usually blamed for the environmental degradation of the area which became increasingly inaccessible due to the establishment of Kilimanjaro National Park, They have a long story of conflict with conservationists and the state, which tend to disregard their relationship with the land, while conveying a narrative of Chagga people as unable to understand the necessity of preserving the Kilimanjaro. The vicious circle of demographic growth, poverty, and environmental degradation is thus commonly employed to justify national regulation programs to hinder community access to resources, but it may be easily instrumentalized according to some critical scholars (Tiffen et al., 1994; Mathieu, 1998; Lee et al., 2001; Sébastien; 2010)

Shrinking natural resources, among which water, on the Kilimanjaro Mountain is among the primary threats to the group. To address that, Mount Kilimanjaro was classified as a natural reserve in 1921, a National Park in 1973, and a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1989. Chagga communities are tolerated on a 'half-mile strip' of the forest reserve, a sort of buffer area along the slopes, between the lower altitude and the higher altitude where the National Park is located, which is the only area where they are allowed to collect fallen branches for firewood. The expansion of the conservation site, combined with local

population growth has created a condition of land scarcity for the Chagga people. On the mountain slopes, they see access to resources ongoingly reduced, with increasing limitations not only to agriculture but also to wood collection. Due to all these direct limitations, and the conflicts with KINAPA authority, the state, and conservationists, they experience isolation and marginalization (Sébastien, 2010). Nonetheless, the old Chagga agroforestry system has characterized one of the most productive areas of agriculture in Tanzania. Its multicultural combination of trees, vegetables, and beans achieves sustainable resource management and enhances food production. However, due to low crop prices and lack of water, traditional agroforestry is gradually disappearing, in favor of a much less sustainable monocultural farming system, encouraged by post-independence rural development policies of the government. This system destroys crop diversity, and exacerbates soil erosion (Razzano et al, in press; Razzano et al, 2020; Sébastien, 2010).

Access to land for farming and wood resources from forests is threatened, and the current average land plot does not assure food security for the household. Indeed, the youths of the family migrate to urban areas, and only a few can stay in the shamba (the land devoted to agriculture as named by the Chagga people). Migration is modifying social structure in the household and the community at large. Regarding forest access, people in need of firewood face violence on a day-to-day basis from the guards of KINAPA, and access to the forest has become very dangerous for the community. Nonetheless, the community agrees on the need for the presence of the National Park to protect the environment (Sébastien, 2010).

Chagga people also developed a traditional system of gravity-fed irrigation canals (*mifongo*), dating back to the 17th century. These canals are important elements in the cultural and technological heritage of the Chagga, who for centuries have utilized these canals. Nonetheless, their access to water is being threatened by the state interventions of privatization of water and the construction of water taps. The National Water Policy is facing major resistance from part of the community, which is reluctant to apply for water rights. They believe that water is a gift from God, it cannot be owned by an enterprise, and it must be governed by the principles of common property management. Water conflicts also deployed

between upstream and downstream users; between the rich and the poor members of the community; between community users and enterprises such as Kiliwater, which installed costly tap water systems in villages; between users and water authorities about bad management; and between users and village officers about corruption (Sébastien, 2010).

The Chagga people are characterized by a profound bond with the land, which they refuse to abandon, a unique ecological awareness, and traditional knowledge (UNCCD Website; Sébastien, 2010). The attachment is based on cultural, social, and symbolic values as well as on survival instinct, and they willingly engage in conservation, despite a negative narrative about their impact on the environment not stop from spreading. Their survival depends directly on the hydro system and high-altitude forests. Besides, agroforestry techniques and social management of irrigation canals demonstrated a sustainable system, but this situation is deteriorating. After the creation of the National Park managed by KINAPA and the half-mile strip managed by district councils, the Chagga have been dispossessed of their responsibility for the area, and they suffer a shrunk livelihood resource base. Consequently, the Chagga feel that they have no more power on the slopes, they feel marginalized and unheard. Mount Kilimanjaro, which has been Chagga land for centuries, is slipping gradually out of their control. The institution of the National Park has *defacto* criminalized access on behalf of the local community while assuring it to tourists (Sébastien, 2010).

Conservation interventions overlook the value of traditional resource management systems and generate conflicts, they modify the human-nature relationship, threatening the carefully adapted system of resource management, and potentially exacerbating environmental degradation. Chagga people have been wrongly accused by other stakeholders of the overall degradation of the ecosystem. Nonetheless, the local communities have shown to be willing to compromise to protect their resources, and they willingly participate in conservation initiatives.

Wameru and Warusha people and the conflicts with ecotourism and conservation

The Wameru and Wamru knew a lively internal debate about politics during colonial and post-colonial times, and their leaders held relevant positions within the

colonial authority and post-independence rule. Their progressive leaders early joined the liberation movement in the '60s, and they historically fought for the protection of their customary land rights. A well-known precedent from 1951 known as the 'The Meru Land Case' saw a conflict between the colonial authorities and the Meru people, as the result of the illegal eviction of 3,000 farmers from their ancestral lands in the area Engare Nanyuki (the traditional settlement area of Wameru people), and the consequent transfer of these fertile lands to European farmers. Although the protest at the tribal level yielded no results, Meru did not resign, and they sent a representative to the UN, where the case of infringement of the rights of the indigenous people was considered. The UN recognized that the British colonial authorities acted illegally and issued the resolution in favor of Meru. The British tried to ignore the UN resolution, but the community did not give up and kept advocating for the land case among the exponents of the recently born independence movement, among which there was Julius Nyerere (Butovskaya et al, 2016).

The story of land conflicts was not limited to the Meru Land case, but the Meru and Warusha communities engaged in conflicts with conservation since the early settlements of Germans and British rulers on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the related establishment of game reserves first, and of the forest reserve after. In the beginning, the community witnessed a reduction in access to building materials, which was limited, regulated, and then prohibited. Then, with the overlap of the game and forest reserve, all settlement, cultivation, and hunting were outlawed. By the 1940s, the scarcity of arable land threatened community livelihoods, given the alienations of Meru and Warusha lands in favor of European farms and forest and game reserves. Perhaps the most threatened practice was livestock grazing since white the settlers denied the Meru passage through the estates with their cattle. Tensions and malcontent exacerbated, violence escalated, and people started trespassing and encroaching. This culminated in the 1951 eviction of 300 people and the aforementioned Meru Land case (Neumann, 1992; Butovskaya et al, 2016). As the decades passed, there was a progressive tightening of the control over wildlife resources on the mountain- at the expense of Wameru and Warusha customary rights. This culminated in the most restrictive land use designation, the Arusha National Park (1960s). Customary rights were completely overlooked and

disregarded under the colonial regime first and eliminated by the post-colonial government after.

Particularly conflictual was the reduction of access rights in favor of beekeepers. Being the colonial authority scared of beekeepers' use of fire to collect honey, and the associated destruction of the forest (and of the habitat of big game), a colonial forest reserve ordinance outlawed honey collection and the Forest Conservator denied access for this purpose. Nonetheless, this disposition had shortcomings, because beekeepers were famously very careful with fire, and it was scarcely viable to enforce fines against such an ancient practice. Therefore, the solution came with the distinction between beekeepers and honey-hunters-the latter being portrayed as nomadic and irresponsible. After a series of wildfires on Mt. Meru in 1937 and 1938 blamed on honey-hunters, the government ultimately prohibited access to the mountain without written permission, introduced the necessity of license for beekeepers, criminalizing the traditional practice and customary access to the area, and the movements of traditional beekeepers were increasingly restricted. The new regulation introduced the need for a ranger to escort the beekeepers, but rangers were commonly unavailable, and the regulation made access to beekeeping almost impossible. In 1976, a centuries-old practice on Mt. Meru ended when they were told to remove all their hives from the park (Neumann, 1992).

The same limitation occurred to wood collection rights when control over resource access shifted to the state level. In the 60s, and 70's Arusha National Park expanded. The alienations of land in favor of white settlers and game reserves initiated by the Germans nearly a century before continued, and shaped recent land use and settlement on Mt. Meru. Customary rights in the mountain's forests have been taken away step by step, rather than being eliminated wholesale. This led to more or less silent resistance on behalf of the local peasant community, in the forms of encroachment and even poaching, trying to reclaim or maintain customary rights. As state control and state interest in natural resources increased, local traditional resource management systems and customs became neglected. The farming and agropastoral community of Mt. Meru was largely excluded by the debate over resource conservation in Tanzania, and by the authority and control over critical resources while enduring the consequences of wildlife crop raids, which left the community with nothing but practicing resistance also in the form of boycott action

against conservation (Neumann, 1992). More recently, Dansero et al. (2013) reported ongoing conflicts between the farming community and Arusha National Park.

During my stay, I visited the Meru Forest Reserve, an ecotourism destination that offers a sort of buffer zone for conservation on the Meru slopes, easily accessible from the Arusha center, and managed by TFS, Tanzania Forestry Services Agency. The ecotourism scheme is highly controversial and contested by the local community, as it was reported to me during the visit. I spoke with a young villager who was working in the reserve as a tour guide. He told me that the community always managed tourism to the local waterfalls, and protected the indigenous forests while conducting traditional forestry activities, and practicing farming in the villages on the slopes. Today, TFS has entirely dispossessed the forest area, and it now manages tourists' access to the waterfalls, but it has always denied the request of local villagers to be formally employed as tour guides, de facto dispossessing local youths of a source of income from tourism. On top of that, the indigenous forest has been almost entirely replaced by fast-growing trees for timber making, and forestry rights were not given to villagers, but to outside investors who come with their staff and their machinery to cut trees and sell timbers in outside markets. Only a very residual occasional opportunity is left for villagers, to be employed by the timber enterprises in case of extra workload. As a sop for villagers who simultaneously lost tourism revenues as well as access rights to the forest, are given year-round farming rights on the recently cleared lands. When the enterprise comes and cuts all the trees, villagers can temporarily farm the clear area, and they are simultaneously demanded to re-plant the trees and take care of them until they grow thin and tall again. Not only did the forestry project destroy the invaluable indigenous forest, but it legitimized the dispossession of the area with the creation of the ecotourism project that does not benefit local villagers and created a bidding mechanism of access rights for farming, legitimizing what in practice is the dispossession of a further area of Meru Forest at the expenses of local villagers.

Washamba people and the conflicts in the Usumbara mountains

In the early years of colonialism, the Germans established a botanical garden in the Usumbra Mountains and started promoting agriculture, and the new administrative system was in competition with the traditional forest management practices that the Shambaa people developed over centuries of adaptation. When Tanganyika became a British colony, the rulers established multiple forest reserves and diffused tea plantations. The post-independence government highly centralized resource management. However, since the '90s, devolution reforms partially ceased control over forests to the local community (Rantala and Lyimo, 2012). At the end of the '90s, in the Usumbara mountains was established the Derma Ecological Corridor, dispossessed the Washambaa people, and promised compensation, nonetheless, the compensation payments were delayed greatly and were insufficient to ensure a secure livelihood and strengthened local wealth. Despite the ecological benefits of the Derema corridor being understood and appreciated by local farmers, participatory decision-making approaches to the conservation project of the Derema corridor were not assured, resulting in exclusion and marginalization and the further restriction of access rights of the community, and the neglection of customary of the villagers (Rantala and Lyimo, 2012).

In addition, local farming is usually framed by conservationists as a threat to local biodiversity and used to legitimize conservation interventions. The establishment of the Corridor resulted in the displacement of the local community, even if the area offered an important source of income and food from subsistence and spice crops, fuelwood, timber, and other forest products. Forest management today is conservation-oriented; many projects involve the local farming community which is willingly engaged today despite reluctance characterized by the beginning of the corridor establishment process. Nonetheless, the participatory and consultation process was very poorly implemented, and today the management of the corridor remains to a great extent exclusionary, creating resentment. Indeed, the expectation of receiving monetary compensation was an important reason why farmers agreed to the conservation plan, but the agreement was also influenced by a perceived lack of alternatives. For years, Shambaa farmers did not receive compensation information, despite their advocating with their representatives to many institutions. Major problems with compensation lasted until 2008, when the intervention of the World Bank and the WWF became necessary to assure

accountability and transparency from the government, before moving on with its additional conservation plans in the Derema Corridor.

Wapare people and the conflicts with Fortress conservation

The Pare community is one of the protagonists of the water conflicts over the Pangani water basin, whose water originates largely from rain falling on the mountains of Meru, Kilimanjaro, and Pare, and partly from snow melting from Kibo Peak (Mt. Kilimanjaro). The lowlands have reserves of underground water and springs, which are recharged by rain from the mountains. The Pangani Basin is the water source of a huge area, and multiple stakeholders compete for access. Being an agro-pastoral community, Pare people are scarcely empowered to determine their role within the exacerbated competition for water, compared to other powerful stakeholders (Mtalo, 2005; Mbonile, 2006; Mul et al., 2011; Mbeyale, 2010). In addition, the Para Mountains and the agropastoral Pare community witnessed major conflicts due to the enforcement and expansion of Mkomazi Game Reserve (MGR) and the consequent evictions of the local Pare community (together with the Maasai community, Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Wickama et al., 2005; Mustafa, 1997; Brockington, et al., 1994). Mkomazi derives its name from the Pare language; Mko" means a traditional tiny wooden spoon used by the Pare people for eating, and "Mazi" means water (Mkomazi National Park Website).

Mkomazi was gazetted as a Game Reserve by the British in 1951, and farming and hunting on behalf of the local population were forbidden, whereas Maasai pastoralists were initially granted access right for grazing because a less disturbing activity for wildlife, which sparked initial conflicts between farmers and pastoralists, each group defending its interests during and after the colonial period, while appealing to claims of indigenousness on behalf of the Pare community, as opposed to the Maasai, later migrants to the area (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Wickama et al., 2005; Mustafa, 1997; Brockington, et al., 1994). In the 60s, water shortage affected the area, because of climatic and institutional changes after independence, and the consequent breakdown of traditional and colonial resource management systems. Later, the building of water dams improved water availability in the reserve, at the expense of the local community. In general, natural resources were poorly managed, due to the disjointed management of the mountain

ecosystem and the lowlands on behalf of village governments and MGR, while the borders of the protected area were expanding and the new borders were never accepted by the local community who had settlements in the areas now inside the borders of the game reserve (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008). In the 70's, land scarcity was affecting the local livelihood of the agropastoral community, who negotiated access to grazelands and water points, as well as land for cultivation. The progressive reduction of accessible land on behalf of the community and the multiple government attempts to evict the local community, culminated in 1988 when all people were finally evicted from the Game reserve (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Wickama et al., 2005; Mustafa, 1997). The evictions were characterized by the use of police force, beatings, extortions, corruption on behalf of the Reserve staff, and harassment reported by the community (Mustafa, 1997).

In the 90s, the agropastoral community of Pare and the other communities facing eviction because of MGR faced huge livestock losses due to starvation, livestock dispossessions for those who encroached on the reserve to address livestock starvation, landlessness, and saw their life condition generally deteriorating. They fought marginalization and rights neglection, and they started uniting under social organizations to advocate for their rights, which resulted in the creation of a committee of representatives, that represented the link between the instances of the community and the state. Nonetheless, this campaign was not truly recognized by the government, despite the seriousness of instances of customary rights and the hardship of the living conditions in which the agropastoral community was plummeting (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Mustafa, 1997). Only after the mediating intervention of the bishop and the catholic Church institution, did the government start taking seriously the committee's arguments.

Two court actions were advanced to contend that the evictions were unconstitutional and illegal (respectively in 1994, and 1995). The actions were against the Minister of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment, the Wildlife Division, and the authority of Mkomazi Game Reserve. Unfortunately, the judicial process was affected by delays and did not proceed smoothly, while the international conservationist, pro-wildlife movement embarked on remarkable global campaigns of fund-raising to gain international support and endorsement for conservationists' instances to prevail in the future of Mkomazi (Mustafa, 1997). Conservationists' instances were fully endorsed by the government, while

agropastoral livelihoods were stigmatized as dangerous for wildlife and the ecosystem. The eviction was not paired with a rightful relocation and compensation plan, since the alternative locations were selected without a consultation process and local regional authority was against the relocation, and the right to fair compensation was poorly respected (Mustafa, 1997).

Simultaneously, a milestone research investigation by Brockington, Cox, and Homewood was conducted in MGR in 1996. Scholars concluded that during the peak years of pastoralists' presence in the land of MGR, the environment changed but not to the extent of land degradation or of endangerment of wildlife habitat. What the research efforts by Brockington and Homewood at the end of the 90s, and early 2000 wanted to highlight (Brockington & Homewood, 2001; Homewood &Brockington 1999; Brockington et al., 1996) was a generalized deficiency of data in support of the anti-community standpoint advanced in those years by conservationists who wanted Mkomazi to become exclusively for wildlife. The fortress conservation aspirations of international conservation and pro-wildlife movement, and the government found full realization when the Gamer Reserve was declared a National Park in 2008, under TANAPA authority (Mkomazi Wilderness Retreat Website)

Local livelihoods of the Pare are directly dependent on forest and mountain resources (firewood, charcoal, timber, honey, bush meat, etc.), which are largely located in the areas of the Pare Mountains inaccessible because within the National Park (Mustafa, 1997). The conservation scheme led to the poverty of livelihoods, and most concerningly to ethnic and other inter- and intra-community conflicts (that even resulted in killings). An additional threat to the Pare agro-pastoral livelihoods is identified in the expanding presence of investors in agriculture, tourism, and hunting, which directly threat land access (Mustafa, 1997; Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; IWGIA, 2016). Furthermore, the community became exhausted by the ongoing conflict with wildlife, which approached the villages for water during the dry season. Against this backdrop, Mkomazi National Park continued expanding its borders in village lands to include the water points used by wild animals to drink (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008). This exacerbated local problems such as farmers-herders conflicts, land scarcity, and wildlife–community conflicts. In response to that, the local community has been encroaching and committing other violations of conservation measures to address the scarcity of livelihood and loss of income

sources, whereas ecotourism is not benefiting the community, and compensation mechanisms for wildlife damages are not enforced (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Mustafa, 1997)

This situation has led to resentment against conservation, and compared to other areas, it has been more difficult to engage the community in conservation due to how forcibly the conservation area was imposed displacing the community (Wickama et al., 2005; Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008). IIED realized a historical overview of the conflicts between Mkomazi National Park (Mustafa, 1997), and the community and its most poignant argument is that the conservation interventions that often gather unreflexively global support end with evictions and the general impoverishment of IPLCS, and the neglection of their rights to decent living conditions and the right to free movement and settlement (Mustafa, 1997). For the government, and the conservationists the eviction of the local community was necessary, and therefore the making of the National Park in 2008 represented the ultimate victory, whereas the local community saw Mkomazi as the enemy, and considered the Pare Mountains and surrounding areas their ancestral home, on which they hold customary rights. Against this backdrop, a growing body of literature stemmed from the harshest years of Mkomazi history, when studies were conducted to point out the weakness of the evidence in support of the fortress conservation argument, while local and international organizations advocated for the rights of the local community instead of international law and the principles of respect of basic human rights.

4. LOCAL AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES (Indigenous People and Local Communities IPLCs)

Our premise is that terms such as local, and indigenous community are going to be used alternatively, meaning the same thing. In the specific case of this study, the unit of analysis in indeed the community of farmers and pastoralists that live in the villages investigated, which is a community ascribed within the boundaries of local administration (i.e. the village, hence local community), made up of individuals of ethnic groups that traditionally engage in small-scale farming and pastoralism, that were occupying the area investigated long before colonialism and who perpetrated traditional rural livelihood up to date (i.e. indigenous people).

The conceptualization of indigenous people and local communities as one community, with aligned interests and common valuable contribution to the advancement of sustainable development, is common in ecology, governance of natural resources, land rights, and sustainability transition literature, that indeed employs the acronym IPLCs to identify these communities as one. (see for instance: Vierros et al., 2020; Reyes-Gracìa, 2022ab; Franco-Morales et al., 2021; Cariño and Ferrari, 2021). Labels and categories can help to visualize the complexity, however, the leitmotif of the whole conceptual framework of this study is the overcoming of certain distinctions, that do not help the understanding of reality. In this sense, we embrace the conceptualization of ILPCS as a whole, because it helps the understanding of the effects of protection schemes on rural livelihoods broadly intended. Individual and group identity moves fluidly and adapts between categories and labels and in this sense, "community" is considered as a less prescriptive label, that allows one to overcome differentiations, and to focus on collective goals. Indeed, we deem useful and powerful the instances from indigenous communities (such as self-determination) as well as food producers' (small farmers, fishers, and livestock keepers) instances such as those gathered within movements of Latina American peasants demanding sovereignty over productive choices in general (food sovereignty -La Via Campesina Movement).

Trying to outline definitions as a prerequisite to defining the conceptual boundaries of the analysis, the controversial definition of indigenous people had to be addressed. First and foremost, to acknowledge the colonial legacy of Western sciences' approach to indigenousness. However, some definitions and conceptualizations (such as indigenous people) can still be useful for analytical

purposes and for rights-enhancement purposes, see the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, or the UN Declaration of Indigenous People's Rights.

Alternatively, indigenousness labels recover a deep, useful, and non-colonial meaning when they are reclaimed and redefined by the people who feel to belong to such category, as it occurs for indigenous scholars or indigenous people movements. In this analysis, we do not consider "Indigenous people" as a special, separated category of people; rather we are borrowing these useful conceptualizations to convey an inspirational vision of the local community (the "radical" view we referred to earlier in the work), inspired by the claims of indigenous and social movements and self-determination instances. In this sense, our meaning of community is inspired by such instances because we think their collective claims are necessary to overcome political failure and to change states' perspectives on local communities, especially in a context where local communities are trapped in poverty, marginalization, scarce education, and scarce empowerment; victims of a narrative that stigmatizes community's land use and practices. Furthermore, within the colonial and dispossession by accumulation framework, there is the need to oppose a radical worldview that challenges the dominant one, to reject the very roots of this oppressive system.

In the study context, and throughout the global South in general, categorization of human groups, their traditions, culture, worldviews, and livelihood are still heavily comprised within categories such as "tribe", "ethnicity" and "indigenous" and in this fashion, we deemed necessary to retrieve IPLCs literature. However, we got to the understanding that such categories are not fixed and factual in the reality on the ground. Against this backdrop, Chabal (2009) acknowledges how, in the long and complex world of social actors in post-colonial Africa, individual and group identification categories (ethnicity, religion, class, political partaking) are fluid, and constantly adapted to the needs and context. Again, we stress how important it is to identify categories or labels as fluid, located within a specific cultural and socio-political context, and how individual and groups' identities constantly move along a continuum to negotiate their role in themselves and the outer society. Labels are alternatively used in different spheres of the communal, individual, social, economic, and political life to make one's action and one's

belonging to a "community", meaningful. Meaningful in the sense of something impactful on one's present and future.

We agree with Chabal (2009) who deeply ties meaningful action in the socio/political space (agency) with individual and group identity. We, as humankind, move in this world, according to who we think we are, to obtain results and to bring benefit to us and the group or community we feel we belong, towards which we are tied by bonds of reciprocity and obligation. Individuals are inspired by these bonds and principles, to act and change present and future. Because of that, we deem community so important. The community becomes the space where individuals can be inspired to take on collective actions and express instances through social movements or organizations.

It is in this specific aspect of the community, that I deem that real power materializes, the power indeed, to overcome colonial oppressions and to shape the present and future according to what we aspire to see realized in this world, before our eyes. It is in this sense that I reject, as in Chabal (2009), the pessimistic outcome that most Africanist social and political science ends up with. Chabal argues that strict socio-political definitions and conceptualizations of the Western sciences (tribe, ethnic group, indigenous people, post-colonial democracy, post-colonial development, class…) are quite narrow in understanding the complexity of reality; indeed, most of the political and social science when applied to Africa, tend to depict a scenario of failure, where democracy failed, where development failed, where rulers failed, and where corruption, power bottlenecks and patrimonial interests and oppression inevitably prevail.

We want to reject this common conclusion, and this is why our study is centered on the interpretation of the perspective of the local community. The goal is to bring to the foreground how people (or the community) - within a flawed and oppressive context (such as a context of land grabbing, lack of empowerment, discrimination, lack of rights, and strong economic interests) are resilient and resourceful. They elaborate strategies not only to survive, but to thrive, and they employ these same strategies in their surrounding environment.

4.1 Indigenous people and local community: definitions and challenges

By definition, Indigenous means "originating or occurring naturally in a specific place, region, country or "relating to the earliest known inhabitants of a place and especially of a place that was colonized by a now-dominant group", which is how the Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines it[14].

This definition tends to identify indigenousness by the contrasting experience between those groups of people who have resided in the same country for a few hundred years and those who are the "earliest" inhabitants of a place. However, "several alternative terms are preferred to indigenous. […] The Maori of New Zealand use Tangata Whenua or people of the land in preference to Maori used by the colonizer who, unaware of its meaning (ordinary or common), ironically deemed the indigenous population to be the ordinary inhabitants." (Cunningham and Stanley, 2003: 403). The pastoralist community that resides in Northern Tanzania, for instance, identifies and definite itself according to its language, indeed Maasai means the group speaking Maa language.

These are only two (land and language) identity markers around which communities can build their community definition. In this study, we are also focusing on culture and knowledge and the derived livelihood practices as identity markers of the various groups within the community investigated (Greymorning, 2018; Chabal, 2009; Hodgson, 2002). What is important is that such definitions of indigenousness and the construction of individual and collective identity around specific markers are not the result of oppressive colonialism; rather they are adopted by (and not imposed upon) the group, after a reflexive process on what are the most relevant markers of identity, that are constantly -renegotiated in the context of economic liberalization, neoliberal globalization, state restructuring through reforms of devolution and decentralization, and political democratization to the truly self-determination instances and path (Hodgson, 2011).

However, the term "indigenous" has prevailed as a generic term. In some countries, there may be a preference for other terms including tribes, first peoples/nations (Canada and the United States), aboriginals (for Australia), and ethnic groups. Occupational and geographical terms like hunter-gatherers,

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[14] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/indigenous# (Last Access June 2023)

nomads, peasants, hill people, etc., also exist and for all practical purposes can be used interchangeably with "indigenous peoples" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, undated). Indeed, in the case of Tanzania, social and political sciences scholars mostly refer to community groups by identifying them with their livelihoods and occupations: farmers, pastoralists, hunters, and gathers. Ethnicity, in the context of Tanzania, is also still employed as a label, both by regular people and by institutions. "The indigenous experience is distinct yet diverse; many similarities are obvious, yet significant differences can be identified. […] this pattern is so similar across all colonized indigenous groups" (Cunningham and Stanley, 2003: 404).

Cunningham and Stanley (2003) advanced an interesting conceptualization that they borrow from an indigenous scholar (Royal, 2003): a possible definition of indigenousness is the one based on world views— where indigenousness is used to identify those cultures whose world views place special significance on the idea of the unification of the humans with the natural world with, with humans having a seamless relationship with nature which includes seas, land, rivers, mountains, flora, and fauna. Royal (2003) juxtaposes such world views to two other major world views: a Western (Judeo-Christian) view- which sees God as external and in heaven "above", or the Western/Cartesian one, built on the dichotomy of man as separated from nature, and nature as separated form culture (see paragraph 2.8); and an Eastern view, which focuses internally and concentrates on reaching within, through meditation and other practices.

Moreover, indigenous groups are characterized by lower life expectancy and poorer social, economic political, and health conditions, compared to other society groups (Cunningham and Stanley, 2003). Therefore, indigenous peoples can be identified as neglected segments of societies, affected by lack of political representation and participation, economic marginalization and poverty, lack of access to social services, and discrimination. Despite their cultural differences, the diverse indigenous peoples share common problems also related to the protection of their rights and basic living conditions. They strive for recognition of their identities, their ways of life, and their right to traditional lands, territories, and natural resources.

In this fashion, another feature characterizes the literature about indigenous people. Indigenous peoples are stewards of unique knowledge systems, beliefs,

and practices for the sustainable management of natural resources. They have a special relationship with their traditional land. Ancestral lands have fundamental importance for their collective physical and cultural survival as peoples and the practices they develop to manage such lands are equally important for the survival of landscapes and biodiversity. Unfortunately, according to the agenda pursued (the expansion of agricultural lands in Brazil or the one of protected areas in African countries), indigenous ecological knowledge and practices are neglected, in favor of other developmental or conservation models. Another marker of indigenous people can be identified in different degrees of integration into "mainstream" society and a certain degree of discrimination and oppression within the same mainstream society. Traits such as rituals, practices, and especially language are threatened and may soon disappear, in a context where the inclusivity discourse is not sufficiently advanced. According to the UN, 50% of today's spoken languages will be extinct or seriously endangered by 2100 (Cunningham and Stanley, 2003).

The experience of indigenous people is so peculiar compared to other social groups, that the UN dedicated the third decade to indigenous people (2022-2032)[15], during which international organizations are going to support inclusivity, empowerment, research, and knowledge production specifically focused on the conditions and the experiences of indigenous people. Different UN initiatives and political arenas have been developed in the last decades to increase the comprehension and improve policy design for indigenous people, such as the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Fellowship and Internship programs to increase the opportunities for higher education for indigenous people, the UNESCO International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on World Heritage[16], and many others[17] The problematization of indigenous people experience also led to legislative milestones, such as the UN Declaration of Indigenous people rights that in 2022 marked its 15th birthday[18], several UN resolutions and recommendations, and the

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[15]   https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/indigenous-languages.html (Accessed May, 2023)

[16] https://iipfwh.org/ (Accessed May2023)

[17]   See the "Un for Indigenous people section on UN website: https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html (Accessed May 2023)

[18]   https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples/high-level-commemoration-of-the-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html (Accessed May 2023)

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN- OHCHR, 1966)[19].

The UN does not adopt an official definition of "indigenous" "as indigenous peoples are not a homogenous group" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, undated). According to the Permanent Forum Factsheet, the most fruitful approach is to identify, rather than define indigenous peoples. This is based on the fundamental criterion of self-identification as underlined in several human rights documents." However, the international organizations (such as ILO, the World Bank, and the UN Working Group on Indigenous People) adopted a series of "working definitions" based on the following identification principles:

- Self-identification as indigenous, and accepted by the community as a member;
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies.
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- Distinct social, economic, or political systems; distinct language, culture, and beliefs from dominant groups of society.
- Efforts to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and cultural systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

In general, the different definitions include references to historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies, a continuity that materializes in aspects such as the occupation of ancestral lands, or at least part of them; general cultural traits or specific cultural manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.); language; residence in certain parts of the country, or certain regions of the world. Lastly, and probably most importantly, self-identification and group acceptance are the main pillars of any identification of indigenous people (Sanders, 1999). The Study on the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations, by Special Rapporteur José R. Martínez Cob (presented to the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1998)

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[19] Available online at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights (Accessed May 2023)

cited in Sanders (1999) stresses how self-identification of what is and what is not indigenous is a right.

Since the 80s, the participation in international fora of a representative of an indigenous community or organizations multiplied. Their participation was marked by a lack of an accreditation process to assess indigenousness; instead, self-identification as indigenous was accepted in practice. "Indigenous" representatives began attending international fora from several states, including states that did not acknowledge the existence of any indigenous grouping within their population, notably Bangladesh, India, and Indonesia. By 1982 Finland, Norway, and Sweden had acknowledged that the Saami living in their countries were an indigenous people. This established a precedent for the recognition of a group as indigenous even where the majority population in the state was indigenous or very old (Sander, 1999).

According to the author, given the participation of a Maasai representative from Kenya to the Board of the Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Peoples, (Kenyan) Maasai can be defined as Indigenous People. Interestingly, Tanzania does not recognize the existence of Indigenous Peoples on its land. There is no specific national policy or legislation on Indigenous Peoples, but groups such as Hadzabe, Barabaig, and Maasai have organized themselves and their struggles around the concept and movement of Indigenous Peoples (IGWA website) Despite being home to more than 130 ethnic groups[20], with their own language, cultural systems and livelihoods, and despite the government voting in favor of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, the country do not recognize their existence (IWGIA Website) Even though Ministerial Websites[21] addresses the diversity of languages and cultures of the ethnic groups as the very essence of the country, and despite promoting Indigenous Ancestral Lands (national parks) and Indigenous heritage (cultural and natural heritage which include archaeological, paleontological and historical resources) as touristic attractions, Indigenous Peoples in Tanzania continue to suffer human rights violations especially through

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[20] https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/19 (accessed July 2022)

[21] https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/19; 20; 378 (accessed last time in July 2022) and https://www.maliasili.go.tz/attractions/category/tourist-attractions (accessed last time May 2023)

land dispossessions and forced evictions, mainly for wildlife protection of infrastructures development (IWGIA website).

It is not surprising then, that Tanzania's community-based policies do not envision the principle of self-determination, usually applied to indigenous people. This scenario strengthens the validity of the underlying argument of this study, namely that pro-community policies, especially in environment and natural resources, should revolve around a stronger principle such as self-determination, rather than a weak, easily deceivable one, such as participation, to fully address communities' oppression and discrimination.

The violations of rights of (indigenous) groups in Northern Tanzania usually affect Maasai pastoralists or hunters and gathers groups (Hadzabe tribe), whereas farmers' groups appear less affected. Here is where the community/indigenous conceptualization as interchangeable suffers the most. Commonly, pastoralists are addressed as "indigenous", and farmers are not, both in the case of Tanzania and other Global Sout countries, therefore Maasai are more easily represented as a group undergoing discrimination, while farmers are not. Farmers are identified as the product of rural development post-colonial policies, whereas pastoralists as the result of the persisting resistance to state modernization and assimilation. What is not taken into consideration in such distinction, is that pastoralists, as much as farmers, have been targets of rural development policies, and settlements relocation into villages, pushed to abandon traditional production activities. Furthermore, adopting the lens of food sovereignty and agroecology, small farmers and small-scale food producers in the Global South are claimed to be holders of traditional practices that reflect the immense ecological knowledge they developed through their unique relationship with their land. This is why, we deem both pastoralists and farmers as part of the same group, in the sense they suffer common neglect and discrimination and they share aspirations expressed in sovereignty and self-determination instances, because both struggle to maintain the diversity of their ecological knowledge, and productive systems.

Furthermore, such divisions result in the opposition between farmers' interests, against pastoralists' or other indigenous people's interests. This would ultimately lead to less powerful and fragmented communitarian instances. See indeed farmers-herders conflicts literature (Saruni, 2021; Walwa, 2020) that draws on the conception that farmers' land interests and pastoralists' land interests are

opposed. The former is favored by developmental and rural national policies and the latter is neglected; both categories are driven by their group interests over land at the expense of the other, like the two uses were incompatible.

Two considerations are advanced to argue that a unitarian vision under the "community" or "indigenous people" umbrella should be favored against the colonial and oppressive backdrop of ecotourism and protected areas. Firstly, stressing ethnic and land interests' divisions within the community will necessarily lead to fragmentation and weaker communitarian instances. This divisional rhetoric allows the oppressive systems to thrive, distracting community members and public debate with internal divisions and conflicts so that it becomes more difficult for collective fights to become the protagonists of the public debate. Secondly, tribal identification is a thing among farming communities in Tanzania as well. Of the many ethnic groups of Tanzania, many are dedicated to farming, and farmers keep identifying with their tribe, or their parents' tribe. Even urban residents do so. We use the term tribe fearlessly because we had the chance to directly witness the employment of this term in Tanzanian society, both at individual and institutional levels (for instance, when you go to the hospital to see a doctor, among the personal information to fill in, there is the "tribe" information; when people introduce themselves or speak about themselves, they proudly refer to their ethnicity either using words such as " tribe" or the more neutral "group")

Based on all these distinguishing features, indigenous peoples hold their diverse concepts of development, based on their traditional values, visions, needs, and priorities. It is indeed on such practices and knowledge systems that we are going to focus, on as parts of an alternative culture and identity that are threatened by the conservation/ecotourism system. More broadly, we argue that the whole Western science conceptualization and relation with indigenous people is problematic. Thus, environmental and tourism policies based on Western worldview and conceptualization are necessarily problematic as well.

4.2 Traditional knowledge, and climate resiliency of local and indigenous communities

Indigenous peoples are in critical conditions due to the impacts of climate change (Persoon and Minter, 2020; Iocca and Fidelis, 2022; Amaodu 2012)

therefore deserve to be the primary target of climate change interventions. In this regard, ICOM (International Council of Museums) President Alberto Garlandini during his opening speech at the Climate Change and Ecomuseum Conference, held in London on 30th September 2021[22] says:

> *"The devastating effect of climate crisis continues to impact our cultural heritage at a global level. Dramatic biodiversity loss and climate crisis showed how tight relations between men and the biosphere are. Indigenous communities are at the forefront of the climate crisis. Not only are their livelihoods under threat, also their cultural heritage cannot survive without their natural habitats, even native languages are in constant decline due to climate change. Fighting climate crises and loss of biodiversity is an imperative of our time.[...] Only together we will be able to move forward".*

However, interventions of climate actions tend to lack an indigenous perspective, as we have seen in paragraph 2.8 and international political forces have started including Indigenous people's perspective only recently (see paragraph 4.1). Much of the literature on climate change is not able to reflect adequately the impacts and responses of indigenous peoples to climate change. The best way to address this is for indigenous peoples themselves to define and conduct their research, including indigenous people's perspectives on climate change knowledge production and actions (Amadou, 2012; Cariño and Ferrari, 2021; Townsend, et al., 2020; VIerros at al., 2020).

Indigenous communities' lifeways are linked, and intertwined to their ecosystems, whether it is mountain, coastal area, highlands, or grasslands. Their livelihoods are based on the transformation of nature. Therefore, indigenous people adapted and developed their knowledge and practices not only to their characteristic natural environment but developed adaptations to the changes occurring to it (i.e. climate change and loss of biodiversity, desertification, rain shifts…), resulting in highly resilient practices. From the indigenous perspective, climate change is normally observed in various ways depending on the type of ecosystem indigenous peoples inhabit, for instance, inhabitants of forest ecosystems observe the inactivity of certain animal and plant species or their disappearing (Persoon and Minter, 2020; Iocca and Fidelis, 2022; Amaodu 2012)

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[22] available on DROPS Website (Accessed May 2023)

Most ecosystems that indigenous peoples inhabit are critically threatened. These ecosystems are badly affected by external forces, mostly related to national development-driven programs and some of the projects intended to mitigate climate change. Indigenous peoples are anxious about climate change because of its undesirable impacts, they are also at the forefront of climate crises since they represent the human groups who pay the highest price for climate change. We argue that they not only pay the highest price, but they also pay it three times. They suffer the most because they live in the areas of the world (tropical areas, equatorial areas, or extreme environments areas such as arid or cold environments) where the effects of climate change are more impactful. Climate Change impacts indeed are more impactful on developing countries, than on developed countries, whereas developed countries are responsible for the majority of the emissions that cause climate change[23]. Lastly, indigenous people and local communities of developing countries, in general, see their livelihoods constrained and their land disposed of by the expansion of protected areas to counter climate change and other nature-based solutions (see how controversial the 30x30 Global Biodiversity Framework Target adopted after COP at IIS website), that "thus must be designed and implemented with Indigenous participation and consent if they are to be successful. [nature-based solution] impacts intensify the disadvantages already faced by Indigenous communities, including human rights violations, discrimination, and poverty" (Townsend, 2020: 551) (Amadou, 2012; Cariño and Ferrari, 2021; Townsend, et al., 2020). Unsurprisingly, some communities are confused with the new weather patterns and are extremely challenged by the effects of a changing climate. IPLCs are more vulnerable than other social groups to the direct and indirect impacts of climate change including food insecurity; and displacement as a result of catastrophic flooding, drought, and fires(Townsend, 2020).

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[23] "Wealthy countries from the Global North have been responsible for the majority of emissions that cause climate change. Research shows that over the past 30 years the Global South has also become increasingly responsible. But emissions from the Global South are highly concentrated – the top 10 highest polluting countries in the Global South account for 78% of the group's emissions. Meanwhile, there are 120 countries that account for just 22% of all Global South emissions. Many of these developing nations are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change, such as flooding, drought, intense heat, and disease." Taylor and Francis Insights on Climate Change and the Global South at Cop27 – Achieving climate justice for developing countries. Available at: https://insights.taylorandfrancis.com/social-justice/cop-27-global-south# (Accessed May 2023)

Amadou (2012) documented the cases of the Masaai of Tanzania and the Mbororo of Cameroon, showing how indigenous communities have coped with food, water, and health insecurity due to prolonged droughts. East African Pastoralists are struggling to adapt to worsening droughts. Access to clean water is a serious concern. Many water points have dried up in a short period, reducing the indigenous pastoralists' access to water greatly, and this affected pastoralists' seasonal patterns of mobility (Amadou, 2012). The cases also highlighted how commercial agriculture is entering their lifestyle and how pastoralists are pressured to take part as cheap agricultural laborers in these systems.

Village-level data (Amadaou, 2012) show that several cattle died as a result of the droughts and several families have experienced hunger and malnutrition after losing their livestock—a vital source of milk meat, and stock capital. Invasive grass species are reported to have replaced indigenous grasses that cows do not eat. This problem is an added work for pastoralists as they have to spend time clearing these invasive grasses to recover their lost grazing lands. Pastoralists also noted the advent of cattle pests. Important medicinal herbs and trees have also disappeared. Yet, another alarming impact is the degradation of ecological and cultural values, beliefs, and practices among indigenous pastoralists. As the cash economy is introduced, livelihood patterns change. This has redirected many community members to an increasingly individualized way of living, especially among younger generations. The monetized way of life of the indigenous pastoralists is increasingly being institutionalized and consequently has affected property relations and livelihood patterns, resulting in the decline, if not loss, of cultural values at the community level. (Kiffner et al., 2022; Amadou, 2012).

In Asia, severe climate change impacts are similarly felt by indigenous peoples, especially in Bangladesh, Myanmar, Malaysia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Indigenous researchers from these five countries have demonstrated that climate change impacts affected both the physical and psychological conditions of indigenous peoples, as well as their culture. In Asia, local communities still maintain spiritual relationships with their lands, territories, and resources. However, such relations and derived livelihoods are seriously threatened by recurring floods, that destroy settlements, sacred sites, and farms (Amadou, 2012). Monitoring changes in weather patterns, indigenous communities of Malaysia developed a mechanism to address failing harvests or the significant decline in crop

yields due to a prolonged dry season. The case study (Amadou, 2012) emphasizes the value of knowing village-level traditional knowledge and the history of their ecosystem. Investigating the local farming system and illustrating village tracking of changing weather patterns establishes a "community climate timeline" to demonstrate the community's memories of weather events, including occurrences of famine and floods. The study indeed emphasizes the value of crop diversity over crop productivity, and how practices of multi-cropping, diversification of varieties, and rotational farming as important adaptation measures to climate change (Amadou, 2012).

Similarly, Borrelli, Ndakidemi, and Razzano (2018); Razzano et al (2020), and Razzano, Mura, and Borrelli (in press) highlight how farming communities of Northern Tanzania rely on traditional farming knowledge and maintain traditional practices that help communities to cope with climate change. Practices such as fallow rotation, tree management and intercropping, and circular use of resources, not only promote place-based sustainability transition and household food security but also represent resilience against climate shocks. Sticking to Tanzanian communities, ecology studies in the 80s focus on how pastoralist practices of shifting grazing allow the regeneration of grasslands and highlight their perfect adaptation to savannah ungulates. Herders' livestock practices not only are resilient to the effects of climate change (countering desertification for grasslands in semi-arid areas) but directly contribute to protecting biodiversity such as herbivores and large mammals' survival in savannah ecosystems, thanks to the virtuous ecological interactions between livestock and aforementioned species. (Arhem, 1985; Kiffner, 2022)

Indigenous people's knowledge and practices revolve around land, water, air, sun, flora, and fauna. Thus, changes to the ecosystem and climate have affected their lifeways. Climate variability, such as changes in rainfall patterns, resulted in food insecurity and cultural diversity loss. However, indigenous peoples have developed and used their cosmologies and traditional knowledge systems to address the adverse impacts of climate change and manage natural resources efficiently. Amadou, 2012 and Reyes-García et al., (2022B) argue that IPLC holds knowledge essential for the governance of biodiversity. To conclude, we argue that indigenous knowledge and local communities' traditional knowledge constitute the most valuable resources for place-based sustainability solutions and climate

change resiliency. It cannot be overlooked that local and indigenous communities' conceptualizations of nature can help sustain local livelihoods and should influence the global debate on climate change and sustainability, too strictly envisioned within Western thinking.

4.3 Lack of inclusivity of Western knowledge: a critic of sustainability goals and Eurocentric science approach from the Indigenous perspective.

Both Academia and International Organizations agree on how UN Sustainability Goals are inadequate to solve IPLCs' issues because they do not include communities' perspectives (UNPFII, 2003; Virtanen et al., 2020). More broadly, is possible to argue that Western sciences lack perspective and are inadequate to explain non-western societies (Chabal, 2009). The very concept of development and the pathways envisioned by Western society are not useful to grasping Global South reality and advancing inclusive and sensitive solutions that do not lead to rights violations and oppression (Chabal, 2009; UNPFII, 2003). UNPFII (2003) indeed demands a human rights-based and culturally sensitive approach to the MDGs. The importance of a rights-based approach and cultural sensitivity in MDGS has been repeatedly emphasized by the UNPFII. The UNPFII has called for the full and effective participation of indigenous peoples in designing, implementing, and monitoring MDG-related programmers and projects that concern them or may affect them.

Against this backdrop, Virtanen et al.(2020:81) conclude:

"The universalistic definition of sustainability within SDGs can hinder other views on sustainability, which differ from it. The design of the UN Sustainable Development Goals has made a significant contribution to implementing and reflecting on new actions and practices through its 17 dimensions of sustainability, but they are still largely drawn from individualistic, conventional human-based approaches, providing for instance only one idea of what 'economy' means and how schooling and technical development advances sustainable development. Alternative strategies and different views on sustainability are urgently needed in the current climate emergency."

The best way to address this is for indigenous peoples themselves to define their solutions and conduct their research. Thus, the Tebtebba Foundation encouraged indigenous activists to engage in participatory action research on this topic, summarized in Amadou (2012) and presented at the Asia Summit on Climate Change and Indigenous Peoples on February 24-27, 2009 in Bali, Indonesia. These seven case studies came up with two common observations of what exacerbates the adverse impacts of climate change in communities of indigenous peoples. In line with what we are arguing in this paragraph, inadequacy is twofold. Eurocentric research and policies result in undermined transmission and continuity of indigenous ecological knowledge, and prevalence of weak policies, and a generalized lack of programs to support indigenous peoples in their efforts to adapt to climate change impacts. (Amadou 2012)

Moreover, Reyes-García et al., (2022b) argue that current biodiversity negotiations and policies should be grounded on respecting IPLC rights and agency. First and foremost, this would occur including the recognition of Indigenous and local knowledge (ILK) in environmental governance, since currently overlooked or neglected. Besides, IPLC engagement in biodiversity policy contributes to the recognition of human rights; and their inclusion is essential to ensure they can exercise their rights to territories and resources. The author goes on to cite McAlvay et al. 2021, to point out how Western science often behaves as a "colonial enterprise" Reyes-García et al., (2022b: 813).

However, there have also been engagements of respect and voluntary co-production between scientists and IPLC and we claim this is a necessary pathway for the future (Reyes-García et al.,2022b). Assessing the framework of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystems Services (IPBES), Reyes-García et al., (2022b) identifies the work behind IPBES as one of the most inclusive processes to bring together several sources of knowledge to tackle a global challenge: biodiversity loss. Different IPLCs have chosen to engage with non-local and non-Indigenous scientists and researchers to work together to find a common, inclusive, and shared environmental agenda. Indeed, many efforts to reframe power relations among knowledge systems, such as the one made within the IPBES have promoted dialogue across different knowledge systems (Reyes-García et al., 2022b).

Recalling what we said before regarding indigenous and local communities in general, to make communities' actions meaningful to shape the future according to their aspirations, western science cannot work on a separate logic, in a self-referential way. This way, western science, and Western science-informed policies are going to represent only an oppressive system. Indeed, the approach that combines indigenous and local knowledge with scientific knowledge makes important steps in supporting traditional knowledge systems by respecting rights, strengthening communities, and supporting knowledge exchange through dialogue. This dialogue draws on the acknowledgment of the researcher's position, namely that non-Indigenous scholars with scientific backgrounds have a privileged positionality and it is from that positionality that they investigate reality and that same investigation is going to be inevitably affected by it; with the associated risk, , of scientifically legitimizing oppressive policies based on the marginalization of non-western human groups.

However, despite reframing relations between different knowledge systems is insufficient to undo historical injustices, it can contribute to policies that are respectful of IPLC knowledge, rights, and agency, particularly in scenarios where they are not. (Reyes-García et al.,2022b). The knowledge systems dialogue approach represents an inclusive and participatory process for inclusive policy design, aligning with IPLC instances and moving beyond colonial and extractive science. More international, intersectoral, and intercultural solidarity (rather than philanthropy) is needed for transformative change to occur (Reyes-García et al.,2022b)

4.4 Principles of self-determination and food sovereignty

The conceptualization adopted in this study refers to the one adopted by social movements and indigenous people organizations, who started a reflexive work on their claims and struggles. Such reflexive process originated within communities themselves, and found expression in social movements such as the International Peasants' Movement "La Via Campesina"[24]. Since we want to adopt

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[24] A recent official statement can be found at: https://viacampesina.org/en/food-sovereignty-a-manifesto-for-the-future-of-our-planet-la-via-campesina/. Published on 13 October 2021 on the 25th anniversary of the Movement's struggle for food sovereignty. For the occasion, the Manifesto of Food Sovereignty was also published. See La Via Campesina (2021)

a community-centered approach, we are also conducting an attempt to decentralize the hegemony of knowledge production, recognizing the knowledge produced by communities (see paragraphs 4.2 and 4.3) as the same value of knowledge produced in Academic centers. Therefore, we refer to communities or social movements' produced manifestos or literature. We are alternatively going to refer to legislative efforts specially developed to address minorities and IPLC issues, such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

In the 90 a strong momentum was gained by the principle of self-determination, during which scholars and policy-makers addressed issues of definitions. See for instance: Antonio Cassese, Self-determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal (1995); Hurst Hannum (1990) Autonomy, Sovereignty and Self-determination. Shortly after, Castellino and Gilbert (2003) address the conceptualization of the principle of self-determination of minorities and indigenous people, reflecting on the definitions within legislative efforts, such as the UN Declaration, but also framing it within broader definitions.

Self-determination is indeed a vast concept and can be often difficult to understand what it prescribes in practice. For instance, it is often rejected by governmental institutions because it can underpin separatism claims and instances. According to such vision 'the authentic expression of human nature in primitive communities is something essentially negative' (Koskenniemi cited in Castellino and Gilbert (2003:157) and indeed, such "primitive communities" need to be channeled into formally organized states to prevent bellum omnium, namely a condition whereby every group, based on the criteria of self-identification and relying on the instance of self-determination can aspire to separate form its own country, engaging in a possibly endless state of war with the central government or among groups.

The classical view of self-determination understands nations to be collections of individuals who make the rational decision to join together to form a society. Self-determination can then be expressed through established institutions of government in the society. Outside this formal institutionalization, self-determination is destructive (Castellino and Gilbert,2003). In this fashion, as we have seen in paragraph 4.1, many governments do not recognize the presence of Indigenous People on their land, because such recognition could pave the way for legitimate separatism instances. Indeed, they prefer to refer to "minorities" or just

acknowledge the presence of multiple ethnicities, as in the case of Tanzanian governments. Against this backdrop, self-determination is considered here and by social movements as an inspiring concept, to help manifest the conditions IPLCs aspire to, defined as "the most romantic of rights within the human rights agenda" (Castellino and Gilbert (2003: 155).

Moreover, a challenging implication of the right of self-determination, and human rights in general, is that such rights supposedly stem from "natural right", rather than from "positive right": Positive right is the right that exists because there is a government enforcing it. Oppositely, natural rights stem from the debate around the possibility to recognize humans as entitled to universal, basic rights, independently from governments. Humans, as humans, not as citizens of a specific state, deserve recognition of rights. The European Court for Human Rights or the International Court of Justice indeed attempts to "transform" natural rights recognized in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous people into "positive rights", i.e. rights enforced by an institution.

Nonetheless, such ruling institutions do not hold a prescriptive power and are often not recognized by governments, rather they are considered advisory bodies on international rights and human rights matters. This framework makes the enforcement of these rights hard. Because of that, we deem advocacy organizations and transnational movements even more important to bring IPLCs struggles to the forefront of the political debate, for a transformative change to occur in the conditions of these communities around the globe.

Back to the definitions, indigenous communities, peoples, and human groups, in general, that form at present non-dominant sectors of society "are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, by their cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems". This is itself a possible definition of self-determination as in Castellino and Gilbert (2003:168).

Both the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights consider self-determination essential before any other rights can be recognized. Article 1 of both covenants says:

1. All people have the right to self-determination. Under that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.

2. All peoples may, for their ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law.

For what concerns Indigenous People, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that Indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination and that in exercising this right, they have the right to autonomy or self-government. However, specific government arrangements are not addressed in the declaration. It acknowledges, nonetheless, that Indigenous Peoples' self-government structures exist across the world in various forms, and sometimes their recognition on behalf of governments is only partial or not adequate. This may be due to a lack of political will, lack of adequate administrative processes, or conflicting interests.

Art. 3 and 4 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) on self-determination go: "Art. 3: Indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination. By that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. Article 4: Indigenous Peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions". Self-determination, both as a principle and as a right, must allow for a right to be governed without discrimination, indeed, we argue based on Catellino and Gilbert's (2003) elaboration, that where discrimination occurs, the principle and the right to self-determination should be invoked.

Nonetheless, to what extent such a principle might entitle minorities to become recognized "people" (such as after the recognition of indigenous people status) if the state government is discriminating against them, remains ambiguous. One of the chief reasons for this narrow interpretation of the right of minorities to self-determination is the fact that it is the State that consents to international human rights treaties; the very states that could potentially be vulnerable to claims for self-determination and separatism instances made by minorities.

However, recalling the key aspects for the identification of indigenous people, we need to recall the specific relationship between indigenous people and a defined territory, and the preservation and transmission of a separated, alternative cultural, knowledge, and identitarian system. As in Article 34 of the UN General Assembly (2007) the right to self-determination, encompasses indigenous communities' rights to their distinctive culture. A central part of the right of indigenous communities to self-determination is the continued existence of the collective identity. It entails recognition of a different way of life through the determination of culture. Observing the articulation of collective identity and the construction of the representative action of advocacy organizations of IPLCs of Northern Tanzania (as in the works of Hodgson 2002, 20011, 2017; and Matinda, 2018), the primary identity marks for indigenous communities to build their instances of self-determination were language, culture, traditions, rituals and performance and the knowledge and the practices tied to traditional livelihoods and land uses (Hodgson, 2002 and 2011). In this perspective, the right to self-determination includes the promotion of cultural distinctiveness, which is central to their survival as communities, and the lobbying and advocacy action of activities and organizations have been revolving around it (Matinda, 2018).

In addition, territory, land, and resources are central to the notion of indigenousness, since one of the core elements of the indigenous discourse is to ensure that indigenous peoples have a right over their ancestral territories (land) and therefore, are entitled to rights over the resources located on those lands. Natural resources are commonly what sustain IPLCs livelihoods, and in the case of Tanzania Northern Circuit are also tourism resources. Indeed, in the interpretation of what self-determination should prescribe in practice, scholars such as Castellino and Gilbert (2003) focus on 'the resource dimension' of the right to self-determination. Therefore, it is possible to conclude, aligning with Castellino and Gilbert (2003), that self-determination is the right of IPLCs to freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources and the guarantee of not being deprived of their means of subsistence. And it is here, on the subsistence and livelihood point, that self-determination intertwines with the instance of sovereignty (declined here under the movement for food sovereignty "La Via Campesina").

The international movement of peasants was institutionalized and reinforced in the 80's and 90's as "La Via Campesina", around the paradigm of food

sovereignty. It started spreading among Latin American peasants trapped in poverty and malnutrition to express their discontent towards land and agricultural reforms in South America, that widely neglected rural communities' rights and necessities, worsening their condition. Land that, just like Indigenous People, they had worked and occupied for a long time. We therefore refer to one of their latest official manifesto statements (La Via Campesina, 2021). The term "Food Sovereignty" was invented during the 1996 World Food Summit, in a debate about how to organize global food systems. La Via Campesina coined the term; to valorize small-scale food producers and put them back to the center of food systems and related political debate.

The movement advocates for the accumulated wisdom and traditional knowledge passed on through generations, the autonomy and diversity of rural and urban communities, and solidarity between peoples, as essential components for crafting policies around food, community subsistence, and agriculture. Since that 1996 milestone moment, social movements and civil society actors worked together to define it further "as the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute, and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations." (La Via Campesina, 2021). Such an official definition was adopted during the 2007 Forum for Food Sovereignty in Nyéléni (Mali).

The introduction of food sovereignty as a collective right changed how the world understood poverty and hunger. The concept was elaborated and gained momentum within transnational movements also because of the necessity to overcome the idea of "Food Security" that was at that time dominating governance and policy-making circles. According to La Via Campesina's Manifesto (2012), noble in its intent, food security treated those affected by hunger as objects of compassion, reducing them to passive consumers of food produced elsewhere. While it recognized food as a fundamental human right, it did not defend the objective conditions of food producers. A problematization of the role of producers and the oppression they faced was absent. In this sense, Food Sovereignty represents a radical paradigm advocating for radical instances. (La Via Campesina

154

Website).25 It recognizes people and local communities as the principal actors in the fight against poverty and hunger. It calls for strong local communities and defends their right to produce and consume before trading the surplus. It demands autonomy in the use of local resources, and it calls for agrarian reforms and collective ownership of territories, reflecting the communal ownership of land that characterizes many IPLCs. It defends the rights of communities to use, save, and exchange seeds. It stands for the right of people to eat healthy, nutritious food. It encourages agroecological production cycles, respecting climatic and cultural diversities in every community.

Values such as social peace, social justice, gender justice, and solidarity-based economies are identified as essential pre-conditions for realizing food sovereignty. It calls for an international trade order based on cooperation and solidarity as against competition and coercion. The vision of food sovereignty is underpinned by the contrast of capitalistic market logic applied to any natural resource and culture systems. It rejects the commodification of nature and neoliberal food, agricultural, and land policies. It refuses the homologation not only of food varieties but also of rural landscapes and rural practices, highlighting the diversity of traditional food production (La Via Campesina, 2021). Food sovereignty stems from the premise that capitalist logic is expanding into urban and rural areas and economies, to the extent that rural communities and rural ways of living are swept under the carpet by a new ideology that wants to turn everybody into a mere consumer of things and an object of exploitation for profit. Against this backdrop, the working class in the rural areas, coasts, and cities, which included the peasants and other small-scale food producers, remained invisible. Consequently, peasants and indigenous communities worldwide started recognizing the urgent necessity for an organized and internationalist response to this globalizing, free-market ideology propagated by the defenders of the capitalist world order Food Sovereignty soon became one of the expressions of this collective response. A response based on an opposite vision of our collective future, defined around the principle of co-existence with nature.

Food sovereignty is a celebration of life and all the diversity around us. It embraces every element of the cosmos. It recognizes and protects the

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25 Ibid.

interdependence between eight million species that share this home with humankind (La Via Campesina, 2021). Food Sovereignty is also the science of life – built across countless generations, each teaching their progeny something new, inventing new methods and techniques, which sit harmoniously with nature (La Via Campesina, 2021).

In a nutshell, we define in this study self-determination and sovereignty of IPLCs as a condition whereby local communities have the power and the freedom to pursue alternative pathways, alternative production systems, alternative knowledge, and alternative visions to support their future in the era of sustainable development

To conclude, sovereignty and self-determination are considered in this study because of their inspirational capital and because they envision power relations between the global North and the Global South and between communities and governments re-balanced, not to say reversed. However, there is a need to acknowledge that these movements are inspired, to a certain extent, by an idealistic scenario. Nonetheless, this scenario is still useful, because it represents a tendency and a goal, around which communities and movements can come together, act meaningfully, and advocate for their rights. Throughout the study, we highlighted the importance of acknowledging reality as not easy to constrain within discrete categories, we argue the same about self-determination and sovereignty. The struggle communities live in is inspired by these principles, however, the reality of communities is tensed between conflicts, discrimination, and the materialization of some success. Indeed, we do not envision sovereignty and self-determination as conditions fully materializing or missing from a context. Rather a "continuum-like" conceptualization of it will be employed to frame data analysis within the complexity of IPLCs, their struggles their rights, and the outcomes of communities' agency concerning the ecotourism/conservation system.

4.5 Community sense of Ownership of the tourism/conservation process: (not just) community participation

Based on the interesting works by Lachapelle (2008) and Cole (2006), we introduce a sense of ownership as another principle to add to the analysis of community-based conservation and tourism. We give here a brief outline because

it was identified as a good synthesizing concept that is inspired by the great agency on behalf of community members in shaping and affecting the tourism and conservation process occurring on their land.

This first characteristic of a sense of ownership according to Lachapelle (2008) is that a tourism development process is characterized by a sense of ownership among community members when during the process community voices are gathered, heard, and considered legitimate or valid. Given what was said before about the marginalization of indigenous and local communities' voices- the exclusion of the local perspectives from the political debate, we deem a sense of ownership a useful concept to answer research questions, synthesizing de facto participation and self-determination, in terms of the importance of the local perspective for a participatory process to be considerate legitimate.

Secondly, a sense of ownership provides an explicit focus on the influence or direct authority over decision-making and the execution of actions. The third characteristic of a sense of ownership concerns its distribution across various social, political, and ecological scales. This means taking into account who is affected by a decision, as well as how the effects of a decision are distributed, accepted, and "owned," both spatially and temporally. This feature of the sense of ownership can involve not only the individuals in the area where the tourism development project originates but also connect the touristic process as a whole to larger scales of engaged citizens linking regional, national, and even international interests. Along the temporal dimensions, a sense of ownership moves the focus from present to future generations, namely, it takes into account that future generations would reap and be the costs or benefits of any decisions. In a spatial sense, a sense of ownership shifts the focus (and therefore shifts value and importance allocation) and evaluates the effects of actions discerning between those who create a condition (e.g., the use of private automobiles contributing to air pollution in an urban environment; or a central government engaging on a tourism development project or policy) and those who own it (e.g., low-income residents who cannot afford a car but inherit the repercussions of private automobile use; or the communities). Summarized by the author, a high degree of trust in a community development process or outcome can help to determine the potential for ownership (Lachapelle, 2008)

Furthermore, Cole (2006), addresses the sense of ownership in the tourism process not disconnected by participation, but as an element of community participation and empowerment. The author deems it necessary to make the concept of participation more prescriptive, by stressing the importance of empowerment outcome. Indeed, "While it is noted that 'participation' is open to a variety of interpretations, [the study] examines active participation for empowerment. While active participation in tourism development initiatives would seem to empower community members, in many instances this is not necessarily the case. Several factors are identified that both increase empowerment, for example, esteem, pride, confidence, and external contacts; and that restrict empowerment, for example, a lack of knowledge about tourism, lack of self-belief, or a lack of skills" (Cole, 2006:89). Participation is open to a variety of interpretations as in Arnstein (1969), however, the empowerment component has received little attention in the tourism development literature, and also in community-based policies. As in Cole's (2006) analysis, empowerment-oriented tourism projects gave the community a sense of being involved, which, combined with a strong sense of place (namely a sense of ownership over the process), led to pride and community empowerment.

However, African case studies present a more complex picture, with some members of the communities participating while others are marginalized. Local elites in Tanzania and Africa have tended to monopolize power, dividing rather than uniting communities, and as a consequence, local participation and involvement itself does not automatically lead to the empowerment of individuals. There are several reasons why active, de facto community participation is hard to materialize: lack of ownership, lack of empowerment, capital, skills, knowledge, and resources. All these constrain the ability of communities to fully control their participation in tourism development (Lachapelle, 2008; Cole, 2006).

According to Lachapelle (2008), a trust component in a community development process can help to determine the potential for ownership of the process involving the community. Empowerment is identified in Cole (2006) as a necessary outcome of a *defacto* participatory tourism process, characterized by a high sense of being involved on behalf of the local community. In a nutshell, trust and empowerment are considered elements that inform the sense of ownership of the touristic process involving a territory and its community. Sense of ownership

was identified as a good concept of synthesis of different elements of the tourism process (trust, empowerment outcome, legitimacy outcome, the distribution of costs and risks of the tourism process as a consequence of the imposition of the process, sense of pride and identification) that helped to problematize the weaknesses of community participation, or at least suggest how to make participation a meaningful concept in the perspective of communities. Because of that, its components were included in our analysis and the design of research tools (see paragraph 5.2).

4.7 Organizations, movements & social struggles: a chance to improve well-being and re-define the identity of IPLCs?

IPLC communities have the chance and the capacity to improve their well-being, by building alternatives to the hegemonic model of development/conservation imposed by Western institutions. Indeed, they have established livelihoods that survived and adapted through centuries, effective and diverse productive systems, networks of mutual help, collective lobbying, and advocacy actions, informal economic and exchange systems, tangible and intangible valuable assets, and a social, knowledge, cultural, and economic diversity that are key to maintain for empowerment. Nonetheless, they are still victims of evictions justified for the sake of conservation and development threats all, exacerbating unemployment, landlessness, and homelessness, creating destitution, and food insecurity, as long as identitarian and cultural loss (Mustafa, 1997). Institutes like IIED and Oakland Institute, or Human Rights Watch (Oakland Institute, 2022, Currier and Mittal, 2021, Oakland Institute, 2015; Horne & Bader, 2012; Mustafa, 1997) and many other activists, scholars and organizations indeed urgently call for guidelines and standard that government must enforce during eviction plans to avoid grabs of land, violations of human rights. Nonetheless, most countries are not equipped with these kinds of regulative frameworks, resulting in brutality, violence, and violations of basic rights, as in the case of Tanzania.

The international law envisions the rights of self-determination of IPLCS, which include the rights to free movement, the right not to be displaced for ancestral lands, and preserve diversity of culture and social systems. Consultation, consent, and fair compensation must be assured at all stages of development, tourism, or

conservation interventions on behalf of governments. Resettlements and evictions on the only grounds of economic development or conservation are not recognized by international law, IPLCS social movement, and scholars as valid reasons for restricting freedom of movements and settlements of IPLCS and can to no extent become legitimizers of human rights violations and displacement (Mustafa, 1997; IWGIA, 2016; Oakland Institute, 2022; Currier and Mittal, 2021).

It is to address this condition that IPLCs in Tanzania and other former colonies started collective action that started a successful, global, movement mainly around two identity markers: Indigenousness and the right to self-determination (started in 60's,- 0's, immediately after the process of decolonization) and being a small-scale food producer (movement food sovereignty of practices and factors of production in the 80's-90's).

4.7.1 The international Movement of Indigenous People and the peasant movement for Food Sovereignty: the instances of IPLCs

At the beginning of the decolonial process, the debate around indigenousness started to take on international political fora. International concern developed in the 1960s over the situation of Indians in the Amazonian and forest interior of South America led to the formation of two leading nongovernmental organizations: Survival International, based in London, and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), based in Copenhagen. Following the formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the International Indian Treaty Council, International indigenous organizations began to advocate in the mid-1970s. Some of these movements and organizations were initiated by indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States where the political debate around indigenousness was more advanced than the ex-colonies at the beginning of the decolonial process. Their concerns were not limited to the Americas and Australasia. They saw all the tribal or minority national peoples in Africa, Asia, and northern Europe as entitled to consideration as indigenous (Aanders, 1999). At the international level, a process towards the structurization of the collective action (social movements and civil society organizations) of indigenous people was starting. According to Hodgson (2011), other organizations became prominent in this process, such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) established

in Vancouver in 1975; and regional organizations such as the Nordic Saami Council (1956), the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (1973), the Organization of Central American Indigenous Peoples in Panama (1977), the Indian Council of South America (1981), and Working Group of Indigenous Minorities of Southern Africa (WIMSA, 1996). Parallelled by the work of advocacy—and support— NGOs such as the aforementioned IWGIA, and Survival International.

These organizations can access a wide audience with their instance, and more importantly, they contribute to solidifying networks of local struggles, enhancing the of legitimization local instances not only among specialists of members of the same communities but also among the dominant sector of society. The transnational movements of Indigenous people arose after the scattered groups recognized the similarities in their historical experiences within their respective nation-states and decided to join a broad-based, transnational social movement. As a result, formerly "domestic" disputes became international claims for recognition of rights, and managed to transform the status of indigenous peoples and rural inhabitants from marginal groups to transnational activists with leverage (Sanders, 1999; Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017)

The formation of transnational campaigns and movements for indigenous rights, food sovereignty, and women's rights, as well as the formation of a viable, visible, and effective IPLCs trans-national movement, has been facilitated by an array of "transnational connections" that occurred at the end of the XXth century, and surely supported by the advent of the internet and the revolution of telecommunication, as well as thanks to the enhanced exchange of ideas, experiences, and strategies occurred in the multiplying international fora and events dedicated to IPLCs, that characterized initially the '60s-'70s, and that knew a renewed momentum in the '90s and 2000's (Sanders, 1999; Hodgson, 2002 and 2011).

Survival International stood out among international organizations for Indigenous rights mapped for this study, because it formed during the earliest stages of the decolonial process, and today is particularly active in the international campaign "Decolonize Conservation", which also resulted in two editorial projects, one being Dawson, Longo, and SI (2023), the web seminar "Behind the Fortress" organized by Survival International, hosted by activists from India and Tanzania currently opposing the conservation model in their respective countries; the other

one being "Guida Per Decolonizzare Il Linguaggio Della Conservazione" Edited by Survival International Italia (2022). "Decolonize conservation" is a campaign for the transformation of the business of conservation, into an action that does not reproduce colonial and oppressive dynamics, at the expense of IPLCs. The vision behind this campaign is underpinned by the following arguments: that IPLCs are the most suitable conservationists, indeed it is not by chance that their territories are those that maintained astonishing levels of biodiversity; that protected areas are new labels for lands that were alienated from IPLCS without the free and informed consent of the local community – as prescribed by international law; that protected areas are enforced though violence and brutality (killings, rapes) and compliance is obtained out of fear and intimidations; that the model of fortress conservation finds legitimization in a racists vision of IPLCs, according to which they are ignorant and unable to understand the necessary interventions to take care of local ecology and biodiversity; that big conservation international organizations are the facto despicable, perpetrators of a colonial system since they do not report the atrocity of conservation but instead they help gather huge funds for the implementation and diffusion of the fortress model that finds further legitimation in the conservation narrative according to which the presence of local communities is a threat to the environment; that what protected areas do a s spatial interventions is to create a space that becomes inaccessible for locals, but fully accessible for tourists and hunters denying the evidence that indigenous people are perfectly able to reach equal or even superior results in conservation, at lower financial and social costs.; therefore the current model has to be dismantled and local communities have to see their land rights respected, stop forced evictions, and brutality, and become the first allays of climate action and conservation goals. Inspired by the prescriptions of self-determination, the organizations pose a deep criticism of the system of conservation that is therefore revealed in its oppressive and colonial nature. Against such a backdrop, the rights of IPLCs are at the center of the alternative model of conservation that should be pursued at the global level. Among the communities supported by the international campaign, we find the Chenchu community from the Amrabad tiger reserve in India, and the Baka people from the forestalled area of the Congo Basin

The movement for food sovereignty is also inspired by the principle of self-determination, to improve the wellbeing of IPLCs, of those who are engaged in food

production activities (peasants, fishers, traditional livestock keepers…). The movement envisions its struggles within a transnational movement of solidarity, rejecting the philanthropy of foundations, corporations, and billionaires that channel funds to research that ultimately justifies the corporate vision of the food system. Indeed, the movement urges that any local, national, or global policy proposal on food and agriculture must build from the principles of food sovereignty (La Via Campesina, 2021).

The movement believes that the only way to make communities' voices heard is by uniting and building new alliances within and across every border. Youths and rural workers, men and women, rural and urban Social Movements, trade unions and civil society actors, progressive governments, academics, scientists, and technology enthusiasts must come together to defend this vision for our future. Indeed, the movement is based on solidarity trans-national, and inclusive, In their manifesto, the Movement specifies that "peasant" is intended as an all-encompassing term used to recognize the landless workers, farmworkers, fishers, migrants, pastoralists, food artisans (La Via Campesina, 2021) The UN Declaration on Rights Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas further re-emphasizes these instances (La Via Campesina Website[26]). Scientifically, the paradigm of Food Sovereignty is legitimized by scientific research framed with Agroecology (see seminal works by Van der Ploeg and Altieri[27]) that gathered many scholars in support of peasants' struggle and alternative worldviews.

Thanks to trans-national and trans-sectorial struggles, the movements for self-determination of indigenous people and the food sovereignty movement today comprise many organizations and local movements, who start being sided by global governance institutions such as the FAO and the UN, who have been increasingly, although not sufficiently- recognizing self-determination and food sovereignty central in international policy-making, This global movement produced its effects on how IPLCs in Tanzania started organizing collective action to renegotiate their role within the nation-state that was undergoing important neoliberal reforms, and international donors and the other actors in growingly prominent sectors of

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Van der Ploeg, J. D. (2009). The new peasantries: struggles for autonomy and sustainability in an era of empire and globalization. Routledge. Altieri, M. A. (2009). Agroecology, small farms, and food sovereignty. Monthly review, 61(3), 102-113.

cooperation to development and conservation, as well as concerning new emerging private actors that took great vantage form the opening of Tanzanian economy, in sectors such as tourism and agriculture (Hodgson 2002, 2011).

Table 4.7.1: *International Indigenous rights NGO that works in the Tanzania Northern Circuit*

NAME	LOCATION
Minority Rights Group International (MRG)	African Branch Ntinda, Kampala, Uganda
Eastern and Southern Africa Pastoralist Network (part of CELEP Network)	Kenya
Coalition of European Lobbies for Eastern Africa Pastoralism (CELEP)	Belgium
International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)	Denmark
FARM Africa	Tanzania Branch Office (Dar Es Salaam) - UK Based
Survival International	UK (different HQ in many European countries and the US)
IIED	UK

These organizations have been mapped during my stay in Tanzania. In different t ways, they are partners or allays of local organizations, and they support and enlarge the scope of their advocacy actions specifically in the sector of Conservation and Tourism, but with an approach that is careful of the peculiar needs of IPLCs.

4.7.2 The Movement of Food Sovereignty in Tanzania

Is its Mbunda (2016) among other scholars calls for the application of the principles of Food sovereignty and Agroecology must be adopted by the state in the design of agricultural policies. He indeed suggests that the best way to improve the performances of the agricultural sector, especially to meet objectives of food security and food self-sufficiency, peasants should see their conditions and their access to productive factors improved, rather than being disposed of by their lands. The author affirms such necessity because Tanzania's development has not been spared by the detrimental consequences, among rural communities, of neo-liberal farming policies, that called for a de-paganization of rural areas, in favor of large-scale farming. Such an agenda was profoundly influenced by international donors such as the World Bank. The issue of the experience of countries such as Tanzania is that, despite the huge agricultural potential and decades of agricultural reforms and investments, the population still suffers from a lack of food and low income that particularly affects inhabitants of rural areas, engaged in food production. The agricultural/food sector turned out to be a poor sector, that produces rural poor. In this perspective, food sovereignty stands as the alternative, to promoting a ago-ecological system of production that works for the food producers first, rather than for the global markets.

Locally, the movement for food sovereignty is represented by the action of MVIWATA, the National Network of Small-Scale Farmers Groups in Tanzania (La Via Campesina Website, MVIWATA Website). Recently, the umbrella organization of the peasant movement of Tanzania gathered its members in the city of Morogoro on November 17 and 18 for the 27th Annual General Meeting (AGM). During the meetings the organization developed its 2022-2026 strategic plans, identifying six areas of priority, one of them being agroecology and food sovereignty. In the vision of the organization Agroecology and food sovereignty are pillars for an alternative system, where farmers can produce in a just system that respects the rights of the producers and the consumers, the environment, and biodiversity. It prioritizes food as a right is a right, not just a mere product. Furthermore, MVIWATA is particularly concerned with land rights and security amid growing evictions, land, land speculation, and farmers not having access to land. The proliferation of agribusiness and land-base investment of various kinds is forcefully removing

people away from their lands, particularly affected by this relocation are peasants, and therefore - among the resolutions adopted at the AGM, farmers committed to strengthening their unity and advocacy for land issues, "especially the districts where farmers are facing the threat of eviction; and to strengthen farmers' leverage on existing legal mechanisms that can be used to ensure land security, and MVIWATA committed work to reduce conflicts among small scale producers on issues of land use as "access to land continues to shrink (Singh, 2022).

MVIWATA represents a huge coordinating effort for the many grassroots organizations and more or less formal groups of farmers, that stand to support farmers (knowledge exchange, advocacy, and lobbying action) while providing guidelines for the movement to act consistently. The organization has quite a capillary and extensive network and a structured participatory organization to assure participation and efficacy in interventions. More on the role of MVIWATA to improve the well-being and strengthen the collective action of local communities in the Northern regions of Tanzania, the governance of the food sector and the role of farmers groups see Razzano (in press).

Agro-ecology and food sovereignty-based actions and projects are also supported and spread thanks to international organizations that have projects and/or headquarters in Tanzania, such as The Iles de Pais (Iles de Paix Website) and Action Aid Tanzania (Website), that work to improve local livelihoods thanks to the application of Agro-ecology.

4.7.3 Movements and Organizations around the rights of IPLCs in Tanzania

IPLCs NGOs (INGOs) have emerged and multiplied throughout the world over the past few decades as a result of the articulation of global interests in empowering minorities, and local efforts by some marginalized groups to gain greater clout on the cultural, social, political, and economic agendas of their states (Sander, 1999; Hodgson, 2002). In the meantime, the renewed international attention on the issue of rights and marginalization of IPLCs took place while in Tanzania major reforms of economic liberalization and decentralization were taking place. In 1990, the first Maasai INGO was formed in Tanzania (Indigenous NGO as collectively described by Hodgson, long-time ethnographer and researcher of the Indigenous movement in Tanzania), partly in response to recent global campaigns

for the rights of "indigenous" peoples, of which Maasai people wanted to become part of. It was in predominantly Maasai areas in northern Tanzania that over one hundred INGOs emerged, attempting to organize the action of people around diverse claims of a common "indigenous" identity based on ethnicity, mode of production (being a pastoralist or hunter-gatherer), and a long history of political and economic marginalization by first the colonial and now the postcolonial nation-state (Hodgson 2002, 2011). T

Maasai are not the only group with characteristics of indigenousness in Northern Tanzania, and they never claimed to be the first people of the area (see paragraph 4.6). Other pastoralist-identified groups can be found in Tanzania such as the Parakuyo and Barabaig, and hunter-gatherer groups such as Ndorobo and Hadzabe, who just like the Maasai have been subject to repeated efforts by the colonial and then postcolonial state to alienate their land and neglect their rights. Eventually, Maasai have had more success, even though very limited, in accessing political power within the nation-state, compared to the other groups. these ethnic groups also have differences in their relationships with the government, donors, and international organizations, and with each other. Possibly, this advantage of Maasai collective action materialized because of a long history of travelers' celebrations and now tourist propaganda about Maasai which made them well-known (Hodgson, 2002; Gardner 2016). Given their long history of grievances against the Tanzanian state, framing their demands in terms of the rights of indigenous people provided the opportunity to challenge stereotypes, define a collective identity, and mobilize scattered groups. They gained greater visibility for their groups and organizations, increased legitimacy for their claims, and, inevitably, improved donor support. Their evident success in mobilizing donor funding became visible in the new offices, vehicles, jobs, and national and international travel. The international support and local success encouraged Maasai and other leaders to form even more INGOs.

Notwithstanding conflicting allegiances and divisions, Maasai and other groups formed, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, several INGOs. Some shared representation based on communal ethnic and linguistic identity among these groups, others were organized according to geography, and a few claimed broad multiethnic representation (even though according to Hodgson, 2002 many were dominated by one ethnic group). Nonetheless, all these INGOs described

themselves in some ways as representative of indigenous peoples. Their growth throughout the '90s has been tremendous: in 1994, ten registered INGOs were operating in northern Tanzania, and by 2000 there were over one hundred such organizations (Hodgson 2001; Hodgson, 2011). During my stay, I mapped those active today in the region of Arusha and neighboring regions in various projects of development/support/ natural resource management and rights lobbying and advocacy.

Table 4.7.2: *Tanzania Community Rights CSOS (Civil Society Organizations), CBOS (Community-based Organizations), NGOs working in the Northern Circuit tourism/conservation system.*

NAME	Location
Korongoro Integrated People Oriented to Conservation (KIPOG)	Loliondo (close to Ngorongoro CA)
Traditional Ecosystems Survival Tanzania (TEST)	Lolionod-Eastern Serengeti
PINGOS Forum (a consortium of organizations for pastoralists' rights)	Irkisongo (Monduli DC, close to Arusha NP)
Maasai Women Development Organization (MWEDO)	Arusha
Oseremi	Loliondo (close to Ngorongoro CA
Pastoral Women's Council (PWC)	Loliondo (close to Ngorongoro CA)

Irkisongo Pastoralist Initiatives	Monduli (close to Arusha NP)
Inyuat e Maa	Arusha
MASAWJANDA Trust	Katesh (close to Swagaswaga GR and Tarangire NP)
Longido Community Development Organization (LCDO)	Longido (close to Arusha NP)
Pastoralists Livelihood Support & Empowerment Programme (PALISEP)	Ngorongoro
Maasai Pastoralists Development Organization (MPDO)	Monduli (close to Arusha NP)
Hadzabe Survival Council of Tanzania (HSCT)	Mbulu (close to Lake Mayara NP)
Association for Law and Advocacy for Pastoralists (ALAPA)	Tanzania
Tanzania Land Alliance (ILC)	Dar es Salaam
Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition	Dar es Salaam
NCA PASTORAL COUNCIL and NCA Youth and Women Pastoral Council	Ngorongoro CA

HakiArdhi Land Rights Research and Resources Institute	Dar Es Salaam
Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC)	Dar Es Salaam
Community Research and Development Services (CORDS)	Arusha
Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (TNRF)	As part of the Northern Tanzania Rangeland Initiative NTRI. The organization still supports Enduimet in building management and executive capacity
Ujamaa Community Resource Team (UCRT)	Arusha
Ngorongoro NGOs Network (NGONET)	Ngorongoro
MVIWATA	Morogoro (Arusha has a branch office)
Multi Environmental Society (MESO)	Arusha
TAWLA (Tanzania Women Lawyer Association	Arusha

4.7.4 The positioning of the movement about the Tanzanian State and international actors: pathways to collective identity and action

In the 90s and 00s, Maasai NGOs started connecting with and positioning themselves within transnational networks of international donors, and multinational

organizations such as the United Nations to seek recognition and rights from the Tanzanian nation-state. Despite initial attempts to foster unity, promote common political agendas (such as the protection of land rights), and the creation of "umbrella" coordinating groups, the indigenous rights movement in Maasai areas became fractured by disagreements over priorities, competition over resources, and tensions over representation throughout the early 2000's (Hodgson 2002, 2011).

When the network of INGOs of Northern Tanzania started promoting itself to the world in the early 90s, it invoked the instances of "indigenous people," arguing that the Maasai struggle was "part of the global struggle of indigenous peoples to restore respect to their rights, cultural identity and to the land of their birth" (Korongoro Integrated Peoples Oriented to Conservation [KIPOC] 1991:7, as cited in Hodgson, 2002). The rhetorical move of ascribing themselves to "indigenous people's" struggles, was politically strategic; it enabled these INGOs to link their demands to international networks and institutions preoccupied with ensuring and strengthening the rights of "indigenous peoples."(Hodgson 2002; Hodgson, 2011). A contradiction characterized this process of recognition of the instance, the same that affects the application and enforcement of self-determination right, namely that "indigenous groups must demand recognition from the very nation-states that have historically treated them as second-class citizens (if citizens at all) by ignoring their rights, exploiting their resources, and disparaging their cultures and identities" (Hodgson, 2011: 6). Nonetheless, the positionality strategy of the movement turned out successful, since organizations multiplied, and their resources increased.

However, in September 2006, overwhelmed by the proliferation of NGOs, suspicious of their intentions, and challenged to distinguish illegitimate NGOs, the Tanzanian government temporarily suspended the registration of new NGOs to study the problem and review and revise their NGO registration policy. Right before that, a reform invested in the civil society sector, multiple legislation was enacted by the central government in the attempt to regulate the plethora of organizations (a complete list of acts and regulations on the matter is available on the website of the National Council of NGOs). Eventually, NGO terminology was replaced by the terminology Civil Society Organizations.

This overlapped with the phase of internal fragmentation and renovation of the movement in the early 00s. Despite many of these INGOs obtaining remarkable

results in improving local well-being (improved access to service provisions, and successful lobbying for pastoralists' land rights) and the INGOS were organized to advocate for broad political agendas of land rights, later on, the movement started fracturing. Initially united to counter the often illegal grab of the lands formerly used for livestock-herding, small-scale cultivation, hunting, and gathering on behalf of nonresident entrepreneurs, government officers, or simply due to government-imposed development and large-scale farming investments. Later, the movement became concerned with economic programs such as "development" or "service delivery" in the form of water projects, veterinary medicines, schools, and health facilities (Hodgson 2001; Hodgson, 2011). Further instances of social movement representing IPLCs strengthened around education access, improving health and social welfare, ensuring the continuity of languages, and protecting and maintaining their cultural legacy. Following the initial effort to constitute a united and cohesive collective action, the umbrella organization, Pastoralist Indigenous Peoples Non-Governmental Organization (PINGOs), was established in 1994. It comprised 6 organizations, today they are 53 (PINGO's website). Their mission today is the self-determination of pastoralists and hunters and gather communities of Tanzania. Their vision is of peaceful and just pastoralist and hunter-gatherers' communities, to be built around the principles of peace, justice, and self-determination (PINGOPs website).

Despite the initial success (in terms of funds collected, donors mobilized, and visibility reached) of the movement, later in the decade it became in disarray, its action losing clout. Its impact was undermined by conflicting agendas, misuse of funds, corruption, and unaccomplished projects (Hodgson, 2002). To find a common solution to the problem representatives from 96 INGOs attended the three-day workshop "The Future of Pastoralist NGOs in Tanzania" that took place in Arusha, Tanzania, in June 2000, sponsored by OXFAM and VETAID, among others. Discussion and debate of issues of cultural identity, power, history, representation, and accountability—between the INGOs and their constituencies, among coalitions of INGOs, and between INGOs and donors—became central during the workshop. That moment was necessary to help synthesize the huge changes occurring in the 90s and early 2000s in the political and economic landscape of Tanzania, in which the movement was operating; as a consequence of the reforms of decentralization and economic liberalization, that directly affected

the governance of INGOS in relationship with governments, and donors (Hodgson, 2002).

The workshop highlighted the internal challenges of collective action under the broad identitarian terms of pastoralists and indigenous people, around the central question of representation. In particular, the action and representation capacity of PINGOS Forum as an umbrella organization was debated. PINGOs were perceived by a portion of the participants as a platform to advance the political motives and ambitions of their leaders, or for leaders to use donor funds for personal ends; therefore, their legitimacy, transparency, and accountability were debated. Other INGOs were invested in the same debate and capacity of being true representatives of local communities' identities and instances, and more broadly the overall construction of local identities around the term indigenous was debated (Hodgson, 2002).

Among other elements, the centrality of livelihoods, rather than ethnicity, was advanced by some participants as the criterion for representation. Along this line was debated whether PINGOs had to include hunters and gathers (Hadzabe group and others). Some were favorable since Maasai and Hadzabe share land and resources and political-socio-economic marginalization. Detractors identified hunters and gather as basically poachers, while others claimed that they were backward to equally participate alongside Maasai in the same movement. Even if that workshop continued to focus on pastoralists' challenges, a group do Hadzabe representatives was invited. Eventually, the INGOS gathered at the workshop opted for a deep reform of PINGOs, to restore its reputation and capacity of keeping its representative action as democratic as possible (not expression of a dominant group at the expense of other non-Maasai groups), and the commitment to keep the action of multiple INGOS consistent (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017). Today, the PINGOs Forum represents hunters and gathers' and well as women's interests as well.

The movement could not entirely get rid of divisions and uncertainty (divisions in terms of the representation of different age groups and genders in the leadership and action of the organizations) after the 2000 Arusha Workshop. To address them, in in February 2006, PINGOs organized another workshop for its members, MPs, and guests to discuss how to work together more effectively to influence national policies for the benefit of pastoralists, and while the historical

leader of the Maasai movement Parkipuny was urging to retrieve traditions and roots, whereas younger members urged to look at the future (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017).

Specifically, internal conflicts on the role of women within the movement of INGOS emerged strongly. Many women embarked on a separate adventure and started their NGOs and projects, such as Maasai Women Development Organization (MWEDO) Pastoralist Women's Council (PWC), and CORD, at the end of the 90s-early 2000s. Still, what emerged with strength was the lack of education of women and their strife to position within the organizational landscape. According to many men in the workshop, any attempt to make them sit at the same decisional tables is a "waste of time" (as in the words of a male leader, in Hodgson, 2011:116). This gave strength for female-funded organizations to start their action. Although both MWEDO and PWC seek to "empower" Maasai women, they are perceived by other NGO leaders and donors as taking somewhat different approaches. MWEDO, focused on education and income-generating projects, is characterized as a more mainstream conventional, conciliatory approach to improving gender relations. In contrast, although PWC runs similar programs, MWEDO earned a reputation as a more radical and confrontational organization. (Hodgson 2017).

During the 2006 workshop, the intentions and the very identity of the movement were discussed, which led to a shift in the focus of the movement on economic instances of livelihoods. These were preferred by external donors and by the government (compared to political and rights-based instances), even though for the movement the definition of "development" was not univocal, and this showed the shortcomings of the movement: agreeing with Hodgson (2002) for the movement was easier to sustain a coalition based on a common political agenda (such as stronger land rights) that identifies a common "outside" adversary (the government) than being united in an alliance premised on the shared economic agenda of community development. All INGOs share a mutual interest in lobbying the nation-state to protest land alienation and to demand legal rights to their customary land, land reforms at the national level would be advantageous for all of them. However, trying to find a shared economic agenda produced disagreement and disunity, and the shift to an action based on development projects brought INGOs to compete with one another (less-funded groups demanded equitable

distribution of donor aid while older, established INGOs wanted to protect their well-established relationship with certain donors) (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017).

Furthermore, the unwillingness of most donors to directly challenge state policies, led to a constant depoliticization of the agendas of most INGOs, producing a shift from "political" concerns (land rights and self-determination) (that make some claims on the state) to more "economic" concerns (livelihoods) further fracturing the original unifying agenda of INGOs, whereas For the State and donors those objectives were less problematic and started exercising a certain pressure on the movement for this shift to occur. Unfortunately, the movement showed how its components knew what they did not want (land alienation and forceful settlement) rather than what they wanted. One reason is that they were almost always forced to respond to policies and practices that they perceived as harmful in some way, rather than have the time and political space to devise and propose policies of their own for the government to consider. But still, the lack of coherent plants is also due to the internal frictions of the movement (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017).

The result of the process of market liberalization that began in the mid-80s has been the intensification of economic inequalities and political discontent among already marginalized peoples. For pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, one of the most alarming effects of liberalization was the acceleration of land dispossessions in favor of lands for large-scale commercial farms, mining, game parks, and wildlife reserves to attract tourists (tourism at that time started emerging as a key component of the state's economic development plans), and other revenue-generating arrangement by the state, elites, and private capital. The process of decentralization of the 90's shifted great political control and economic resources to the districts, it encouraged "local" control but has also hampered government and INGO attempts to organize or implement programs that link these units. Eventually, the movement became tense between the outcomes of decentralization, the focus constantly shifting towards the grassroots level of planning that became scattered, and the regulative and legislative attempts of the central government to keep the movement under control (Hodgson 2002, 2011).

These processes had contradictory outcomes for pastoralist and indigenous people; they have opened the political space for IPLC mobilization through the formation of INGOs; but shrunk the economic space on which their livelihoods

depend by alienating their lands, encouraging "local" control and decision-making over the development process (Walwa, 2020), but undermined efforts to mobilize and coordinate trans-local civil society initiatives. With the advent of multipartyism in 1992 the relationship between Maasai leaders, Maasai NGOs, and the government became more complex: some of the opposition parties started transforming INGOs, into the "development" arm of their party. Even if an NGO tried to avoid identifying. itself with any political party, the political allegiances of its leaders (and board members) were scrutinized and discussed during the multiple internal workshops that the social movement promoted throughout the early 00s. (Hodgson 2002, 2011).

In addition, the tensions between INGOs and the national government were aggravated in multiple ways. By organizing around the identity claims of indigenousness and thus on ethnicity, INGOs have revitalized ethnic identifications and claims of collective rights that challenged democratic liberalism, and individual rights and responsibilities. Furthermore, as a post-colonial state, the Tanzanian government was wary of political organizing along ethnic lines, which were stigmatized with "tribalism," and fears that such ethnic mobilization could strengthen political opposition, produce economic and political instability, or even foster violence. Secondly, the proliferation of INGOs shifted the contributions of donors away from governmental development programs toward "local" NGO initiatives, to reach the "grassroots" level more effectively; this sparked the resentment of the Tanzanian government. Furthermore, decentralization and the sheer number of INGOs hindered government efforts to monitor and control INGO. Such control occurred primarily at the district or village level, hampering efforts for more systematic oversight, planning, and coordination. Finally, the failure of a viable coalition of INGOs significantly hindered their effectiveness as advocates at the national level. Moreover, the movement neglected to engage the Tanzanian government as much as it did with Western donors (Hodgson 2002, 2011).

Maasai activists repositioned themselves in multiple, critical ways between 2000 and recent days (Hodgson 2011, 2017). They abandoned their efforts at international advocacy to focus almost exclusively on more effective (and less confrontational) advocacy with the Tanzanian state. As part of this change, they reframed their struggles from a discourse of "indigenous rights" to that of "pastoralist livelihoods," a discourse more acceptable to the state's interests in

economic development. This way, some organizations became partners of the government in the implementation of the livestock policies in the early 00s. Moreover, in recognition of the increasingly negative perceptions of NGOs and the expanding visibility and strength of civil society in Tanzania, they renamed their organizations as civil society organizations (CSOs). These changes were at least modestly, successful. Repositioning themselves from "indigenous peoples" to "pastoralists," from a demand for "rights" to a demand for secure "livelihoods," and from NGOs to CSOs has enabled them to establish a more productive, if still difficult, relationship with the state (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017). However, some activists reported to Hodgson that they were wary of this new "livelihood" trajectory, which they felt was an externally imposed agenda, conducive for donors, but that was leading the Tanzanian movement to lose its connection with a big global movement of IPLCs (Hodgson 2002, 2011, 2017).

Moreover, as the descriptions of contemporary Maasai communities made clear, the concept of "pastoralist livelihoods," raised challenges about the definition: "Who, at a time of increasing diversification into agriculture, mining, and wage employment, is a "pastoralist" anymore?"(Hodgson 2011:214). The workshops of the early '00s reflected the external adjustment produced by the combination of neoliberalism and decentralization, internally embedded by the movement through the discussion and adjustment of pastoralists and indigenous identity and relationship with the nation-state. In an age of huge administrative and economic adjustment, the movement embarked on a three-fold journey to find its internal and external identity.

Given the enduring centrality of the nation-state (itself colonial) to neoliberal economic transformations, the shift to a discourse of "pastoralist livelihoods" could perhaps be understood as a "sell-out" to government pressure, a concession to neoliberal demands to talk only in the terms of economic development. Nonetheless, INGO leaders and members soon realized that they would not achieve an effective political lobby and working relationship with their donors and the Tanzanian government until they sorted out the basis for their claims to be recognized as "indigenous," establish a common political agenda, and form, by participatory and accepted procedures, a truly representative umbrella organization with the legitimate authority to represent constituent members in national-level political efforts (Hodgson, 2011).

177

For Maasai and other groups, "becoming indigenous" (Hodgson, 2011) was, and still is one of the only politically viable strategies to pose their long-standing instances before their states, they have gained greater visibility, increased legitimacy, and enormous resources by joining the international movement of indigenous people. They have embedded a complex debate around inclusion, exclusion, and representation - that has intensified the shortcomings of the movement, under international scrutiny, but this did not stop the movement from coping with and overcoming them.

Gaining recognition of indigenousness (at least internally since the Tanzania government does not de-facto recognize the presence of "indigenous people" among its citizens) is a first step toward demanding rights and protecting resources. It is in this perspective that this study argues for a more radical view of community – inspired by Indigenous people's Movements- to guide policies of land and tourism. In fact, in the case of the Maasai people, a key impetus for the emergence of indigenous activism in the last decades has been the sustained threats to indigenous land, territories, and resources by colonial and postcolonial states as a result of conservation and tourism. The brutal agenda of conservation and ecotourism, in the vision of local movements and activities, is forcibly imposed through relocations, to make room for game parks and buffer zones, prohibited from accessing and using customary resources to protect forest reserves. The advancement of the movement and its ongoing re-positioning with state and non-state actors has led to new campaigns, such as the one of Survival International, ascribed in the process mentioned by Hodgson in her work (2011), that advocate for a transformative chance of conservation, where the narrative can be inversed: thanks to the widening of the visibility of social movements through social media, alliances between Western environmentalists (and some indigenous activists) have linked issues of biological diversity to cultural diversity, and renewed images of indigenous peoples. The representations of indigenous peoples have been transformed from being the "destroyers" of nature to the "protectors" of biodiversity and practitioners of environmental "sustainability".

This process is bringing about a new renegotiation of the role of local IPLC movements (in Tanzania as well as outside Tanzania) within the trans-local movements and with internal organizations, as much as with the state (as the exacerbating fights in Ngorongoro and Loliondo are showing). In this perspective,

the necessity of the state to embark on democratic "reforms of "decentralization"—made the state even more wary of the collective instances of indigenous peoples and their organizations, especially if they increase their legitimacy and visibility at an international level.

As Niezen (2003) argues, adopting the term "indigenous" marks a transcendence over the narrow concerns of "ethnicity". Simultaneously, the concept draws on those same ethnic concerns. By imagining a different kind of community - once located within states but connected beyond states, a transformed, trans-local community materializes, busy articulating its instances and its own identity between the local and global. In this sense, the "tensions" experienced by the Indigenous movement of Tanzania unfold between the position before the state and the connection with trans-local movements; between the growing importance of market and cash economy in determining local livelihoods, and the importance of preserving traditions. It is possible to argue that the success of the movement of INGOs in Tanzania helped IPLCs to transform themselves from subjects to citizens within their state, by drawing on rights as citizens to demand justice and change. They learned from the comparative experiences of other indigenous peoples how to lobby and advocate for the state (Niezen, 2003; Chabal, 2009; Hodgson 2011), even if the complex arrangement of power relations, the enduring huge environmental, social, and political changes push the movement and each individual who wants to ascribe its struggle to the movement to never stop renovating and renegotiating its role, and its position within the state, within local communities and the rightful instances of legitimate representation, and the immense plethora of powerful donors that at very different extent are truly sensitive towards indigenous instances.

Currently, in the Northern regions of Tanzania (predominantly Maasai areas) some local movements and organizations represent the current legacy of the organizational movements that gained momentum in the 90's. These organizations are at the forefront of the fights where conflicts and controversial relocation in the name of conservation are occurring in the Northern Safari Circuit and reported also by international media, in Ngorongoro CA (see chapter 2.8 and Razzano, 2023) and in the Loliondo area (PINGOS Forum et al., 2013; Gardener, 2016; IGWIA website), as recently reported in the dedicated channels of the social movement,

and in the international news (MCQue et al., 2022; Craig, 2023; PINGOs Forum Youtube Channel; PINGOs Forum web site; Ndaskoi,2021).

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Problem Overview

Community-based conservation managed to impose a process of tourism development on local communities in Global South Countries, despite its participatory premises, whereas the materialization of long-term benefits, as well as good governance of participation, are struggling to materialize. On the contrary, the CBNRM literature suggests that benefits are intercepted by central governments (accumulation and re-centralization) or international actors, while the local conditions are affected by ongoing conflicts over resources, issues of representation of the community's interests, and neglection of local perspectives on the matter (which result in a colonial state of conservation and of the model of tourism development). Against this backdrop., communities' experience is tensed towards self-determination and sovereignty aspirational values, while being often kept in a condition of subjection. Such experience finds expression in the instances of trans-local and transnational indigenous and peasants' movements and organizations, that oppose and advance instances for the end of injustice, coloniality, and discrimination that is produced by the system of conservation and Ecotourism. This state of things can be assessed both about Tanzania specifically, and about Global South in general, according to the literature reviewed. This specific study investigates one case study of community-based conservation from the Northern Circuit of Tanzania, namely Enduimet WMA.

5.1 Building an explorative, interpretative, and reflexive research approach based on Thematic Analysis

I relied on the prescriptions of (reflexive) Thematic Analysis (TA) for the literature review and initial building of the research design (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Braun and Clarke 2019) I found in TA guidance, a toolbox, as well as a suitable framework for pre-field and post-field activities. First, I needed conceptual and analytical flexibility, especially in pre-field activities and during the process of defining the research design, since I was shifting my approach and moving towards a more critical one. The thematic analysis comes in handy because allows great flexibility (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Braun and Clarke 2019). Data are analyzed following the prescriptions and phases of Reflexive Thematic Analysis (Braun and

Clarke, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2019; Braun et al., 2019; Braun and Clarke, 2020; Byrne, 2022). The analysis is going to interpret local perceptions and understand local dynamics and their interplanetary at different scales and in different sectors. The analysis will be supported by the use of NVivo software to answer question number 1 and 2, see Chapter 6 for methodologies of data analysis.

Before that, Thematic Analysis was selected to guide the literature review and data analysis because it well with meaning identification, with the interpretation of people's experiences. It allows working with the interpretation of people's lives, which is my research goal: the description and comprehension of how communities live and what they experience within the ecotourism phenomenon, by amplifying their voices, to offer an alternative interpretation of the occurrences of that specific, local tourism system. TA is suggested for interpretative studies, as my study is (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Braun and Clarke 2019)

TA serves the purpose of interpretative research (Geerz, 1973; Chabal, 2009; Corbetta 2014) and interview content interpretation, however, interpretative research is possible only once the researcher can discern between the meanings *proper of the* participants and meanings proper of the observer[28], (Braun and Clarke, 2019; Jaspal 2020). I attempted to discern first and then to understand the perspective of participants, through the identification of interviewees' motivations, intentions, and perceptions, about a specific bit of social and political reality, while locating their perspective within the broader social, cultural, and political, multi-scalar context.

TA is chosen among other analyses because, in the context of conservation, the community perspective is not only overlooked but is not understood, therefore a focus on the point of view of the community is needed to enrich the public debate and increase awareness. Indeed, the community's behaviors are intended as deviance, criminalized in the institutional narrative of conservation policies (Dawson and Longo, 2023; Chabal, 2009). For instance, IPLCs (Indigenous People and Local Communities) living in protected areas are sometimes identified as responsible for illogic and counterproductive actions that go against governments' environmental policies, such as remonstrative boycotting actions, or resentment

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[28] Jaspal, R. (2020). Content analysis, thematic analysis and discourse analysis. Research methods in psychology, 1, 285-312.

demonstrations against conservation institutions and even against wildlife itself. Such behaviors simply rely on a different rationality than the one proper of the central government and conservation institutions and deserve scientific interpretation.

According to the interpretative (Geerz, 1973; Chabal, 2009; Corbetta 2014) approach adopted in this study, to ontology and epistemology of the social reality affected by relations among social actors, and power relations ultimately determine whose meanings are legitimized, and whose are discarded. Therefore qualitative, interpretative research was identified as the best put forward alternative perspectives held by those not in power, such as indigenous people, local communities, and minorities.

Reflexivity is also key in TA because it acknowledges that researchers make active choices that affect research and analysis, and also deal with a constrained environment (limited time and resources prompt the researcher to make pragmatic choices, and I tried to explain the justification of those choices when they affect the research process). Indeed, the TA acknowledges that the researcher needs to justify her/his choices[29]. I recognize that myself, my vision, and my standpoint inevitably affected fieldwork and will affect my interpretation of data (i.e. critical approach to post-colonial studies and development studies). Against this backdrop, I worked on choice justification and explanations of results interpretation.

The research design process was highly influenced by the challenges faced by the local community living inside or near protected areas in the Northern Circuit and reported in Tanzanian and International media throughout 2022 and 2023, and thus by the need to offer an alternative interpretation of the hegemonic model of conservation and Ecotourism, even when this is undertaken under community-based premises, and the need to grasp and understand the neglected perspective of the local community. The conflicts occurring in Northern Tanzania prompted the necessity of the investigation of multiple scales (local, but simultaneously national and global) of the factors affecting communities in Ecotourism and the necessity of a complex, multi-layered investigation, to understand an often-neglected perspective. Hence, chose an explorative and interpretative approach to my, study,

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[29] Ibid.; Braun and Clarke, 2019.

which potentially constitutes the germ from which to start further, more specific, reflections and prompt more specific research questions.

When I arrived in Tanzania, I started preparing myself for the field. I started attending a local university, reading local newspapers, lively discussions with my supervisor, I started traveling and visiting protected areas in the Northern Circuit (the network of National Parks and reserves in northern regions of Tanzania). Observations and external stimuli became key in transforming my vision not only of the subject but of the whole research approach. I became familiar with the local and international instances of social movements regarding the conservation sector, and I became more and more familiar with the struggles in Ngorongoro and the use of repressive force against the population, by reading local newspapers and informally chatting with friends and key stakeholders of the tourism sector (like tour guides, local and international tourists, and owners of tour operator companies), which are easy to meet in Arusha urban center.

Particularly insightful were the outputs produced within the international campaign "Decolonize Conservation" by Survival International. One of these outputs was the "Behind the Fortress" seminar, that I attended online in November 2022. It was organized by Survival International NGO (an international umbrella NGO that supports local and indigenous activists currently active in a campaign called "De-colonize Conservation") together with The Internationalists (a media organization and editorial project that advocates for global social and environmental justice and equality), and indigenous activists and scholars from India and Northern Tanzania. On such a platform, indigenous scholars can express alternative worldviews and are valued as producers of knowledge, a knowledge that is considered valuable even if not produced in the powerful academic centers of the global north. IPLCs (Indigenous People and Local Communities) representatives are invited as producers of alternative knowledge, that reject imperialism in conservation and ecotourism.

I approached literature review, and I started collecting notes and memos prompted by observations and stimuli I received while participating in lectures, seminars, and conversations with my local supervisor and with local actors. I started selecting topics in observation and literature that helped me give sense to the conflicts I was witnessing affecting communities committed to conservation. I started a preliminary Thematic Analysis of literature using Nvivo.

One of the early themes I identified in literature reviews I were the instances and claims of indigenous scholars or scholars that investigate from an indigenous perspective, who try to point out how Western (white) science should acknowledge the discriminatory and imperialistic extent of both its assumptions and its outcomes (see Chapter 4). In the Manifesto of social movements such as La Via Campesina (2021), or in critical, decolonial works such as Dawson and Longo (2023), McAlvay et al, (2021); Reyes-García et al, (2022a) or Adams and Mulligan (012), an alternative world vision is legitimized, and so are IPLCs' instances of self-determination and the rejection of the colonialist environmental and agricultural agenda.

Thus, I witnessed in the literature a convergence of efforts within IPLCS sparse in the globe produced useful literature that challenges hegemonic paradigms, and that was used in my study as a theoretical counterpart, to provide an alternative explanation of (and the opportunity to overcome) policy failure (of community-based, decentralization, and tourism development), which traditional literature in tourism and conservation studies struggle to explain beyond the failure itself, hence to overcome what Chabal (2009) identifies as a limitation of Western social and political sciences, which he calls *African pessimism.* In his book, Chabal highlights the inadequacy of the social sciences approach to post-colonial Africa, which eventually winded up in the so-called «African pessimism». Unfortunately, regardless of the reason (internationally unbalanced power dynamics that lead to neo-colonial exploitation, lack of internal institutional capacity and corruption, lack of democracy), Africanists usually conclude with very pessimistic statements about post-colonial Africa, like there is nothing we can do; alternatively, they produce policy suggestions that do not substantially problematize the premises and the outcomes of such policies. Against the backdrop of political failure, Chabal (2009) identifies a certain conceptualization of agency, which he identifies as an important part of renovating the discourse of social and political sciences applied to Africa: it allows to capture the changes and transformations occurring within Africa society, but most importantly, the concept of agency allows to counter the main causalities of "African pessimism" and political failure (which is not erased, it more simply offers a theoretical chance to overcome it):. Juxtaposing agency to the casualties of African pessimism allows indeed to put forward how much communities *achieve* (*the politics of smiling)*, despite a detrimental background (*the politics of suffering*,

i.e. corruption, lack of democracy and rights), and offers the opportunity to act (and not resign to political failure). This gave me a new insight into social movements and the local struggles I was reading about in the media: local communities have aspirations for their future, and they can powerfully come together to express those aspirations, fighting for them. I realized communities were not helpless, on the very contrary, they were organizing, and collectively acting to shape and self-determine their future. Thematic Analysis of literature helped me identify relevant topics in the scientific debate and in the political debate advanced by social movements, that linked well and explained the conflicts going on in conservation, in Tanzania and many other countries.

During this preliminary phase of research, I tried to recognize -for the first time in my study experience- that I am a white European researcher with a *privilege*, going to investigate a post-colonial context I do not belong. This mainly translated into an investigation approach that was more oriented to listening and understanding, rather than on the provision of solutions to local problems. The positionality of the observer was one of the main topics I identified during literature thematic analysis, especially in ethnographic-based or Indigenous-produced literature approaching the study of conservation. In this sense, reflexivity of observation and the research process adopted in this study prompted, on the one hand, the adoption of Thematic Analysis per se, but on the other hand, it also emerged as a recurring, central theme in the literature (especially critical and indigenous led) I was reviewing.

To conclude, I tried to adopt TA as an approach for desk and field activities because it refuses epistemological and theoretical dichotomies and allows flexibility in the exploration and reflexivity. This way, TA can help the researcher to make sense of what appears in the data rigorously, even if the researcher wants to move across approaches and conceptualizations. Furthermore, TA deeply acknowledges subjectivity, the *persona* that affects the empirical setting, as well as the analysis. "Topics do not *emerge*. The researcher is *Active*" (min 26:49)[30]. Moreover, TA gives a range of analytical possibilities: it can be either straightforward (descriptive,

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[30] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zFcC10vOVY. Braun and Clarke offer an introductory lesson to University of West England in 2018.

"giving voice to people"[31]) or sophisticated ("telling a story" and "locating it into a broader social, cultural, political, historical context"[32]) and it can be both at the same time, serving the purpose for which qualitative research is most valued for[33].

[31] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zFcC10vOVY. Braun and Clarke offer an introductory lesson to University of West England in 2018. Min 21:06 and following.

[32] Ibid. Min: 21:23 and following.

[33] Ibid.

5.2 Literature Thematic Analysis to build the theoretical framework and the research design.

Within the extended system of conservation and ecotourism, my initial idea was to select a small number of ecotourism/conservation initiatives in the Northern Safari Circuit, based on different paradigms and models of conservation and business. Initial objectives were, on the one hand, to highlight the downsides for the communities and, on the other, to put forward a critique of ecotourism, conservation, and their deemed sustainability, while identifying the best practices (likely, best practices would have been detected within a community-based scheme like a WMA, as opposed to National Parks). I was familiar with the struggles faced by the community at that time, but less with the anti-imperialistic standpoint embedded in the actions of movements and international organizations, and with the Marxist critics around CBNRM as a form of capitalistic expansion and rhetorical legitimation for neoliberal conservation policies and neoliberal tourism development.

I thus shift the focus and interpretation of literature from an actor-based standpoint (which actor of the ecotourism system advances best practices, such as. grass-root participation, and how can these best practices be valorized; or on the contrary, which actor is irresponsible and how can it be corrected- the expectation being fortress conservation should learn from community-based conservation), to a multi-scalar and multi-factorial interpretation of the interplay between unbalanced power relations, the stakes of tourism development, and how all these would affect the life of the local community. In other words, I think I shifted my approach from one closer to territorial sociology (focused on development paradigms, tourism development, and management of tourism destinations) to one of political ecology (that helped to unmask how CBC/CBNRM the object of a lively debate, deemed controversial and a form of greenwashing of dispossession).

I started by gathering Eco-tourism definitions and conceptualization of tourism governance pillars, to highlight, on the one hand, the implications of power relations in the definition of tourism segments (indigenous vs cultural tourism) and to highlight how urgent it is to criticize and problematize the political and academic discourse around Ecotourism in the Global South. On the other, I had to identify

and assess the governance outcomes according to different pillars (participation, transparency, accountability), to explain power relations in tourism development (Chapter 1) Governance eventually resulted as a central topic to investigate in my study (after preliminary phase of Thematic Analysis of theoretical literature) to grasp the changing dynamics of power and authority, participation as affected by the community-based turn and the decentralization/revolution reforms in Tanzania. Literature has wide sourcing: both theoretical and empirical literature was employed, investigating case studies from different countries in the Global South (and Tanzania, specifically).

Accordingly, in Chapter 2, one can find literature on devolution reforms, and the studies in this extensive chapter focused on the effects and the premises of such reforms in the Global South: the objective was to use such literature to inform and provide a framework to assess to what extent the case study could represent a successful case of grass-root participation in tourism development, but also to explain how local participation in the Ecotourism scheme Enduimet WMA is necessarily influenced by the failure of decentralization reforms at the national level, especially governance of land and resources, which in turn was inspired by an international, western-dominated debate on bottom-up participation to ensure democracy, and demanded, if not imposed, by global governance institutions of development (such as WB and FMI). To observe the outcomes of these reforms, and to observe the constraining factors that hinder devolution and participation, land was identified as the additional central thematic area of investigation, the battlefield where to witness the clash of conflicting interests, and the interplay of power relations: land rights, land reforms, land conflicts, they all offer a perfect point of observation to understand the role of the community in the system of Ecotourism.

Literature about topics in Chapters 1 and 2 comes either from political ecology, critical or Marxist studies, and decolonial studies. The choice was prompted by the necessity of addressing unbalanced power relations and unveiling the mechanisms of imposition of a hegemonic paradigm (of conservation, of tourism development) onto local communities. Such imposition is often not acknowledged in tourism studies, thus the need for a critical, alternative approach (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016).

In addition, I focused on critical, and Indigenous-based or movements-based literature to interpret the reaction of multiple communities in Global South countries-

with major national commitment to conservation development- that started organizing themselves in trans-local networks to ask for the end of coloniality in conservation, for self-determination of development, and the end of those processed that threat their culture and identity (Chapter 4). Thematic Analysis allowed a very clear identification of this issue in critical literature about conservation: the legitimization of indigenous-led production of knowledge, and the legitimization of indigenous-based collective action and local communities' instances to explore alternative models of conservation. In this perspective, Indigenous identity and local culture became a central topic of investigation, because their legitimization can be considered both the root cause and the final goal, essential elements of a fair, sustainable, decolonial system of conservation.

Preferred sources for the creation of research tools were context-specific empirical literature, legislative and policy documents, together with WMA policy implementation reports and Enduimet-specific research reports. Such documentation informed the description and analysis of the case study Enduimet WMA (presented in Chapter 3) The intent was to develop research tools specifically adapted to the context of Enduimet (deepening the issues already reported in the literature and reports about WMAs), and at the same time flexible enough to allow replicability for other community-based ecotourism investigations (with minor adjustments they can be easily employed to investigate a case in Tanzania, whereas with deeper revisions they could be employed for a case study in another country in the Global South).

Desk activities resulted in the identification of three investigation "blocks", or topics, which are the ones reported in the title, and constituted the main area of investigation during focus groups and interviews. Selected after the review of the literature using Nvivo, they emerged as the most relevant to address the role of the local community involved in a project of participatory neoliberal conservation. These are governance (of the protected area, governance of participation, and power/decisions structure); land and natural resources dynamics (access, governance, conflicts, perceptions, meanings); local culture and identity (and possible perception of threat/loss of culture and identity on behalf of participants). Mapping literature on Nvivo, following multiple phases of TA (which prescribe also going back to initial categorizations to revise them), allowed the organization of

theoretical concepts in a framework suitable and effective to reach the research objective and understand the role of communities in ecotourism".

Initially guided by the question "Is Enduimet WMA a case of effective community participation, during the whole research process, research questions and objectives were revised and adapted to improve the explicative capital of the study research objectives were finalized after data gathering and preliminary interpretation of data. This chapter is an attempt to reinstitute the work that preceded and followed field activities and the analysis of findings.

Debunking research myths and moving across disciplines and observational standpoints

Other than indigenous-based and movement-based literature, a very influential element in my personal research project was the local research strand I "encountered" while studying at the Nelson Mandela University in Arusha (NMAIST). There, I met my supervisor, a scholar of biodiversity and conservation who turned to political ecology. Not only did he suggest readings, but inevitably contaminated my view of what was important and what was not important. His journey as a scholar itself was inspirational: from hard sciences to social sciences, from a technical approach to conservation to a more problematized, and ultimately political one. His experience and approach convinced me that I had to locate my dissertation within a concrete space, made of political and rights-based instances.

The readings he suggested gave me new perspectives on access theory and landscape as a lens to read how conservation and ecotourism actors relate with each other – and how their interests inevitably clash (Moyo et al., 2017[34]; Bluwstein et al., 2017[35]). More in general, these readings gave me accounts of the political ecology approach that I embedded in mine; they gave me new perspectives on conservation NGOs as perpetrators of an imperialistic agenda (Mbaria and

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[34] Moyo, F., Funk, S., & Pretzsch, J. (2017). Between policy intent and practice: Negotiating access to land and other resources in Tanzania's wildlife management areas. Tropical Conservation Science, 10, 1940082917744167.

[35] Bluwstein, J., Moyo, F., & Kicheleri, R. P. (2016). Austere conservation: understanding conflicts over resource governance in Tanzanian wildlife management areas. Conservation and Society, 14(3), 218-231.

Ogada 2017[36]), while in my initial expectations (of a researcher coming from development and sustainability studies), NGOs were identified as multipliers of best practice. These readings helped me question my assumptions and debunk some of my myths.

Reading "The Politics of Suffering and Smiling" (Chabal, 2009) helped me to feel comfortable working on the edge of disciplines, overcoming old distinctions, and questioning social and political science universal concepts and approaches. I gained new perspectives on political/social concepts such as *conflicts, clientelism, religion, democratic election, and ethnicity*. These are conceived too strictly and too Eurocentrically but universally prescribed by political and social sciences to investigate non-European contexts, whereas they may have a rational justification in the local political and social context. This reading also helped to locate my thinking within a bigger picture. Indeed, the Western mindset (and Western science) approaches reality through dichotomies and fixed categorizations, such as the man/nature one. This is because Western conceptualization of politics and society usually revolves around dichotomies that to some extent can help read developed countries' realities, but inevitably fail to give an account of Africa, whose reality can be better understood if we consider those concepts as *edges* of a *continuum*. It is possible to visualize social actors' actions and assess social/political reality as constantly *tense* between those edges.

Possibly, progress (whether intended as "development", or "democracy") in the global South will find context-specific, materialization that will be different than what occurred in European countries or the Global North, and social and political sciences have to be ready to give an interpretation.

As I said, my view of communities, rather than being inspired by concepts such as "participation", is better expressed by the instances of self-determination and sovereignty claimed by social movements and civil society organizations (see Chapter 4). This vision is successful because it shifts the passive role of communities as envisioned in participation (participation that is realized and wanted by institutions through participatory design of policies, in which communities are expected to participate, without consulting them on what the result of these

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[36] Mbaria, J. and Ogada, M. (2016) The Big Conservation Lie - The untold Story of Wildlife conservation in Kenya. Lens&Pens Publishing LLC. Auburn WA. USA.

decisions should look like), to an active role of communities, who internally reflect on their aspirations and their future, and collectively organize and act to materialize self-determined future scenarios.

In this fashion, I found a bridge to connect literature on neglected and oppressed indigenous knowledge in conservation policies and agency of local communities for self-determinate futured despite often being interpreted as failure case of democratization/development/participation (African pessimism), experiences such as Enduimet should also be valorized by researchers because sustained by local people who elaborate strategies of resiliency, who try to protect their and *our* e future in the age of climate change, who treasure conservation of biodiversity despite it creates for them, disenfranchisement, marginalization, financial crises, and social, political, and environmental shocks.

Eventually, rather than a comparative study among different paradigms of conservation, I decided that I would focus my research on one case of community-based protected area, namely Enduimet WMA. This choice served the purpose of adapting my research to the time and money context: the research I imagined, where data gathering would occur in multiple protected areas very far from each other, was impossible to realize with my means. In addition, this choice was justified by the will to insert my research with Dr. Moyo's research strand, to support local research needs, rather than imposing my own.

This choice turned out as a virtue because it allowed me to criticize the alternative approach of CBNRM as a greenwashing project advancing a coopted project of grassroots participation and move broader critics to the cooptation of local participation in tourism development /conservation programs.

5.3 Research Objectives and Questions

The final research objectives were elaborated after data gathering, after spending almost 20 days among the villagers of Irkaswaa and Tingatinga (2 of the 11 villages of Enduimet WMA), and towards the end of my overall 7-month stay in Arusha. Preliminary analysis and interpretation of the testimonies heard during field activities guided the process of definition of research objectives after the field.

After data gathering, I integrated insights from the literature and formed the field, and I elaborated my research design and objectives: The explorative research aims at the comprehension of how the tension between devolution/decentralization and re-centralization in Eco-tourism policies in Global South countries (CBNRM Community-based Natural Resource Management/ CBC Community-based Conservation) affects hosting communities, observing directly one case study: Enduimet WMA.

Community-based conservation managed to impose a process of tourism development on local communities despite its participatory premises, whereas the materialization of long-term benefits, as well as good governance of participation, are struggling to materialize.). Against this backdrop, communities' experience is tensed towards self-determination and sovereignty aspirational values, while being often kept in a condition of subjection. Such experience finds expression in the instances of trans-local and transnational indigenous and peasants' movements and organizations. This state of things can be assessed both about Tanzania specifically, and about Global South in general, according to the literature reviewed.

These dynamics (centralization/recentralization, conflicts, dispossessions) have been directly observed in the local context of Enduimet WMA, trying to understand in which position the community was found, about ecotourism development and conservation: is it a position of marginalization/exclusion/disenfranchisement? On the other hand, the analysis tried to interpret local perceptions and seek the valorization of the perspective of the Enduimet community to see how this changes the dominant developmental narrative of Ecotourism, to create a new one, and possibly improve the condition/elevate the role currently possibly occupied by Enduimet community in the WMA

Figure 5.3: Final Research Design

OBJ: INVESTIGATE THE ROLE COMMUNITY IN CBC&CBT, EXPLORING THE TENSION BETWEEN RECENTRALIZATION & PARTICIPATION, AND BETWEEN SELF-DETERMIATION AND SUBJECTION TO HIGHLIGHT COMMUNITY'S PERSPECTIVE AND LEGITIMIZE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS INSTANCES, through the direct observation of case study

ASSUMPTION: DE FACTO-DECENTRALIZATION/DEVOLUTION (OF POWER AND BENEFITS) IN CBC-CBT IS JEOPARDIZED BY DISPOSSESSION/ACCUMULATION, PATRIMONIAL INTERESTS, UNBALNACED POWER RELATION, AND CONFLICTS DYNAMICS.

ASSUMPIONT: SELF-DETERMINATION&SOVERIGNITY ARE ADOPTED TO OVERCOME THE LIMITANTION INHERENT TO PARTICPATION-ORIENTED POLICIES. THEY ARE ADOPTED ALSO TO TRANSFORM THE NARRATIVE AND THE DISOCURCE AROUND ECOTURISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INDIGENOUS POEPLE AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Figure 5.3

To reach the research objective, I posed the following research questions related to the case study:

1."To what extent are devolution and decentralization occurring *defacto* in the community-based protection scheme under observation? Or in other words, to what extent is the community participating in the CBC-CBT scheme, Enduimet WMA?";

2."To what extent can local farming and pastoralist communities move towards a condition of self-determination and how does conservation affect such condition?";

I formulated the research questions in a way that they were not answered by a yes/no answer. I formulated questions in a way that a definitive answer is very hard to give because every time is possible to identify a new finding that goes in the opposite direction of the previous one. The "To what extent..." formulation of research questions indeed reflects the "tension" and "exploration" abstractions that I developed for my theoretical framework and my research objectives respectively. I adopted a continuum-like conceptualization to move more fluidly between paradigms (decentralization/centralization do not represent two irreconcilable extremes, but rather the edges of a continuum within which it is possible to interpret social and political reality)

Figure 5.3.1: representation of the final conceptual framework of the study. Along these axes which represent the continuum, can be located the experience of local communities in Ecotourism and conservation systems, to define their role
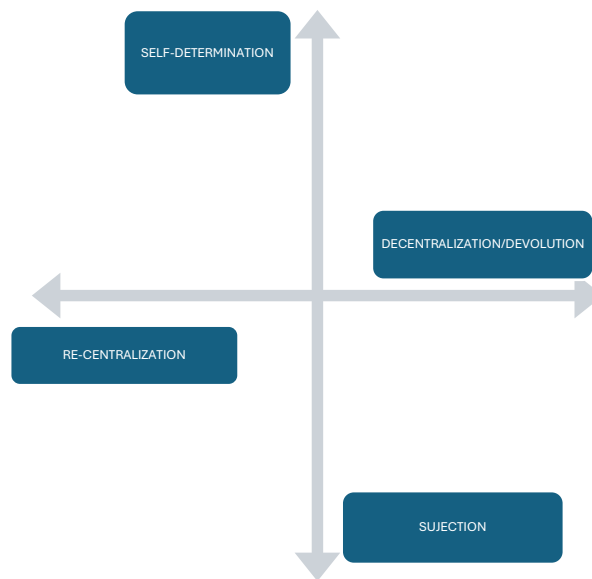
Figure 5.3. 1

To understand the complexity of the dialectic between community and eco-tourism, I envisioned the reality of the local community as revolving around two axes, intersecting in the middle: a horizontal one going from re-centralization to decentralization/devolution, representing the tension in the legislative and political realm after the community-based turn; the second one moving along the self-determination and subjection continuum. Ideally then, following the community-based and devolution turn, the global recognition of indigenous people's rights and the global success of trans-national movements and organizations that advocate

for the rights of IPLCs, I would imagine that a positive and empowered position for communities would be in the sector comprised between the "devolution/decentralization" extreme and the "self-determination" extreme; while a detrimental position would be the one between the "subjection" and "re-centralization" extremes. Along the axes, the observer can locate the actions of social actors; and the sum, the progression of their actions contributes to locating "the role of the community" in one or the other sector.

Therefore, occurrences such as land conflicts, evictions and use of military force, oppression of minorities, accumulation by dispossession, rent interests, and corruption "move" the community towards the detrimental condition of subjection within a context of re-centralization of resources, power, and benefits on behalf of the central government; while at the very opposite, actions of rights advocacy, the exercise of democracy, local participation, gender-equality actions, and respect of the alternative worldviews, knowledge, culture, and practices of IPLCs upgrades their condition towards an ideal self-determined and participatory future.

I theoretically juxtaposed the institutional vision behind innovative conservation policies (community-based conservation) to the social movements instances (food sovereignty and self-determination) to highlight how policies, at least partially, fail to materialize benefits at the community level. Such juxtaposition of visions (participation vs self-determination and sovereignty) is used to point out how participation-aimed reforms fail because based on a weak concept (community participation), which is easy to deceive, especially in a context affected by public officers and leaders' rent-seeking interests and corruption. In such a scenario, community-based policies lead to land conflicts and resource accumulation by dispossession, not improving the conflictual fortress conservation model of national parks.

On the other hand, I retrieve self-determination and food sovereignty instances to advance a radical view of what communities should be entitled to (greater power, effective authority, land rights security) and suggest that their inspirational values should be employed in tourism and conservation policy design, for the concrete materialization of long-term community benefits. Not only do community-based policies fail, but they are designed with no IPLC perspective, no alternative perspective than the developmental/democratic (institutional) one. Despite being to some extent innovative in their rhetoric, community-based policies

are not open to other worldviews and alternative meanings of important foundational categories, such as "nature" and "development", which meanings should be shared and inclusive. The former is intended as the static place in which a community acts, behaves, and organizes; the latter is intended as the dynamic perspective towards which communities should move to

Enduimet case study was selected because of its relevance to the debate around the conflict between communities and protected areas because its origin is marked in conflicts with local villages and lack of transparency. However, it is also a destination with great tourism development potential, that the community has the wish to benefit from. For all these reasons, I selected Enduimet WMA as my case study and its community as the unit of observation. About the selection criteria, see Chapter 6. Under direct observation is a small part of the community of Enduimet, namely two villages (Irkaswaa and Tingatinga), members of the protected area. The community of farmers and pastoralists observed is represented in the study by 43 participants, encountered during 9 focus groups.

The village is an important analytical scale and analytical unit in the analysis of the findings: the village is intended as the formal organization of the local community that is entitled to deal with the protected area and is the local body entitled to land rights (in Tanzania indeed there is a category of land known as village land). On the other hand, another important analytical category is the local community considered as a livelihood (farming and pastoralism) community: the detrimental effects of the expansion of protected areas on communities' livelihoods, and livelihood needs are likely to be shared among participants, and livelihoods can be a good entry point for interpretation, since directly and most heavily impacted by conservation.

5.4 Building Research Tools

I planned to build research tools in a way that I could use the same set of questions, with all the actors involved, with minimum adaptation between actors. This strategy was chosen for the chance to gain multiple perspectives (on the same topics of investigation to identify similarities or contradictions. As I said, I used context-specific literature (especially search reports), to build research tools on the one hand, around the broad issues of the protected are-community relationship, and on the other, around the issues of the selected case study. This gave continuity to previous research. For instance, a very useful performance assessment report by Emanuel Sulle (2008[37]) on the transparency of the management of wildlife-based revenues in Longido District (where Enduimet is located) gave me different suggestions on what to detect about the transparency of institutions, focusing on how freely accessible revenues documents were, or assessing whether village governments would publicly expose tourism revenues and expenditures reports on the village notice board; or focusing on transparency in communication between actors. Moreover, in a 2010 report on Enduimet WMA[38], quality and transparency in meetings management results were mixed, which in turn affected the quality of participation: the community was participating in meetings, and WMA was a topic of discussion, but the understanding of the WMA on behalf of villagers was still mixed or vague. Inspired by it, I asked questions about villagers' and WMA managers' behaviors in meetings since given time restrictions I was unable to attend WMA-related village meetings in the first person.

Eventually, guided by the research question "Is Enduimet a case for effective, *de facto* community participation?" I identified the main topics, each with different detectable dimensions of investigation. Detectable dimensions were then operationalized in one or more questions.

First dimension - (good) WMA governance:

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[37] Sulle, E. (2008). Wildlife-based revenue transparency performance in Longido and Simanjiro Districts. HAKIKAZI CATALYST report. Retrieved from http://www. hakikazi. org/papers/Wildlife-Base-Revenue. pdf. Accessed on April 2023.

[38] HEALTH & DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS (HDIC), USAID, WWF. (2010) Socio-Economic Baseline Studies in Selected Wildlife Management Areas under the Financial Crisis Initiative/Cash-for-Work Program. Enduimet WMA Report (August 2010). Dar Es Salaam

1. Village consensus towards WMA (how it changed over the years) and presents in village administrations (mismanagements, elite capture).

2. Stakeholders' peaceful or conflictual relations (to be detected in practices and discourse).

3. Clear demarcation of roles and functions of WMA/AA officers as perceived by villagers and their leaders.

4. Institutional capacity (presence or lack of adequate budget and know-how in the local institutions running the WMA and in village institutions)

5. Capacity building for the independent management of the WMA (strategies to reduce villages' external dependency for successful WMA administration, strategies to enhance local human capital for a place-based administration of the WMA)

6. Downward and upward accountability of ruling institutions (current and future strategies to increase accountability, issues of accountability, local perceptions of local/central administrations, village and above)

7. Transparency in village and WMA management (in management and decision, in actions and words, strategies to increase transparency; strategies to increase and improve communication and dialogue among actors)

8. Community-effective and informed participation (looking at both practices and discourses of participation village and WMA institutions, identification of; local perceptions around participation).

9. WMA contribution to social capital (did the WMA stimulate collective actions?).

10. Challenges.

The second dimension - land and natural resources:

1. community awareness/perceptions of land and conservation issues and the consequences of the recent reforms (awareness of the participatory village land use plan process, perceptions around participatory

WMA administration; general awareness/perceptions around the implications of the WMA reform on land rights)

2. Community perceptions around the manifest conflicts between conservation and community: evictions, displacements.

3. Community vision and aspirations on their land and conservation objectives (do they agree with conservation, do they agree with the modality of conservation; villagers' suggestions to improve; villagers' practices to support conservation objectives; comparison between community's narrative of conservation and institutional narrative conservation)

4. Community participation in conservation (their knowledge and practice inform conservation strategies; collaboration with WMA to protect wildlife; meetings participate in an informed and active way; is there resentment against WMA and conservation);

5. WMA General Management Plan and Village Land Use Plan (consistency and continuity between village land use plan and WMA land use plan for enhanced land security and reduced conflicts; institutional capacity to develop these tools; effective participation, villagers' perceptions around land use disposition, violation of such dispositions)

6. Transparency and accessibility of land use planning documents for a clear understanding of their dispositions

7. Perceived land security or insecurity

8. Perceived balance between access to resources for livelihoods and limitation to access for conservation purposes.

9. Management of communal lands

10. Perceived balance between different community land uses.

11. Perceptions around sustainable natural resource management training by WMA (training, workshop; which knowledge and practices do these training valorize? Internal or external knowledge?)

12. Challenges.

A specific intention behind this dimension of investigation was to understand the gap between what is prescribed by the Tanzania Law on village land

regulations (Participatory Village Land Use Plan[39]), and in WMA prescriptions as in the 2002 Wildlife Conservation (Wildlife Management Areas) Regulations, and the reality on the ground. I wanted to understand if the WMA was pragmatically contributing to local land security thanks to an enhanced land survey and planning efforts required, or where that was perceived as an element of insecurity of tenure. The third dimension, cultural identity and valorization of indigenous knowledge:

1.   Perceptions around the issue of identity and culture: fear of cultural loss? Fear to express oneself, or limited chances to express one's self because of one's identity?

2.   valorization of indigenous culture and knowledge (valorization of the diversity of land uses, use of indigenous language in conservation; use of indigenous knowledge in conservation; threats to land uses, loss of land uses diversity);

3.   The extent of identification with the WMA (do participants identify the WMA as a part of the identity of their area? Does this institution reinforce the traditional bond with the land, or does it threaten it?)

4.   Perpetration and conservation of indigenous culture thanks to WMA (respect, valorization of local cultural norms and rituals, and accessibility to culturally relevant sites non-compromised).

5.   Representation of indigenous culture in WMA visits. Active participation in the design of tourism experience (do the villagers participate in the design of visits? Are they aware of how they are portrayed?)

6.   Challenges.

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[39] National Land Use Planning Commission (2020). GUIDELINES FOR INTEGRATED AND PARTICIPATORY VILLAGE LAND USE PLANNING, MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN TANZANIA. Ministry of Land and Housing. Dodoma

Figure 5.4.: Schematization of interview blocks. Operationalization topics are visible: from general topics to specific ones. Author's elaboration
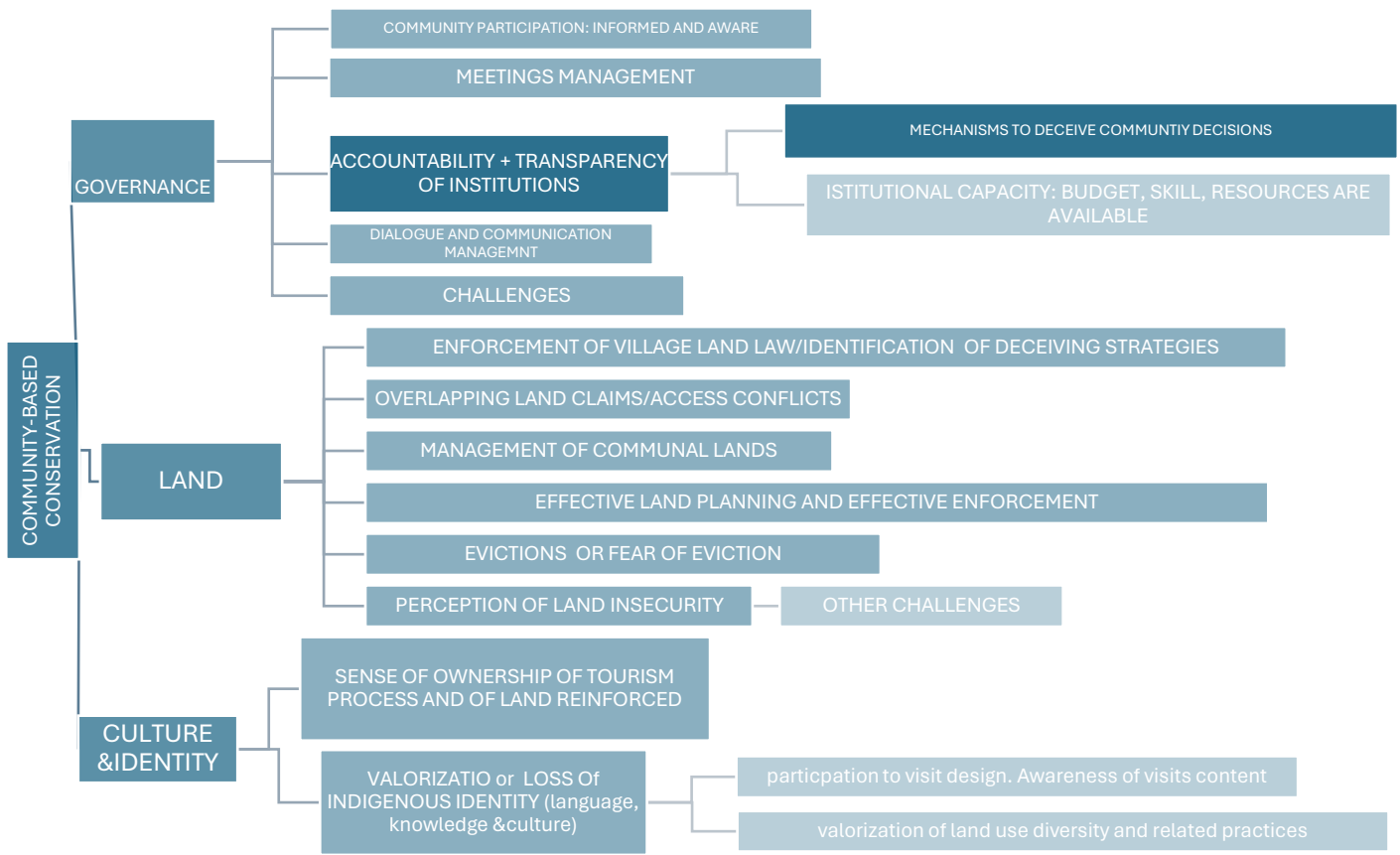
Figure 5.4 1

Questions were always considered only a suggestion, the intention was not to constrain the conversations I was having, while using the questions as guidelines. I was looking for the surprise element to leave participants free to express themselves, suggest topics, and stimulate connections, unsolicited.

In a nutshell, I was about to go to the field to answer the question "Is CBNRM *de facto* happening in the selected case study?" and conduct interviews and questions around the three macro-areas: governance, land, and culture to explore their mutual interplay, as affected by the reform of decentralization/devolution in the case study of Ecotourism and conservation based-on the community, Enduimet WMA:

6. METHODOLOGY OF DATA GATHERING AND DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Methodologies of Data Gathering

Methodologies employed are participant observation, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews. Research tools were elaborated and employed according to Corbetta's methodological prescriptions (2014) and also Powell and Single's (1996) for what concerns expectations and regulation of the focus group environment. Furthermore, an insightful operative document was found in an organizational document by the research-based NGO "HEARD – Health Research and Social Development Forum" located in Nepal. With their 2016 Focus Group Discussion HOW-TO Guide, they provided unique and practical insights on the specific context of explorative research with IPLCs in the Global South, especially with the useful sections "pros and cons" and "dos and don'ts".

Participant Observation was carried out during the whole stay and some observations were informed by my previous experiences in Tanzania as well. Observations were collected in notes. Observation characterized every moment of my stay from the beginning (September 2022, to the end in March 2023): from tourism visits to conversations with people around me to daily activities that would need me to interact with the local community. I relied on my research diary and on Nvivo Memos to write down the bullet points of my observations. Observation insights, as prescribed by Corbetta (2014) are going to be used to understand the local context. Coupled with findings, observation will allow the identification of underlying topics – thus, the establishment of connections between themes; it will be used to inform on the type of relations among actors, the presence of conflictual narratives, and last but not least, it is going to provide highly informative descriptive background. Notes were transferred into NVIVO and used in the preliminary phase of analysis to guide it.

Newspapers were collected (although not systematically during the whole Sept.2022-March, 2023) when they were reporting news on the study issue (tourism, conservation, communities…). Newspapers were usually bought once a week. I tried to rely on different newspapers every time (to have mixed inputs) however, only English-written newspapers were acquired. This is a limitation. Nonetheless, news in the media was not the primary source of data, and they were acquired because of the information on the broader scenario (background context

where to "locate" primary findings), and for the possibility to analyze topics, language, and discourse. Therefore, newspapers were objects of non-systematical reflections and observations for their interpretative potential (Corbetta, 2014), and the limitations in their acquisition can be deemed relevant to a limited extent. Notes on the newspapers' impressions were then written down in the Memo section of Nvivo, linking the newspaper topic to the related code identified in the literature. My observations possibly commented on the piece of news, as well as the rhetoric employed (i.e. "community's uses destroy the environment" as opposed to the positive narrative of National Parks).

Moreover, observation was insightful during visits to the tourist destinations of the Northern Circuit (mainly concentrated in December-2022-January, 2023), when it was possible to observe the relationship with the population, the tour guide, or the tour company. It was possible to understand mechanisms and relations, also to observe the visual impact of tourism and the contrast between my tourism experience and the experience of the community. I observed the community and how it reacts to tourists and tourism. Part and parcel of participant observation were indeed the number of informal conversations I had with community members (through the whole stay- Sept.2022-March, 2023), for instance, tour guides, friends (from the local community and expats as well), tour companies' owners, and entrepreneurs in the hospitality sector. Thanks to the extensive period spent in Arusha and spent visiting protected areas in the Northern Circuit, I gained precious insights from these conversations.

I conducted 9 focus groups between the end of February 2023 and mid-march, 2023. Field activities lasted around 20 days. Five focus groups were conducted in Irkawsaa village and four in Tingatinga. Each group was designed with five participants. It occurred, however, that participants could not participate or had to leave before the end. It also occurred that I did not manage to conduct the fifth group discussion in Tingatinga village because of the incompatibility of timetables between villagers and me. Eventually, I heard testimonies of 43 participants (between villagers and village leaders) during focus groups. All focus groups were conducted with a translator, as described in the empirical setting paragraph (6.6).

6.3 Participants selection criteria and selection process

Participants selected for focus groups are village councilors and representatives from both genders of the village community of farmers and pastoralists, typical livelihoods of the villages investigated, as well as of the average village in the Northern Circuit of Tanzania. The focus groups' structure was the same between the two selected villages, except for one last group discussion that was not conducted in Tingatinga village, due to time constraints. The focus groups' structure was the following:

- 1 group of elected leaders and village administrators, namely with representatives of the village council and committees relevant to WMA issues: village chairman (1), land use management committee representative (1), forests and natural resources committee representative (1); pastoralist committee representative (1) and Village Executive Officer. Total participants: 5.
- 1 group of adult and elder male farmers, 5 participants;
- 1 group of adult and elder male pastoralists, 5 participants;
- 1 group of young, adult, and elder female farmers, 5 participants;
- 1 group of young, adult, and elder female pastoralists, 5 participants.

A specification has to be made for this group, since women belonging to ethnic/livelihood groups dedicated to pastoralism (i.e. Maasai), do not practice pastoralism themselves, which is a male occupation. They practice small/subsistence farming mixed with stall livestock keeping and sometimes petty trade. Consequently, female participants all practiced farming mixed with stall livestock keeping or petty trading, but they differed for the ethnic/livelihood group. Such characteristics are specified and collected in the demographic table in the Annex.

Furthermore, participants of each group discussion were selected according to mixed age groups. Being the decisional power structure among these communities of farmers and pastoralists based on age and gender division, and being elder man usually entitled to important decisions (while women participate less and tend to co-exist and share labor tasks more equally among age groups), men groups excluded youths, while women groups did not. All the groups' characteristics were first elaborated autonomously and then discussed with

supervisor Francis Moyo PhD, and eventually, I worked on his suggestions. Together, we agreed on the above-mentioned group characteristics.

According to observations of the gender, labor, and social roles division in the farming and pastoralist community (during previous fieldwork in Arusha in 2017 and 2019 and 2022-2023), young women, adult, and elderly women could belong to the same group discussion. Among Maasai, Warusha, Wameru, and Chagga people (the main ethnic groups in the Kilimanjaro area) once in the reproductive and marriage age, a woman shares work and duties with elders (young and adult married women share household duties and work with *mama kwe normal* – mother-in-law). Elderly women (*bibi*- grandmother) are looked up to as wise elements of the community, and their opinion and expertise is highly considered. For instance, old women can serve the women's community as midwives. After marriage and maternity age, women share everyday life with elders. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate for the women groups to combine youth, adults, and elders.

The age group mix considered for women groups was the following (three women groups participated in total: two in the village of Irkaswa; and only one in Tingatinga village) :

- Young: 18-28 years old (1 participant);
- Young Adult: 29-40 years old (1 participant);
- Adult: 40- 59 young adults (1 participant);
- Junior elder: 60-79 years old (1 participant);
- Elder: over 80 years old (1 participant).

The situation is very different for men, where age categorization has stronger implications in terms of decisional power and labor division. Youths are indeed not considered full contributors to society. This division is particularly strong among the Maasai people. For this reason, young men were excluded from the group. The age group mix considered for men groups was the following (two male groups in each village):

- Young Adult: 29-40 years old (1 or 2 participant/s);
- Adult: 40- 59 young adults (1 or 2 participant/s);
- Junior elder: 60-79 years old (1 participant);
- Elder: over 80 years old (1 participant).

I managed to involve participants representative of each age group, although not every group discussion had this exact sampling. The following socio-economic information was asked before the beginning of the group discussion:

- ethnic group[40] and occupation (ethnicity also characterizes livelihoods and occupation, consequently). At the beginning of each group discussion, I required participants' signatures on the footage waiver and the data protection statement to protect sensitive information (i.e. ethnicity). Since petty trade is another very common employment in the area of investigation, usually associated with farming and livestock keeping as primary sources of employment, representatives of this category (either as their primary or secondary occupation) were also included in the investigation.

- (perceived) wealth status. Wealth status was left to participant self-estimation according to broad categorizations "very poor"; "poor", "normal", "rich", and "very rich"[41]. However, this specific data was not included in the current analysis, but it was demanded by the village councilors to select participants according to mixed income levels. Furthermore, this question was asked for the future chance to reflect on the scarce availability of income information and to reflect on how income information is culturally perceived.

- Education level[42]. In Tanzania, education levels are classified into: Primary Education; Secondary Education; Postsecondary Vocational or technical education and Training; College diploma, or University Degree. Respondents were sought to be selected to represent mixed educational levels in each group. I managed to involve participants representative of each educational level, although not every group discussion had a representative of each level.

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[40] For that, a signature on the form for the protection use of sensitive information (ethnicity) was signed. The document was prepared and finalized together with "Responsabile Protezione dati" Unimib office. According to former art. 9 GDPR it is deemed necessary to administer an ad hoc informative sheet drafted to include the regulatory provision former art. 6 co.1 and former art. 9 co. 2 GDPR ,taking care to acquire the user's signature of consent to processing before proceeding with the activity itself.

[41] Income categorization agreed with Doctor Francis Moyo, research and Erasmus supervisor at Nelson Mandela University (Arusha) and long-time researcher in the matter of Wildilife Management areas in the Northern Safari Circuit.

[42] Ibid.

All key informants and the village leaders were identified and contacted only based on the students' networks and word of mouth. No contact was given by the University. Every actor mapped, and every participant contacted was reached drawing only on my capabilities and resources. I entirely took care of finding contacts and setting meetings. Reaching out to villagers located in a very far location indeed was not an easy task. The same is true for the WMA manager. What I did, was draw on my previous experience. I got in contact with an Arusha-based NGO (Tanzania Natural Resource Forum) that I knew from WMA documents and empirical literature to have worked with Enduimet WMA in the past. Then, I got in contact with the communication officer. I managed, through him, to obtain the Enduimet WMA Manager contact. I set the first meeting. I asked the manager for insights to inform village selection. Once I selected the villages, the Enduimet Manager gave me the contact of the two village leaders and the two village executive officers. I got in contact with them and set a first meeting to introduce myself, and my work, and show my authorization to conduct research and my institutional support letters.

Once I met village leaders, I relied on their help to identify focus group participants. Livelihood, age, gender, and other sampling characteristics of the group discussions were shared with village leaders to help me identify participants. I asked them to identify participants according to the groups' characteristics as presented above. Before the effective selection of the participants, the elders were asked to confirm such group organization. This contributed to the active participation of the community in the study, and hopefully, it translated into legitimacy recognized by the study while it inspired a sense of trust in the researcher.

Moreover, I conducted interviews with 7 key informants:

- WMA Manager. Appointed position to execute and manage everyday decisions of the WMA Two face-to-face interviews conducted in English (the first interview moment in Arusha, on 17th February 2023, and a second moment on 19th March 2023, in Arusha) and follow-ups on the phone (March 2023, until now);

- WMA Tourist Officer. Appointed position entitled to the tourism strategy of the WMA (7th March, Tingatinga village, conducted in English at Enduimet Headquarters)

- Number two rangers (one man, one woman). Rangers are employed officers entitled to WMA rules enforcement (boundaries enforcement, antipoaching disposition enforcement, patrolling). They are called Village Game Scouts (VGSs). The interview with the woman was conducted in English with the support of the translator because the interviewee requested it to feel more comfortable. It was conducted on the 7th of March 2023 at Enduimet headquarters. The man was interviewed in English, during one face-to-face moment (1st of March 2023, during a visit to the protected area around Synia ranger post) and completed on the phone (19th March 2023). Followed by phone follows-up (from March 2023 until now);

- One group interview with the tour guide/owner, the cook, and a tour guide/performer (3 people in total, one man, two women) of Olpopongi Maasai Village &Museum, a tourism project of the village of Tingatinga. Olpopongi is a community-based educational and cultural tourism project that employs tour guides, performers, a cook, a cleaning team, and a cultural unit. I interview one tour guide (and owner of the company), the cook, and a couple of performers on 4th March 2023.

Key informants and village council representatives were selected because of the relevance of their perspective on the matter under study, after a long preliminary activity of actor mapping[43], to identify key informants based on their function, mandates, and spheres of interests/spheres of control. It emerged that the WMA manager runs everyday operations and supervises all the sectors of the WMA. He also deals with stakeholders and the Ministry. Because of his function, his position was deemed more informative than the members of the executive board. The WMA manager is a specialized employee who has been in charge of Enduiment for the last ten years. On the contrary, executive members of the Civil

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[43] Selected and categorized in tables according to the sector or the scale in which they worked (national tourism/conservation policy and enforcement actors, or village level land planning and administration actors, or WMA management and executive actors, and so on. Tables are a draft project but are available upon reasonable request.

Society Organization (AA) who run Enduimet are elected every five years. It seemed more appropriate, given the limitation of time and resources, to prioritize the WMA manager. The tourist officer was selected because in charge of the tourist strategy, informed on related challenges and future perspectives. He is a trained officer whose contribution was deemed useful in gaining insights into the tourism-related aspects of Enduimet, in order not to focus exclusively on the conservation action. Rangers, on the other hand, are entitled to patrolling and boundary enforcement, therefore are involved in the daily field operations, and are directly exposed to the possible source of conflicts with the local community. Lastly, the Olpopongi project was selected because it is a village-based tourism attraction and hospitality facility run by the community for the direct benefit of the village. It has an agreement with the village council. The village government leased the land for tourist use, and the project pays bed night fees and entrance fees to the village government and even set up an education fund to help local kids with school fees. The project was considered worth investigating for the chance to compare two community-based tourism projects (the WMA and Olpopongi) within the same village. But most of all, to compare the feelings and perceptions of the villagers associated with the two different tourism processes occurring in their village. A total of 50 participants were involved in the study between focus groups (43) and interviews with stakeholders (7).

6.2. Justification of case study

Both case-study-based research and qualitative methods are often criticized for being too subjective and lacking rigor. I do not deem my study free from biases and mistakes, although I made them explicit to conduct analysis and present results accordingly.

Given the qualitative and interpretive nature of the investigation, a study of the case was appropriate. I established that data gathering would focus on Enduimet WMA. Enduimet was indeed selected as a case study because Enduimet-based literature suggested the presence of conflicts, the attempts to re-centralize control and benefits from wildlife, and because of reported community resistance to the WMA project, not to mention a major conflict between the WMA

and the member village Sinya, whose annexation resulted in a scarcely transparent process (see Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Nelson 2004 among others).

The presence of all these elements made Enduimet a suitable and explicative case study. As in Corbetta (2014), for the qualitative researcher, the case observed has to meet the relevance criterion, and has to be substantially representative of the social matter that one wants to investigate, and Enduimet meets this criterion. Furthermore, the protected area of Enduimet is accessible by a non-tarmac, but at least non-seasonal, road.

. Besides, Enduimet has huge tourist potential because of its location (near the international airport, near two major urban centers of the area, i.e. Arusha and Moshi, and therefore near the main Arusha-Moshi tarmac road), indeed the protected area is located between Kilimanjaro and Arusha National Parks and Amboseli National Park in Kenya, and near a cycling route that allows tourists to cycle around Kilimanjaro up to KenyaNonetheless, Enduimet was found financially underperforming and affected by several constraints and challenges, primarily resistance and discontent of the local community All these reasons justify the selection of Enduimet as my case study.

I acknowledge the shortcomings and the virtues of the case-study selection: firstly, one case study cannot be representative of a general context, and results cannot be generalized, indeed I am not interested in generalizable results, but in understanding whether the case of Enduimet WMA is aligned with literature about broader contexts (Tanzania and Global South)

Secondly, case study selection is often criticized for its inevitable subjectivity, affected by the sensitiveness and interpretation categories of the researcher. Being aware of one's influence on the research and the acknowledgment of such limitations in one study, inevitably make that study more reliable than a study that pretends to be impartial and objective. I deem the selection valid because of the explicative relevance potential of the Enduimet case study. Given the shortcomings and constraints affecting its relationship with the community, I think its investigation is going to offer a deep and meaningful interpretation of what is occurring on the ground.

I acknowledged my subjectivity as affecting case study selection, analysis, and empirical setting. However, I tried to embrace the subjectivity of the research,

rather than locating my work in an abstract (and non-existing) space of objectivity. Furthermore, the explorative nature of the study and the type of institution investigated (WMA) makes this investigation easily replicable, or expandable: the protection scheme is widely diffused throughout the country, and the investigation itself explores the foundational blocks of the community-protected area relationship, therefore such elements likely characterize other WMAs, not Enduimet only. Moreover, the research tools themselves (tracks of semi-structured interviews and focus groups) can be applied to other case studies, whereas one intends them as guidelines for insightful dialogue with community members and not as strictly prescriptive tools.

Once selected the case study of Enduimet, I had to break it down to village selection. I had to select a few representative villages, according to significance, relevance, and explicative potential. I started reflecting on the selection of the villages, looking at the Enduimet map. Visually, it was possible to reckon one geographic characteristic of Enduimet: the presence of a core, flat area against the presence of a thin, peripheral strip of mountainous land. I developed one hypothesis to guide village selection. The hypothesis revolved around the comparison between a central and a peripheral village because of the reasonable expectation of different participants' perspectives between center and periphery, and of the impact of this factor on community participation in the WMA life. The central area of Enduimet corresponds to the villages of Synia, Tingatinga, and Elrai. Indeed, Elrai and Tingatinga host on their land the two entrances to the protected area (unfortunately, entrances are not reported on the map below but are approximately located within the two mentioned villages, near the border with Synia village, see Figure 6.2.1.). Furthermore, both entrances are accessible by a rough road for the last 5 to 3 km, from the tarmac road that runs from Moshi (in the south), along the perimetral ring around Kilimanjaro, back to Moshi (see Figure 6.2.2.).

Figure 6.2.1: EWMA Map. Source: Sulle et 2011 (courtesy from AWF).
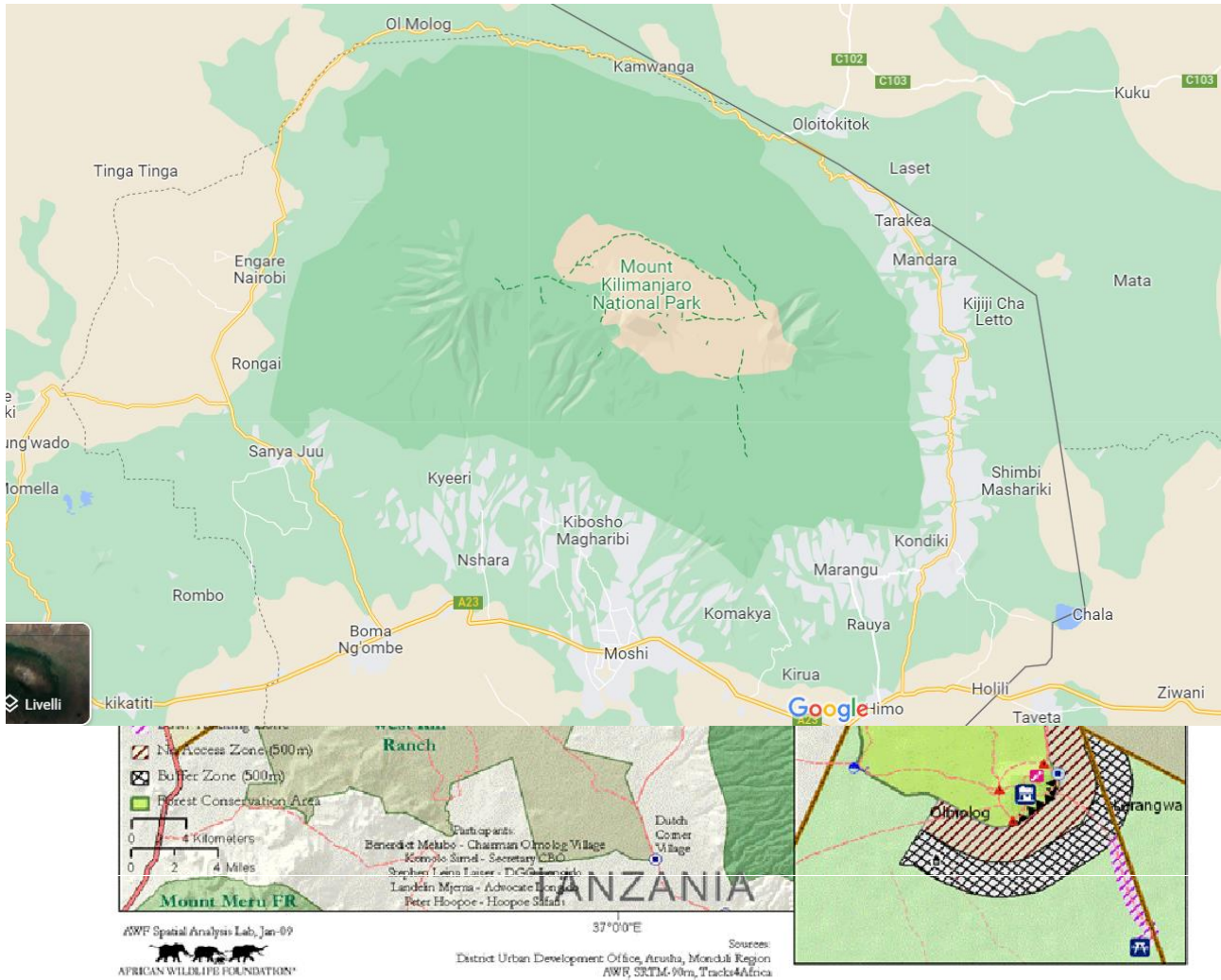
Figure 6.2.2.: Moshi Ring Road around Kilimanjaro Mountain. The road is mainly tarmac around the whole ring, except between Olmolog and Kamwanga, where Irkaswaa village is located. Source: Google Maps

6.4. Rationale of selection of villages for data gathering

Looking at the map of Enduimet, I realized that the core-periphery dynamic was present: not only the gates were concentrated in the central area, but also touristic attractions were quite concentrated in the central area. Hospitality facilities such as permanent and mobile camps and lodges are quite more distributed, and lodges can autonomously set up visits (thus it is possible visits will cover the peripheral area of the WMA), but WMA the gates are where the rangers form the tourism unit can be found and to whom tourists may require to engage in touristic

214

activities –bicycles to rent, reserve a tour guide, book a visit to the cultural Maasai settlements. I learned that during my first visit to Enduimet as a tourist, in November 2022. Thus. I hypothesized that the central area would reserve much more visitors and would be more advanced in terms of touristic development, than the peripheral area. Furthermore, Olmolog village used to host the WMA headquarters until 2020, when the building was moved to Tingatinga[44]. Therefore, a re-concentration of the activities and facilities was occurring in the WMA. Consequently, I hypothesized that a meaningful and explicative way to go would have been to select at least a central and a peripheral village. Such a selection would allow, on the one hand, to compare the villages separately to highlight center-periphery dynamics; and on the other hand, to analyze them jointly for a multiple and enriched perspective, that was not exclusively informed by the core, nor exclusively informed by the periphery. How many villages then? As I said, I wanted my data gathering to focus on the community to grasp their perceptions and meanings. I needed therefore to experience the community extensively (time-wise) and intensively (experience-wise). I decided indeed that I would not stay in a nearby hotel or a lodge. I would ask the villagers whether the village had a guest house, and stay there. I concluded that investigating two villages and spending ten days in each village would have resulted in decent work.

I only visited Enduimet WMA once before data collection, thus I had to confront the WMA Manager for insights on the villages, to gain preliminary and first-hand information (to enrich what I read in the reports and literature). I explained my center vs. periphery hypothesis to the WMA manager and asked him for his idea. He agreed with me: there was a center-periphery dynamic in place (facilities, touristic activities, and a decisional center concentrated in Tingatinga village and the other central villages). But also, gave a new perspective: not only central villages like Tingatinga were at the core of WMA activities, but the villages in the center were affected by very different land dynamics, compared to the peripheral villages of Kitendeni, Lerangwa, and Irkaswaa. The former, indeed, have abundant land and a smaller farming community compared to the pastoralist community; the latter have very small land, a big farming community, and no idle land since all the

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[44] Info acquired During interview in Arusha in 2023 with Enduimet WMA Manager

forest-covered land not interested directly by people's livelihoods activities is comprised within the WMA border.

Irkawsaa and Kitendeni villages host the Wildlife Corridor of Eduimet, and Irkaswaa, the WMA manager told me, has no idle land available for expansion: the total land surface is very small compared to the other villages; and the WMA conservative restrictions are at odds with the needs of the population, who is demanding land for services, grazing and farming. It also is the most peripheral village, accessible only after 60 km of rough, mountain road. Indeed, the tarmac road that goes around Kilimanjaro that we mentioned before, interrupts a few kilometers after Olomolog village and starts again as tarmac around 10 km after the village of Irkaswaa, near the border towns of Kamwanga and Tarakea. The road condition makes Irkaswaa not easy to access both for research and tourism purposes. Being interested in land access as affected by conservation and tourism interests, I found the opposition of a land-abundant village against a land-scarce village a highly informative and legitimized selection criterion for the study. It could give me the chance to compare participants' perspectives on the very delicate matter directly affected by protected areas. I eventually selected the village of Irkaswaa and the village of Tingatinga according to the center-periphery and the land dynamics hypotheses.

Once I was sure about the validity of the case study and village selection (Enduimet and specifically two villages of Tingatinga and Irkaswaa), I started data gathering.

6.5 Methodological Choices and Justification

This is an explorative study that employs mixed qualitative methodologies (observation, focus groups, semi-structured interviews, informal conversations) of data gathering. My methodological choice is justified by the fact that qualitative methods are useful when there is a need to unveil or "to identify or understand new or complex actions, beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes" (Powell and Single 1996:499-500). Indeed, the ultimate goal of the study is the description and interpretation of the often neglected perspective of IPLCs in tourism and conservation; thus qualitative approach is the most suitable. Furthermore, qualitative investigation is best suitable to investigate relatively new and complex processes, whose outcomes and effects still have to be grasped. Indeed, my

research topic is a complex one: the conservation/touristic system and how hosting communities are affected by and react to it. In the system, actors belonging at all levels can be found; many different legislative and economic sectors intertwine; and local and global dynamics combine in a very complex way.

Besides, the topic of investigation is also relatively new: local communities and village governments of Tanzania are affected by the introduction of a new conservation scheme, whose outcomes still need to be fully understood, namely Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). WMAs are the latest protection scheme in Tanzania, i.e. a scheme introduced by the Government only in 2002 (and implemented since 2005-2007). Indeed, new WMAs are still being gazette today, according to the TAWA website, Since the study adopted the approach of political ecology, the methodological choices of this study reflect the recommendation for political ecology investigation of tourism, based on qualitative methods and an analysis oriented to the interpretation of multiple, complex, factors (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). Political ecology prescribes so, since the implication of the existence of one reality only- the one where governments act and that science can measure- allows *not* to give an account of power, imperialistic dynamics of repression of other cultures' reality within the public debate. On the contrary, admitting the co-construction of reality would pose the necessity to recognize that there are more and less powerful "realities" advanced by more and less powerful groups

More broadly, I deem that a qualitative-interpretive approach to ontology, epistemology, and methodology is necessary first and foremost to build a reflexive space on power dynamics on the imposed meanings of foundational ontological categories such as "nature" and "development" and to point out what are the consequences of such imposition of meanings: the oppression of alternative worldviews embodied in alternative cultures, such as in indigenous people's, minorities' or local communities'. Such oppression does not only occur on an abstract level (lack of debate where alternative perspectives are included; small opportunities for indigenous scholars and critical scholarship to inform environmental policies from a power relation and de-colonial perspective), but it materializes itself on a very concrete level, namely repression, intended as the use of physical force (police and army force) or authoritarian exercise of power to control certain groups. In the previous chapters (2 and 4) we have seen how a

Eurocentric conceptualization of nature, development, and even sustainable development is imposed on IPLCs, within the broader framework of the imposition of schemes of neoliberal conservation – within the framework of the marketization of the rural life (market's logic expansion within farming and pastoralism-based livelihoods).

Furthermore, the Tanzanian government receives millions in donors' funds (see this regard the latest news from UNEP, 2023, according to which 19 million USD worth of climate action projects were announced by UNEP and Green Climate Fund to be implemented in Tanzania) for policies of nature conservation and sustainable development that, when implemented, usually draw on the hegemonic development paradigm (Nepal and Saarineen, 2016). The hegemonic development paradigm envisions that tourism investments necessarily lead to tourism development and poverty reduction thanks to the spillover effect, and CBNRM will necessarily lead to benefits for local communities through enhanced local democratic participation.

The dominant development paradigm is based on a univocal ontology of development, and the necessity that capitalistic logic must expand into every sphere of life (neoliberal conservation). According to this vision, IPLCs are at the same time backward and unproductive. In the specific case of Tanzania then, I think my approach to the investigation is even more legitimized because, in such context, the recognition of alternative perspectives is very hard to occur. Indeed, the politics and leadership of Tanzania are firmly in the hands of the government party CCM, that ruled over the country since independence. Despite the introduction of multi-party elections since the 90's, CCM never lost an election. The government is famously repressive (Cochrane & Mngodo, 2019; Paget, 2017), and censorship is generally applied against research and activists[45]. Such attitude finds expression in the war conducted against certain ethnic groups (Craig, 2023, Carrier and Mittal, 2021; The Oakland Institute, 2022; Mittal and Fraser, 2018). Moreover, it is informative how the government never recognized the presence of indigenous people. Indigenousness recognition gives access to a set of specific rights and the

[45] Other than bibliographic reference, I had the chance to witness it directly during my extended stay.

recognition of certain instances, that simply are not recognized as long as there is no recognition of the definition of "indigenous people"(IWGIA Website).

In this scenario, the interpretive position of the observer fits well: focusing on *ars inveniendi (the art of deepening the background scenario, the context),* rather than *ars probandi (the art of corroborating hypothesis)* (Corbetta, 2014 citing Gallino 1978*),* the observer can produce data aimed at the comprehension of the context, rejecting the one-meaning-only stance. Indeed, alternative, multiple, individual, and group meanings deserve comprehension and investigation. To produce deep and meaningful data with high explicative potential, the observer needs to live in proximity with the object of observation, to the extent she/he develops empathy towards it (Corbetta, 2014). Indeed, this is what characterized my study and field experience.

6.6 Positionality and Empirical Setting

Positionality

During the doctorate school, I changed much of my research perspective. Indeed, I started to critically reflect on the issue of Global South local communities' land rights, within the framework of land grabbing and imperialism. I went on with the analysis of the 1999 land reform of Tanzania since my studies were bringing me to Tanzania, in mid-2017. More recently, I started problematizing my whiteness and my subjectivity as an observer, while conducting research. In this sense, this work represents not only an exploration of communities' lives as affected by protected areas; it represents the exploration of a renovated researcher and observer who attributes value to what she used to discard, and that now discards what she used to value.

It is my first- time investigating conservation. I have an MA in Tourism; therefore, I consider myself more familiar with tourism studies, rather than political ecology. However, the reader will notice that this work extensively focuses on power relations in the conservation and tourism system, because this work represents an attempt to adopt a political ecology-inspired approach to tourism studies, which still represents both an empirical and theoretical lacuna (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). However, it is not my first time investigating land dispossessions, evictions, and the matter of land rights, which indeed represent the premises of tourism in these areas (see Razzano, 2020). Moreover, I was aware of social movement instances such

as those of "La Via Campesina" since my studies on the food system of Arusha (see Razzano, Mura, Borrelli (under review); Razzano, et al., 2020; and Borrelli, Ndakidemi and Razzano, 2018: food sovereignty links communities' land rights to the self-determination of the productive systems, and the survival of alternative knowledge and traditions. (Razzano, 2020).

For this investigation, I meant to shift the latter reasoning into conservation issues, which I was naively unveiling during my doctorate. Thus, the investigation around land rights became the connecting bridge between my previous research interests and my doctorate research interest. I managed to identify a dimension where my knowledge of the farming system and my knowledge of rural developmental issues of Tanzania did not have to be discarded. On the opposite, I treasured those, to overcome them, by adding to my old perspective the perspective provided by the fights of IPLCSs, and by political ecologists.

Lastly, I was familiar with the inconsistency between Tanzanian policy intentions and design (innovative and praised by the international community because the rhetoric focuses on sustainability goals and communities) and policy outcomes (see Razzano, Mura, Borrelli (under review); Moyo et al., 2016). Nonetheless, I meant to problematize a developmental debate that is too soft with unaccountable governments, that overlooks the clashing interests between central governments and local communities; while approaching development as a linear, western-determined process. All these experiences well positioned me to conduct this study. For instance, it was not too difficult for me to move among stakeholders and identify (and reach) key informants, despite not being keen on tourist and conservation stakeholders in the area. I knew that, in a context such as Arusha, it would have been easier for me to gather information and receive help from local NGOs, and private actors- such as tour operators- rather than public officers. This element was key to getting in contact with participants and key informants.

On the other hand, I never sourced information through a direct dialogue with a local university before (despite previous collaboration with local scholars during previous projects). I never had the chance to confront myself with a local scholar actively and currently researching the topic I am interested in. This new component allowed me to position myself within the local research strand of Francis Moyo, Ph.D. (NMAIST- Arusha) who investigates the shortcomings of the local community-based conservation scheme WMAs while testing a hypothesis of

accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003). The conversations I had with him were needed to understand the legislative outcomes of the WMA reform, and how the village land rights are affected by it. More broadly, we conversed about the astonishing injustice local communities face in the tourism region of the Northern Circuit; about how employment opportunities available to communities, nor their socio-. economic conditions have not improved in decades of development of international, wildlife tourism. Cleaning services or curio selling are the common, low-skilled, and low-remunerative opportunities for villagers in touristic areas. We discussed the controversial presence of tourists in the villages ("Kids would not be sent to school if the family knows tourists are coming to visit their village, because this way they can be used for begging", told Francis Moyo, and he would go on explaining to me how kids are more effective beggars than adults or teenagers because tourists are more easily impressed and more deeply moved by the sight of a kid in need, rather than an adult in need). He would tell me how formally registered villages, with their borders surveyed and their village title officially issued by the government, can be found within the perimeter of National Parks, and the question spontaneously arises: "Who should not be there? The Park or the community?". Informed by my newly acquired research knowledge, I reflexively worked on the research design and the theoretical framework of this study. Likewise, I reflexively worked on research tools (interviews and focus group discussion tracks) and elaborated to foster a free, unconditioned dialogue with community members.

In a nutshell, I reversed not only my theoretical perspective (from a developmental to a critical one, from a governmental/institutional one to a community-centered one), but I also reversed my position as a researcher before the object observed (aware of my socio-political positionality). However, one thing I was not prepared for was extensive, qualitative research to conduct in rural areas. In my previous experience, rural areas were investigated with a research team, research was mediated by a questionnaire with the help of a team of enumerators, while my role was a role of supervision. This time I had to learn from scratch, and this is why I privileged time and resource-consuming methodologies, to allow myself to spend time and get to know the life of the village, the life of farmers and pastoralists who work and cherish the land I only visited as a tourist.

Among the major changes that occurred in my approach to research, is the attempt to acknowledge positionality as an observer, before the object is observed. In this fashion, I noticed my whiteness in the context of a rural Tanzanian village created expectations, related to the material contribution of my presence there[46]. On the other hand, I was doing research in a highly constrained environment, where actors were difficult to reach, where research could be highly time and financially demanding, and consequently, I had to make a choice, that inevitably restricted my data collection opportunities. Furthermore, the material, linguistic, and cultural settings of the field, inevitably affected data gathering and data quality (see paragraph 6.2 on positionality and empirical setting). I always responded to these requests in a welcoming manner, trying to convey that I was hearing them, and was understanding, and then proceeding to clarity on my position and the resources at my disposal. Nonetheless, as in this page footnote, I did not manage to completely avoid misunderstandings with villagers and with participants, although a positive solution was eventually found.

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[46] However, I did not have a budget, for a contribution for participation, even though participants were expecting that. I had to refuse. Instead, I provided participants with a convivial moment, sharing the meal during the focus group discussions. To me, that represented a way to present myself as a peer, in an exchange relationship: "I give you this, you give me your testimony", as a student with no finances that is sharing the day with the rest of the group, on the same level. Actually on a lower level, since in my perception, I had to serve them during lunch (at least, most of the time), to make them feel comfortable, to give them the impression that I was there to pamper them, and in that process, grasp some information. I wanted them to feel at ease and that the time dedicated to helping with my research was not a waste of time. However, this approach met some resistance, a participant telling me: " Why do not you give me the money for lunch as money, I am leaving my kids alone for lunch" and that strengthened my initial impression that I was not perceived as a peer in that group, I inevitably created a *specific* (monetary) type of expectation in them, therefore a specific and non-neutral empirical setting. After spending a few days in the village, I elaborated a strategy: I decided to gather some money from "my community" of family and friends, to give back to their community, namely a small donation to the local primary school, of one of the two villages. This helped me gain the trust on behalf of the participants and the village leader. In the other village, instead, I paid the government officer and the village leader because they were expecting that, while village members did not ask for additional compensation as occurred in the first village. In my opinion, they had been previously "educated" by the village leader that I was not expecting to give any contribution for participation, only meal and soda and a refund of transportation). And the village leader settled with that since I was giving him a contribution. I felt that my budget constraints were reiterating the egalitarian dynamics or philanthropic dynamics. However, not meeting those reciprocity expectations would have ruined the research context, and possibly exposed me and my field mediator to a dangerous situation. It was not an easy decision, I confronted some colleagues who rightfully pointed out how a donation would be just another expression of my whiteness, of my privilege, and an expression of some kind of philanthropic attitude that is exactly what is detrimental for local people in that context. I decided I wanted to make the contribution anyway, because I felt that could in small part help the community (in the first village) and assure a positive relationship (in the second village), that would have helped me and other researchers in the future. However, it ultimately convinced me that there was no way I could "erase" my whiteness from the field equation.

For instance, because of whiteness but possibly mostly for my position as a scholar (this a highly educated person), participants demanded solutions to their issues multiple times, they demanded additional advocacy or financial support to solve their issues ("Can you speak to the WMA manager about our problems?"; "Can you help us to bring money here by bringing some white friend who wants to invest or donate to village institutions"?). I tried to welcome these requests showing understanding for their urge to seek support for their problems, while clarifying my position exclusively as an observer, and that I may have been able to help them in the long term, by diffusing research results among them and with relevant stakeholders.

Empirical setting

Typically, a focus group day would look like this: once all participants are gathered in front of the village council office (where I held my focus group discussions), I would start introducing myself with the small Swahili at my disposal (my name, where I come from, thanking participants for being there). Then, I would introduce my collaborator and her role as translator. I was already supported in previous field activities in the Arusha rural area by this person. She is a friend of mine who works as an extension officer (a public officer who trains farmers and supports them to solve farm issues), often involved in government projects affecting rural communities, so she is familiar with village meetings, and more in general with how the village works and how the village government works. She also engages with farmers' groups and the farmers' groups' association MVIWATA. Therefore, she knows about local collective action as well. After introducing myself, I would briefly explain my purpose there, my wish to talk about the WMA under different aspects, and my wish to make the setting a safe one, where to express one's thoughts. Because of that, I tried to convey the message that I was deeply convinced of the strength of communities in making their best efforts to protect the environment and deal with the lack of resources. I also stressed the fact that they were giving me the chance to reflect on their challenges and on their point of view, as well as the chance to imagine an alternative future- while trying not to reveal my critical point of view and research assumptions.

After mutual introductions, I would usually take a few moments to show villagers some personal pictures of my family and a postcard from the Dolomites, to show them what a highly tourist mountain site with an agriculture-oriented economy looks like in my country. It was brief. But it allowed them to know me and my place of origin. I wanted participants to know me since I was there to know them. It was an attempt to reduce the gap between us, the gap between researcher and participant, despite such a gap being impossible to fill. To a certain extent, the strategy was successful, primarily because the participants and I were sharing a feeling of awkwardness at the beginning of the focus group. I perceived clearly that it was awkward for them to be called to participate and engage in activities with a white person asking them questions all day because that is a setting that poses different expectations for the observer and the observed. Together nonetheless, we broke the ice before every group discussion. Participants often asked me personal questions, I had to answer awkward questions about the reasons why I was not married at my age, and why I had no kids at my age. I had to awkwardly maintain the focus of the conversation on my boyfriend, especially when I was interviewing women groups. They were so curious about him, they felt the need to tell me I was lucky when I showed them pictures, and that I had to marry him and make him happy. The first time this happened I felt sad, I felt I was giving my research time and space to support a patriarchal mindset, I wanted these women to feel as free as I was feeling, from the necessity of having a man by their side. Then I suddenly realized, that was unrealistic. That was exactly relying on my mental categories of a white privileged lady, expecting the same privilege was available to those women. It was not. I soon realized that I had to cope with the differences between me and the people I was there to know and, to do so, I necessarily had to respect and embrace the differences between me and them.

Eventually, the focus group setting was a relaxed one, the ice was broken, and participants were at ease. So at ease that different participants invited me to their place to meet their families, asked my contact to keep in touch; or asked for pictures together, so that they could keep memories of those days, and I could show my family the incredible people who supported me. I understood such confidentiality as a sign that people appreciated the way I interacted with them and how I positively managed the empirical context.

Each group discussion would last the whole day, and I offered lunch and sodas to participants. Lunch became a very convivial moment, during which participants could satisfy their curiosity by asking me some questions. It was a very informative moment for me, I had the chance to witness social norms in practice, such the respect for the elders who necessarily are going to be fed first. However, that moment was challenging as well. Firstly, as described in paragraph 5.1 (*First Phase of Coding and the guidance of Thematic Analysis*) in a footnote, I had to justify why I was not giving them money directly, but I was paying for lunch instead. I tried to explain to them that first, food was a necessity since we needed to spend the whole day together, and secondly, I could not afford other expenses because I was a student, therefore I had to make some choices and that one was the most profitable one for my data collection need. Furthermore, since I bought locally sourced and locally cooked food for two weeks, I was contributing to a very small extent to the local economy.

When other people were around the village office during lunchtime, not having food, it was a difficult moment. Indeed, as a common decision with the group, on those occasions, we preferred to have food inside our room. On other occasions, and this only happened in Irkaswaa village, hungry kids were around the office at lunchtime. They would see the motorcycle loaded with chafing dishes and they would chase it up to the office. It is very challenging for me to justify why I was more sensitive about kids lured by food and why I felt the necessity of sharing food with them, compared to when adults were around. On the latter occasion, I usually had the sensitivity to suggest having lunch inside. I guess there is no other unbiased justification, than the white-savior one, whose effects are stronger before kids, confirming what Francis Moyo, PHD would tell me during our conversation in his office at NMAIST. I think I noticed that early in my fieldwork. Before giving kids food, I always asked the other participants and my translator first, whether that was an appropriate gesture or not. Eventually, we always shared food with them when they were around. One day nonetheless, we did not see that the mother of one of the kids was around and when she saw the white lady giving food to her kid, she immediately rebuked the kid and brought the kid away. I confronted the group members; they agreed that that gesture felt inappropriate for the mother. I was a stranger, after all. But I was feeling entitled to feed someone else's kid.

ne follow-up by phone) and with one of the rangers (one phone follow-up).

Regarding the village council office as a setting for focus groups, this is what I noted. Irkaswaa village office was under renovation, and when I asked where the village notice board was, the Village Executive Officer explained to me that the notice board broke during renovation, after I asked where the villagers could find a record of the village budget (for transparency sake), he immediately printed and shared with me the village council revenues and expenses for the year 2022, with a compendium on future needs and current challenges faced by the villagers. Other notifications hanging on the village council office wall were related to a call for builders and carpenters to renovate the village council office; and a call for volunteers in the Army. I also noticed a WWF suggestion box outside it.

In the TingaTinga village office, there was the public notice board hanging, reporting the 2022 census data and many other "Tangazo" ("Notification"), but no revenues and expenses of the villagers' government. I did not ask specifically about that document, so it was not given to me. Other notifications reported calls for tenders, for the provision of water and food to Enduimet ranger posts, in exchange for money. Additionally, I found the same suggestion box related to the WWF poster, that I previously found in Irkaswaa. The poster said:

"Speak loud! We aim to do Echo in the place where we work…have you ever seen or heard something not right in this project?

Which things can you inform about?

1) Bad Leadership
2) Mismanagement of funds
3) Any type of corruption
4) Violence
5) Threats to our areas and related action
6) Disrespect or breaking of any national laws

Who can inform you about this?

1) Community
2) The beneficiaries of the WWF project
3) Donors of the WWF project
4) Collaborators of the WWF project
5) Employees of the WWF project

You can write this information and put it in the suggestion box or write an email to: *****

Call us at: ******"

It was informative to witness an internal, self-regulating mechanism for transparency of WWF projects (which clearly should not be given for granted), based upon the active responsibilities of villagers.

I conducted another explorative visit. I visited Olpopongi Maasai Cultural Village, a cultural tourism attraction and hospitality facility run by the Maasai community in Tinga Tinga village. The cultural village comprises a Maasai museum and a catachrestic Maasai settlement, the *boma*. Olpopongi is run by the local Massai community (initially funded by a German investor, was then left to three Maasai villagers as owners and managers). There, I interviewed one of the tour guides and the owner of the company; the cook, another woman, and an elder who showed tourists how Maasai manage everyday life in the boma.

The settings of WMA key-informant interviews were mixed: a hotel lounge (for the interviews with the WMA Manager) and the Enduimet HQ office (for the interviews with the Tourism Officer and with one of the Rangers), one took place during my tourist visit to Enduimet WMA (the interview with the second WMA ranger). I always asked participants permission to record the interview as the first thing. I explained then what I was investigating and why, and that I deemed interviewees' points of view as key. All participants gave me their contact and were available for follow-up. Phone and face-to-face follow-ups were conducted with the WMA manager (1 follow-up in presence, o

All interviewees were available for follow-up. This availability is a sign of positive feedback on the interview setting and content. The interview setting was thought to reduce external disturbances, and the content of the interview was adapted to make conversation fluid and pleasant, always valorizing respondents' inputs to the conversation.

6.7. Methodology of Data Analysis: Six Phases of Reflexive Thematic Analysis and Coding Strategy

The type of analysis conducted is Reflexive Thematic Analysis (herein forth RTA). The analysis focused on theme identification (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2019; Braun et al., 2019; Braun and Clarke, 2020; Byrne, 2022)..). The analysis has been conducted using Nvivo software, which allows to label interview extracts, by creating "codes" that can be used to identify patterns in interview extracts, to generate themes, which is the final goal of Reflexive Thematic analysis. Thematic Analysis is envisioned to occur during 6 recursive phases, during which the process of coding, sorting of codes, and theme identification is constantly revised to ensure rigor in the interpretation of data.

During Phase 1 of RTA (namely, *familiarization with the data*), I read transcriptions multiple times, took notes of my observations, and highlighted the most interesting passages of interviews, giving them a preliminary organization. I then passed on to Phase 2, namely the generation of the first codes. Codes are labels that briefly describe what is in the interview extract (an anecdote, a challenge, a feeling, a causality, or an opinion). At this first stage, I generated way too broad labels, that did not "offer sufficient detail to be able to stand alone and inform of the underlying commonality among constituent data items concerning the subject of the research" (Byrne, 2022:1399).

Indeed, I revised my coding strategy during Phase 2 of Reflexive TA[47] (the phase during which the researcher is demanded to revise her coding strategy), which took a long time to complete. I changed my coding approach to a very descriptive one. This led to the multiplication of codes. It was eventually deemed the most transparent strategy for coding, thanks to very descriptive labels. I identified as higher tier (mother) codes the topics that identified the sections of the different interviews, i.e.: "land", then I proceeded with a label that would identify the main sub-topic of the "mother topic (the sub-topics of the land section are for instance: "access to resources", "land conflicts"; "land security", "land planning" and more); or again for the "governance" mother code, I identified a labelled extract specifying the sub-topics, such as "transparency", "accountability, "actors

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[47] According to Byrne, 2022

relations", "decisional power & power relations. Lastly, for the "culture and identity" mother code, I labeled related sub-topics such as "traditional knowledge", "local language", " local traditions and practices", "participation in tourism activity" and more) (see Figure 8.5.1 below). Following that, "son" codes were then specified, with an additional label that specifies the content of each code.

Figure 6.7: The hierarchy and organization of codes reflect the thematic areas of interviews
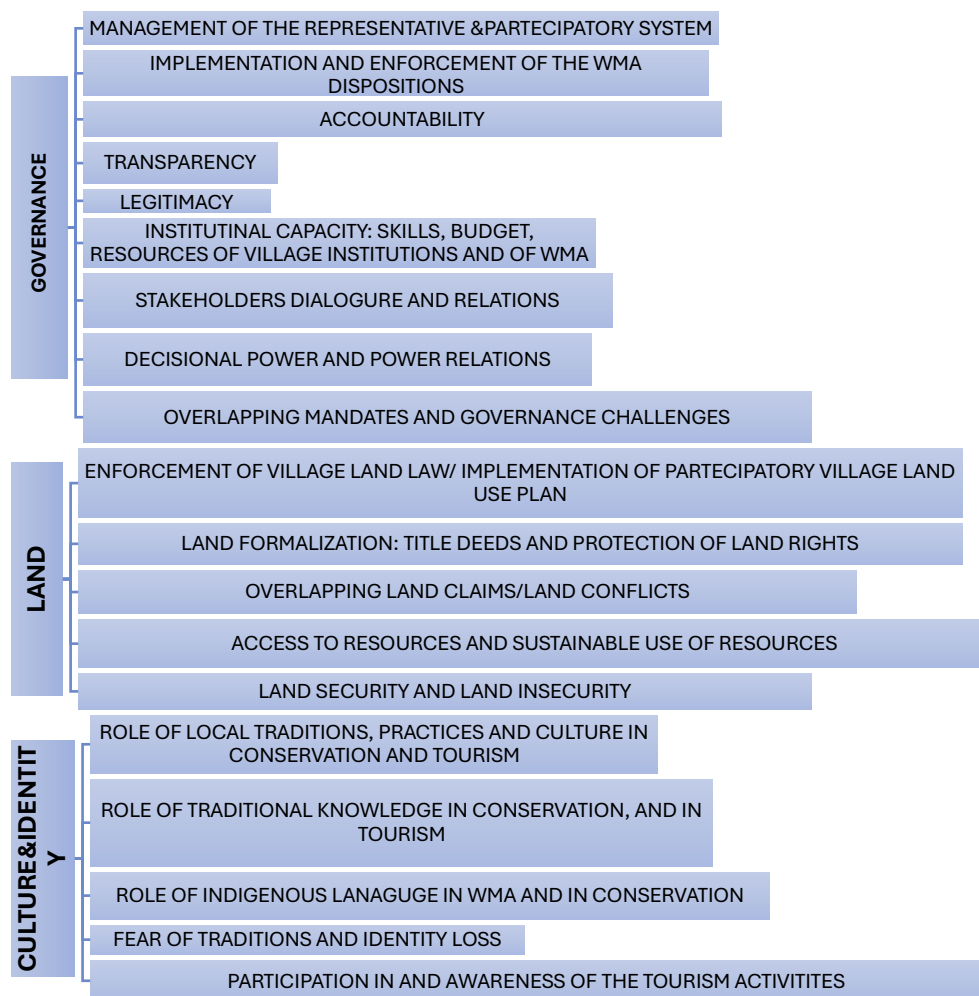
Stemming from this labeling organization, and starting from the hierarchy in codes labels ("mother" and "son" codes, I proceeded to code *descriptively*. Examples of final codes are: "planning_reduces_land conflicts"; "transparency_lack of_investor contract in English", or again "traditional knowledge of villagers_never requested_by WMA. Hence, codes start with a reference to the main sub topics then, and an additional label which describes the very content of the interview

extract. To made explicit how I proceed in a hierarchical manner in code labelling, labels are interspersed by underscore sign (_)., to result into something like this: "son code_descriptive code".The final codes, were sorted into the three broad "mother" codes: "land", "governance" and "culture and identity".

Relevant topics emerged unexpectedly during focus groups, but they turned out to be highly informative on the condition of the local community in the WMA. Examples are the consequences of the pandemic on tourism; community costs and benefits, human-wildlife conflicts, and the issue of security, whose labels cannot be reconducted to the label hierarchy presented in the figure above, but were independently coded, and finally found sound collocation into the twenty-one final themes.

After all relevant extracts of interviews were coded, I started sorting codes (Phase 3 of RTA) to organize them in preliminary containers (themes) to answer research questions one and two.

The sorting strategy was initially guided by the counter of references, which shows how many times there has been a reference to a specific topic/occurrence (described in the code label) in the interview. I highlighted the most referenced codes and started building the themes around them, following the principle of dominance of each code. Code sorting into themes was also guided by the informative potential of each code. In a nutshell, the sorting strategy gave priority to highly informative and predominant (highly referenced) codes. I selected highly referenced codes as the initial strategy for sorting., and I employed a the very descriptive coding strategy to reduce the chance of personal interpretation and allowed it to be sorted transparently.

Phase 4 of RTA: In this phase, the researcher revises the themes, posing questions such as "Is the theme coherent? Is the theme reflective of all the codes allocated to it? Does the theme answer research questions?". I adjusted the themes and reviewed them to make sure that answered RQ 1 and 2, while reflecting all the codes comprised in them. I revised themes also during the chapter writing process to be sure they were carefully reflecting empirical data. Themes identification was successful because I also identified themes that go against my research assumptions, and secondly, because almost all codes (that were several) found a sound allocation inside the theme categorization. I interpreted this as a sign of consistency in my analysis.

Phase 5 and 6 of RTA: once satisfied with theme identification, I defined theme names, and I made sure that themes, together, would build "an analytic narrative that informs the reader what is interesting about [each] extract and why" (Byrne, 2022:1407). Eventually, I identified 21 themes. In RTA, the themes constitute the findings, thus finding restitution, as in Byrne, 2022 and Braun and Clarke (2019) assume the shape of storytelling, of a narration. As Brauna and Clarke prescribes, RTA can be used in a descriptive manner, "giving voice to people"[48]) or in a sophisticated ("telling a story" and "locating it into a broader social, cultural, political, historical context"[49])

To enhance transparency of results, the restitution of themes will be done by briefly schematizing results, then by proposing the TOP 10 most relevant results, and then themes will be not only presented but explained navigating through the different codes that compose them, coupled with a selection of relevant interview extracts to give a full explanation of the process of theme identification, and enhances connections and relations among themes, the final objective of Thematic Analysis, after Theme identification[50] (Chapter 8, paragraph 8.4)

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[48] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zFcC10vOVY. Braun and Clarke offer an introductory lesson to University of West England in 2018. Min 21:06 and following.

[49] Ibid. Min: 21:23 and following.

[50] Ibid.

7. THE STUDY AREA: Tanzania, the Northern Circuit, and Enduimet WMA

This study observes the interplay of relevant dynamics at different scales (national, regional, and local). Relevant information in different scalar contexts is presented for a more effective and complex analysis of all the multiple dynamics that affect the nexus between community and Ecotourism. In addition, insights into local livelihoods and local communities are provided.

7.1. Insights about Tanzania and Tanzania's Tourism Sector

Tanganyika gained independence from the UK in 1962 and united with Zanzibar in 2964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The unitary democratic republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar (Tanzania) provides for a central government and a devolved form of government that administers the Zanzibar archipelago with broad administrative autonomy. The president is directly elected for a maximum of two consecutive terms, terms of five years each. If the elected president is from the mainland, the vice president must be from Zanzibar, and vice versa.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, Tanzania has a population of 61.7 million, with 30.1 million males, and 31.6 million females. The average annual population growth rate in Tanzania has increased from 2.7 percent in 2012 to 3.2 percent in 2022. The Tanzanian population comprises a majority of young persons, where 42.8 percent are under the age of 15. 12 percent of children under age five are underweight (too light for their age), and 3 percent are severely underweight (NBS, 2022). Apparently, in under-5 mortality rate has decreased from 81 deaths per 1,000 live births (2010), although persistent, to 43 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2022 (NBS, 2022)

Access to basic services is still hard on behalf of both rural and urban groups, although the latest census registered an improvement: the rate of water accessibility in rural areas was 70.1% in 2021, and it was detected at 74.5% in 2023. The rate of water accessibility in urban areas improved, from 84% in 2021 to 86.5% in 2023.

The state is currently heavily oriented to infrastructure development, as summarized in NBS (2022), the government has attracted international direct investment (FDI), indeed these have grown in multiple sectors (NBS Website). The most famous infrastructural project is the East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP)

from Hoima (Uganda) to Chongoleani, Tanga (Tanzania) (NBS, 2022). This intervention is key to enhancing national economic sovereignty, even if it was highly criticized by European institutions during COP 27, held in November 2022 in Egypt, using environmental concern arguments.

Despite the aspiration to modernization and income growth, as comprised in the Tanzania Development Vision for 2025, important breaks to development are the gender gap in access to education, and services, and in the protection of women's land rights, the persistence of poverty, and the almost non-existent change of the political class (NBS, 2022) (the same party is ruling at the national and local level since independence, despite multiparty elections, and persisting censorship in the media and academic research, resulting in a limited degree of freedom.(Cochrane et al., 2019).

This very brief outline will allow the discussion of literature-based and empirical findings, putting them about the main socio-economic dynamics occurring at the national level.

Tanzania Tourism Sector

In the latest policy documents (1999[51]), the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism of Tanzania sets the country's goal for the tourism sector: to develop tourism, that is culturally and socially responsible, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable, and economically viable, as well as to market Tanzania as a tourist destination for adventure safaris, wildlife viewing, a variety of cultures and beaches. According to WTTC (2021), The travel and tourism sector's total contribution to GDP in 2019 was US $6.7 billion, equivalent to 10.7% of the GDP (WTTC, 2021), an alternative figure from UNWTO refers to 17% of the country's GDP (UNWTO Website). This was significantly affected by the pandemic and dropped to 5.3% in 2020. In 2019, the sector was responsible for 6.2% of total employment, but this number dropped to 4.5% in 2020 (WTTC, 2021).

The National Bureau of Statistics, within the SENSA (Census) 2022 praises

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[51] later enacted through the 2008 Tourism Act that provided the legislative framework for the policy objectives.

presidential efforts to promote Tanzania as an international tourism destination[52], which indeed grew after the pandemic: a great increase in the number of visitors to the country from 922,692 in 2021 to 1,454,920 (+58%) in 2022. Revenue from the tourism sector increased to 2,527 million US dollars in 2022 from 1,310 million US dollars in 2021, equivalent to an increase of 93 percent (NBS, 2023).

Most inbound tourists to Tanzania come for ecotourism attractions, as it is estimated that at least 90% of tourists follow nature-based tourism, whereby cultural elements constitute secondary components (Pasape et al., 2013, Pasape et al., 2015). s (TANAPA Website). Furthermore, the country has more than 35% of its total area under protected areas (), with 872 protected areas active in the whole country (Protected Planet Website).

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, the flow of foreign direct investment (FDI) to Tanzania was USD 1,190.5 million in 2021 compared with USD 943.8 million in 2020, equivalent to an increase of 26.1 percent compared to the previous year. The growth in FDI flows in the aftermath of COVID-19 was consistent with the global increase in earnings of multinational enterprises, and impressive growth in international project finance.

Nonetheless, national statistics suggest that other sectors were the object of investment flows: mining, quarrying, manufacturing; finance, and insurance sector, rather than tourism.

The contribution of tourism to the social and economic development of the country is substantial and capitalizes on the country's biodiversity and cultural assets. Ecotourism benefits locals mainly through the sale of various items such as handicrafts and agricultural products, thereby encouraging local people to support conservation efforts and related tourism projects. Ecotourism in Tanzania is widely benefitting not only from the wide network of protected areas but also from the intangible heritage of local culture, livelihoods, and traditions (Pasape et al., 2013, Pasape et al., 2015)

Based on personal observation, an average tourism package in Northern Tanzania envisions 5 out 7 days of the stay to game watching in major National Parks or community-based protected areas, and one or two days are often

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52 H.E. President Dr. Samia Suluhu Hassan promoted the Royal Tour film in 2023

dedicated to experiencing the life of local communities, either farming communities or pastoralist communities or other indigenous communities, such as ironsmith communities or hunters and gathers. Often, tourists spend most of the nights of their stay in remote, wild-life-rich areas, and the first or last night in the city near the airport (in the case of the Northern Circuit of Tanzania, Arusha and Moshi are the main destinations for that). Even if tourism studies tend to distinguish among these tourist experiences, in the context of Global South countries (and in the specific as of Tanzania for what concerns this study) tourists tend to experience nature and culture, wildlife, and indigenous groups in the same stay. Indeed, most tour operators often have a hard time convincing tourists to spend more time visiting communities, either conducting community-based activities of cultural tourism or visiting natural sites on community lands. In the case study of Tanzania Northern Circuit, for instance, tourists are mainly attracted by the major tourist attractions -Serengeti National Park and Ngorongoro National Park (Gardner, 2016), i.e. they want to see wild animals.

Different conflicts characterized the history of conservation in Tanzania (see Chapter 2), although today, the most famous conflict in eco-tourism in Tanzania is occurring in one of the country's most well-known protected areas: the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. In 2022 it was possible to read in the news about police violence against the Maasai community in the press (Craig, 2023).

In some other, more successful cases, investors and tourism projects were established following a dialogue and an exchange with the community (see Gardner 2016 and Bluwstein 2017 for an overview of how different tourism arrangements lead to very different community development outcomes)

7.2 The Northern Safari Circuit: an uninterrupted network of protected areas

At the regional level, interesting dynamics occur in the conservation/ecotourism sector: in Northern Tanzania one tourist region formed, known as Northern Safari Circuit, where different types or schemes of conservation can be found in an almost uninterrupted network: five National Parks; one Conservation Area (Ngorongoro CA); several Game Controlled Areas (CGA),

Game Reserves (GRs) and Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) (TANAPA Website).

The Northern Circuit extends over Tanzania's Northern Regions, namely Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Mara, Simiyo, and Manyara. Bordering National Parks (NP), Game Reserves, CGAs, and WMAs articulates in a wide conservation system. Some Protected Areas were instituted as Buffer Zones or Corridors for Ecological Integrity (and assure wildlife migration). In such a context, NGOs and private investors also contribute to conservation with eco-tourism and conservation projects to expand environmental and wildlife protection outside main Parks. In this sense, the Northern Circuit is a vast, almost uninterrupted network of conservation schemes and ecotourism destinations that goes from Serengeti plains in the West to Kilimanjaro Mountain up to the coast of the Indian Ocean to the East, and the city of Arusha being the main urban center located in the middle of it.

Figure 7.1

Figure 7.2: the almost uninterrupted network of protected areas in Tanzania, with specified locations of WMAs, National Parks, Game Reserves, and Conservation Areas. Source: https://www.islandstoriesofchange.com/
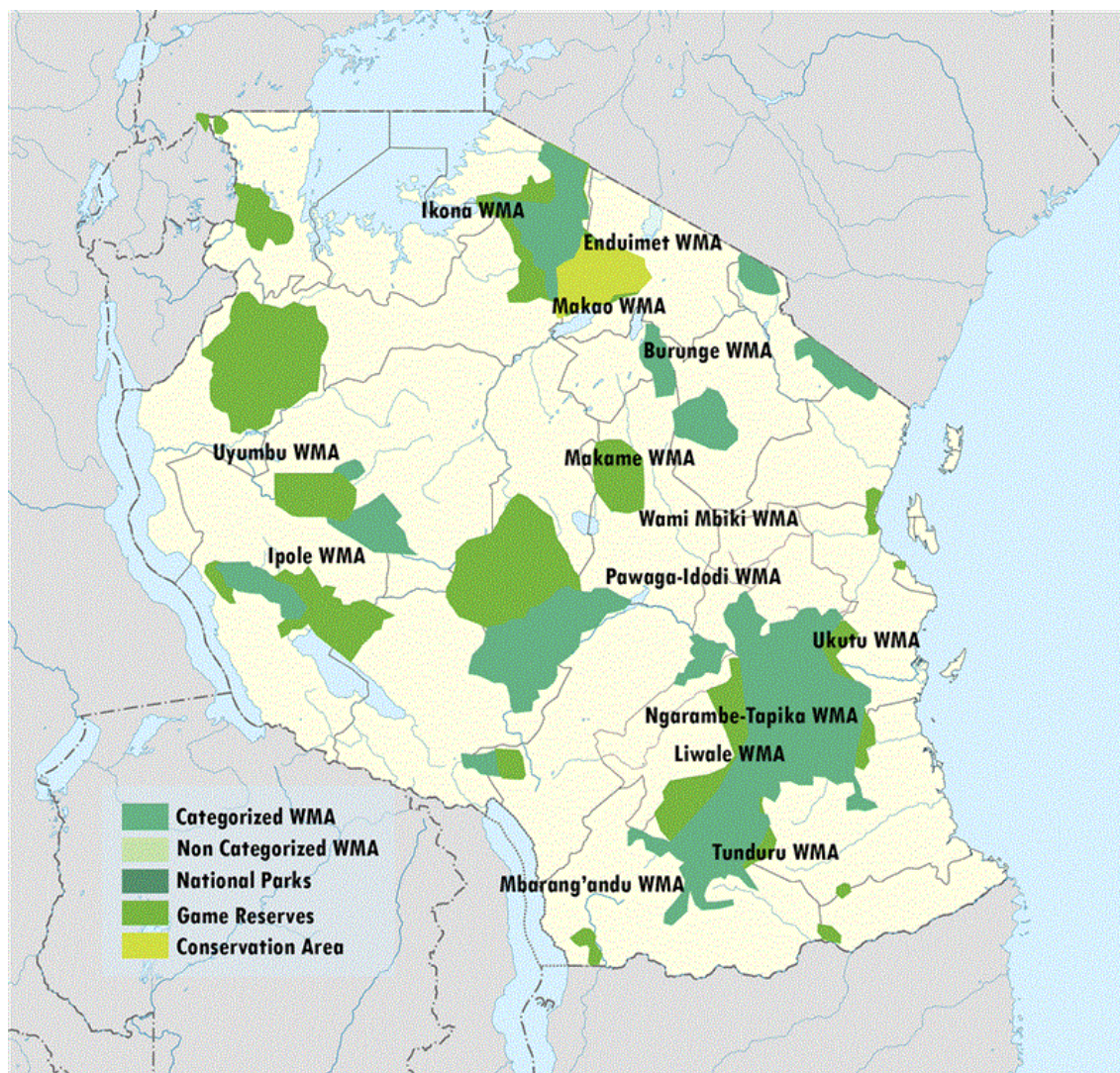
Table 7.1: Protected areas extending in the Northern Circuit of Tanzania. NP stands for National Park. GCA stands for Game Controlled Areas, GR stands for Game Reserves, and WMA stands for Wildlife Management Area. Source: NBS (2023)

NAME	LOCATION
Tarangire NP	Manyara Region
Arusha NP	Arusha Region
Kilamanjaro NP	Kilimanjaro Region

Lake Manyara NP	Manyara Region
Mkomazi NP	Kilimanjaro Region
Ngorongoro CA	Arusha Region
Loliondo GCA	Arusha Region (Buffer Zone of Ngorongoro and corridor between Ngorongoro CA and Lake Natron GCA)
Lolkisale GCA	Arusha region (assures Tarangire NP buffer zone)
Lake Natron GCA	Arusha region (assures Ngorongoro CA Buffer Zone)
Burunge GCA	Arusha region (corridor between Manyara and Tarangire NP and extends Tarangire NP buffer zone)
Kitway GCA	Manyara region (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
Ruvu Maasai CGA	Manyara region (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
Ruvu Same GCA	Manyara region (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
Simanjiro CGA	Manyara region (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
Speke Gulf GCA	Mara Region (assure Serengeti NP buffer zone and corridors between it and Grumeti&Ikorongo GR)

	Mto Wa Mbu GCA	Arusha region (assures Lake Manyara NP buffer zone and corridor between it and Ngorongoro CA)
	Longido GCA	Arusha region (assures corridor between Ngorongoro CA, Lake Natron GCA, Kilimanjaro, and Arusha NP)
	Rau Forest CGA	Kilimanjaro region (assure Kilimanjaro NP buffer zone)
GR	Ikorongo &Grumeti GR	Mara Region (assure Serengeti NP buffer zone and corridors between it and Speke Gulf GCA)
	Maswa GR	Simiyo region (assures Serengeti NP Buffer Area, connecting it with Makao WMA)
	Mkungunero GR	Manyara and Dodoma Regions (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
	Swagaswaga GR	Manyara and Dodoma Regions (isolated from other PA; but assures Tarangire NP and Mkungero GR continuity southward)
	Burunge WMA	Manyara region (Babati DC, the corridor between Manyara and Tarangire NP, and extend Tarangire NP buffer zone)
	Enduimet WMA	Arusha region (Longido DC, assures corridor between Arusha and Kilimanjaro NP and also Amboseli NP in Kenya)

Ikona (juhiwaiko) WMA	Mara region (Tarime and Serengeti DC, assures Serengeti Buffer Area, connecting Ikorongo&Grumeti GR with Serengeti NP)
Makame (Indema) WMA	Manyara region (Kiketo DC) (assures corridor between Tarangire and Mkomazi NP)
Makao WMA	Simiyo region (Meatu DC, assures Serengeti NP Buffer Area, connecting it with Maswa GR)
Ranidlen WMA	Arusha Region (Monduli DC, assure Arusha NP buffer area)

The extension of protected areas in the country is exceptional, which means that the government is strongly oriented on pursuing a conservation-based environmental agenda. Indeed, according to figures provided by NBS (2022), the total surface of National Parks in the country is 104,661.48 square kilometers, and an additional 104,176.36 square kilometers are observed in-game Controlled Areas nationwide.

The administration of National Parks in Tanzania

National Parks are managed by TANAPA, following the Tanganyika National Parks Ordinance of 1959 (TANAPA). Serengeti became the first National Park, which was later on separated from Ngorongoro Conservation Area, administrated by its authority, namely Ngorongoro Conservation Authority. Currently, TANAPA is governed by the National Parks Act Chapter 282 of the 2002 (revised edition) of the Laws of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Conservation in Tanzania is governed by the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974, which allows the Government to establish protected areas and outlines how they are organized and managed. National Parks represent the highest level of resource protection that can be provided (TANAP Website). Other forms of protected areas such as CGA (Game Controlled Areas) and GR (Game Reserves)

only provide restrictions on wildlife, which is under protection, although not the whole land is protected. Game Controlled Areas (GCA) have until the adoption of this new act been a purely nominal protected area category that only has restricted wildlife utilization and no restrictions on human activities (Nelson, 2004) such as settlement, grazing, or cultivation. GCAs are also areas where village land and hunting blocks overlap. In 2009, a new Wildlife Conservation Act was passed by the National Assembly. This law strengthens central control of wildlife and gives the Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources more opportunity to intervene in the management of village lands. For instance, now pastoralists need to write permission to graze livestock in Game Controlled Areas (GCA) even where these areas overlap with village lands (Benjaminsen et al 2013).

Wildlife management areas are protected areas where both wildlife and the environment are protected, even though certain degrees of livelihood activities are allowed (such as dead firewood collection). In all the types of reserves, what is restricted is the community's access, at various levels. tourist access is assured, whether it is for hunting or photographic tourism. Outside National Parks, the conservation authority is TAWA (Tanzania Wildlife Management Authority) which operates according to the provisions of the Wildlife Conservation Act No. 5 of 2009 and Wildlife Policy of 1998 (Revised Edition of 2007. Its mandate is to combat poaching, encroachments, and illegal wildlife trade in the area of its jurisdiction.

7.3. Socio-economic profile of the study area: Longido and Enduimet area

Statistical information is not available at the village level, but few preliminary results from the 2022 National Census are available at the District and Ward levels. Longido District borders the Republic of Kenya (North), in the East borders Arusha Municipal Council, and Rombo District Council, in the South borders Monduli and Siha District Council to the southeast, and in the West borders Ngorongoro District Council.

The District has a population of 175915, whereas the ward interested in the study has the following population: Tinga Tinga has a population of 8262, Kawmanga ward of 1373, Olmolog of 12536 (2022 Sensa Website). Longido District is one of the driest areas in Tanzania, the temperature ranges from 20° C –

35° C, and rainfall ranges from less than 500mm in lowlands to 900mm in high elevations of West Kilimanjaro, Ketumbeine, Oldonyo Lengai Mountains, and Gelai mountains. Given the presence of these Mountains, the local altitude varies from 600m to 2,900m above sea level (URT; 2013).

Given the arid climate, the primary livelihood is pastoralism and the primary ethnic group in the district is the Maasai group. The vegetation is typical of arid climates, characterized by bushlands and grassland., and forest on the Mountain slopes. Nearly all records about the District water supply indicate concerning shortage of water for both human and livestock use. The main reasons for poor water supply – exacerbated in the rural areas include the absence of natural water sources such as springs lack of permanent rivers, and poorly preserved water sources, that the District Council associates "to pastoralist nature of the people" without further specification. Poverty is still very high in the district. The main economic sectors are livestock keeping, tourism, and agriculture. There is a shortage of Health services in the District, and the illiteracy rate is high (75%) (URT, 2013).

Given the lack of statistical census information at the village level, the baseline study conducted in Enduimet villages by HDIC in 2010 is employed. The consultants conducted a baseline study in 5 of the Enduimet villages, with a sample of 321 respondents, distributed among males and females (HDIC ET AL, 2010).

The dominant ethnic groups for all villages are Maasai and Warusha. The primary livelihoods in Enduimet villages are farming and livestock keeping (HDIC et al, 2010). Extensive farming is practiced on the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro (Lerangwa, Irkaswaa, Kamwanga villages), and almost exclusively pastoralist land use is found in the arid lowlands around Sinya and Tinga Tinga (Sulle et al 2011). Therefore, income is provided primarily in food crop farming and livestock keeping, and a minor part by cash crop farming, small business, or casual labor (HDIC ET AL, 2010) (more on community livelihoods in paragraph 4.5). In EWMA, there are more male-headed (94%) than female-headed households (6.0%). The majority of the population in the WMA have a primary education level, while more than a third have no formal education. Household size in Enduimet WMA has an average size of 6 to 10 people. Regarding housing conditions, the majority of the population owns a house and almost half of the houses in the area are roofed with iron sheets. The majority of the houses have walls made of mud and poles. Regarding the

means of transport, the majority of the population own a bicycle, and less than a third a motorcycle. The majority of villagers own a radio and mobile phone. In all villages, the average annual income is 500,000 TSH for each economic activity. The general average annual income differs although average villagers in the area spend 5000 TSH per day (2.10 USD) for household needs (HDIC ET AL, 2010).

7.4. The local community: livelihoods and ethnic groups

Characteristics and challenges of local livelihoods: small-scale farming, livestock keeping, pastoralism, and agro-pastoralism

Due to the arid climate in the district, the study area comprises an important pastoral area. In particular, the area comprised within the District where Enduimet is located, (Longido DC) is endowed with the highly diversified altitudes of local mountains: Mount Longido, the highlands, and Mount Kilimanjaro (although located in the bordering Siha District in the region of Kilimanjaro, its presence affects the agroecological diversity of Longido). Those areas are suitable for farming, compared to the semi-arid lowlands. Generally, the economy in the District and Enduimet WMA is mainly dependent on pastoralism and agriculture, and agriculture mixed with livestock keeping. The main ethnic group in the District is Maasai, dedicated to pastoralism and subsistence-oriented agriculture (URT, 2013; Institute Oikos, 2011; Århem, 1985; Homewood & Rogers, 1984), whereas the majority of the population in Enduimet villages are Maasai and Warusha (HDIC ET AL, 2010; Odumbe 2009; Kulindwa et al, 2003). Later migrants to the area of Enduimet include the ethnic groups of Wachagga, a famous tribe dedicated to farming, and traditional inhabitants of Mount Kilimanjaro, Washambaa and Wapare from the Pare and Usumbara Mountains, who are dedicated to farming, livestock keeping, as well as a combined livelihood of farming with pastoralism and; Wameru and Warusha from the Mount Meru areas, dedicated to farming and livestock keeping (HDIC ET AL, 2010; Odumbe 2009, Kulindwa et al, 2003, URT, 2013).

Over the recent years, crop cultivation has risen in the rangelands of Enduimet and Longido area, traditionally dedicated to pastoralism due to the increased vulnerability of pastoralism as a livelihood. Farming is a source of significant pressure on the wildlife population, which is abundant in the area,

compared to pastoralism. For instance, the conversion of land to agriculture has consumed a substantial portion of the Kitenden Corridor (today protected by Enduimet WMA, where the investigated village of Irkaswaa is located), the only last wildlife route connecting Mt. Kilimanjaro and the Amboseli National Park in Kenya. On the other hand, increased farming in the area has been associated with livestock losses due to drought and diseases, alongside government policies of rural development that historically incentivized farming (sedentary) over pastoralism (nomadic) and the immigration from agricultural areas of groups dedicated to farming (Longido DC Website, URT, 2013; Odumbe, 2009). In addition, land tenure security is greater for small-scale farmers, compared to pastoralists, and this has been an additional incentive, or a tenure strategy, against land loss exacerbated by the presence of investors in large-scale agriculture and ecoturism. Establishing cultivated fields marks the land, whereas grazelands do not show specific signs of labor and are therefore more likely to be allocated to other uses by the government (dispossession). Another major source of land loss and thus land tenure insecurity is the over-expansion of the protected areas and conservation-related limitations on community land uses, which have caused a rise in farming as the livelihood of the local community in the area (Odumbe, 2009).

Crop farming is thus the second source of livelihood for the residents of Longido district and Enduimet villages, the first being livestock keeping. The community that resides in the study area derives its income primarily from livestock keeping, forestry activities (for instance charcoal making), and crop farming. The population engaged in agriculture grows cash crops the highlands, and food crops. On the adjacent slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, bordering the district of Longido, coffee farming is a very important activity, and many agricultural investors practice monoculture, in addition to small farmers who grow coffee as a cash crop. Food crops grown in the district include maize, beans, green beans, and potatoes. Longido people commonly sell food crops in the local market to enhance their incomes and ensure food availability throughout the year. Challenges to the farming community include shortage of extension officers and related inadequate extension services; water shortage, generalized low levels of production due to small land suitable for crop production (due to competition with agribusiness and tourism investments, and expansion of protected areas), employment of counterfeit agricultural inputs, scarce access to agricultural credit, widespread pests'

problems, soil exhaustion, and soil infertility. Given the aridity of the local climate, and the increasing unpredictability of rain patterns, production is very low, and harvest fluctuates. (Longido DC Website, URT, 2013). In the area of Enduimet and much of the Northern Safari circuit in general, conflicts with wildlife occur very often, especially in those who share immediate boundaries with protected areas, and represent a major concern for the local community, which sees wildlife often as a liability and has to defend itself and villagers' properties from it. Wildlife-related problems include attacks by wildlife on humans, crop destruction, livestock depredation, and transmission of diseases, which have a direct consequence in terms of food security and exacerbated hunger among local communities (Kiffner et al., 2022; Eustace et al., 2018; Odumbe, 2009).

Nonetheless, the local farming community resiliently developed highly sustainable farming practices, such as crop rotation, intercropping, and multilayer cropping systems (Razzano et al., in press). In particular, the Chagga group, dedicated to small-scale farming, developed a highly sustainable and resilient farming practice known as the Chagga Home Garden, characterized by a multi-cropping system that evolved over several centuries of gradual transformation and adaptation to the surrounding environment. It integrates numerous multipurpose trees and shrubs with food crops and livestock. Crops are arranged vertically to exploit different heights of plants, crops, and trees, to preserve the humidity of the soil, and to protect more fragile crops from excessive heat. This multi-layered system maximizes the use of limited land in a highly populated area, making sustained production possible with a minimum of external inputs, while it minimizes risks (less production failure, increased resistance against droughts and pests) and ensures at the same time environmental protection (UNCCD Website)

Livestock keeping in the highland areas of Longido and Enduimet is done under a semi-intensive grazing system, while in the lowland area, most of the livestock are grazed in communal land, where pastoralism is mostly diffused. On the other hand, stall (or zero-grazing) traditional livestock keeping is practiced in combination with small-scale farming by different ethnic groups in the area (such as Wameru). Given the predominancy of Maasai people dedicated to pastoralism, and the development of a semi-intensive grazing system in the area, there is an enormous market for livestock and livestock products in the District, also due to the existing good communication, long-term trade-oriented tradition of local livestock

keepers; and the proximity of the District to the border with Kenya. Livestock-reared comprises dairy cattle, beef cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, donkeys, indigenous chickens, and ducks (Odumbe, 2009). Pastoralism is the predominant local livelihood activity and land use, which successfully survived throughout centuries thanks to its incredible adaptation capacity to the local environment, the sustainable management of pastureland based on rotation, and the enhanced suitability of this land use to coexist with wildlife typical of the Maasai traditional activity (Århem, 1985). However, this livelihood strategy is beset by persistent droughts, water shortages, livestock diseases, predation by wildlife, and poor breeding. Nonetheless, herd mobility and pasture rotation are the most prominent strategies still used by these communities to resiliently cope with and mitigate the effects of erratic rains and drought (Odumbe, 2009). Pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, and small-scale farmers have utilized rangelands and farming resources sustainably for hundreds of years, developing careful and resilient land management systems adapted to variable ecological, social, and economic conditions (MVIWTA Website; Razzano et al., 2020; Razzano et al., in press; IWGIA, 2016; Odumbe, 2009; Århem, 1985).

What it is important to note is how the farming and pastoral communities in the investigated area developed livelihoods and productive systems that represent a valuable resource for the maintenance of productive practices diversity, and rural landscapes diversity, not to mention for its capacity to manage resources efficiently and sustainably, the stunning adaptive capacity of these systems that indeed survived for centuries, and its incredible capacity (of pastoralism in particular) to coexist with wildlife. In addition, the productive systems of these communities greatly contribute to the national economy and an extremely lively local economy, and a non-negligible contribution to food security: pastoralists and agro-pastoralists produce most of the milk and meat consumed nationally, and most of the food produce exchanged in local markets in the regions of Northern Tanzania comes indeed from local peasants and livestock keepers that produce it in traditional productive regimes (IWGIA, 2016; Razzano e t al., 2020; Razzano et al., in press; MVIWTA Website).

Maasai culture, and the long-standing threat of eviction

The Maasai people are the most famous people among the groups mentioned so far, due to their traditional colorful clothing, enriched with beads and decorations, and their century-long presence in the savannah, transformed into icons of touristic destinations in the Northern Safari Circuit. They are a semi-nomadic pastoral community that traditionally settled in the so-called Maasai land, the vast areas comprised in the Northern regions of Tanzania and Southern Kenya. They speak a Nilotic language called Maa, indeed Maasai stands for "people who speak Maa". There is a variety of accents among Maa speakers, even though all groups can understand each other. They still preserve a huge heritage of dances and songs, most important being the victory dance to celebrate the victory of warriors, and the happiness dance, to celebrate rains, abundance, goodwill of gods, and weddings. The dances remark gender division: indeed, women are demanded to jump lower than men. Their social system is based on age classes, polygamy, and patriarchy. Labor division according to gender is present: women oversee subsistence farming, care and birth giving, and settlement building. Men oversee the livestock and the security of the community (interview of the Author with a Maasai representative from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum named Kimani[53]; IWGIA, 2016; Oikos, 2011, Århem, K. 1985).

Kimani, who is an expert in Maasai History, narrated this way the original story of the Maasai community: Maasai originally came from the Nile area, in Egypt. They started moving, in search of grass and water. Before resettling in East Africa, they sent units of so-called "supervisors" in search of resources in the open lands. They would build elementary shelters to protect themselves from wildlife. In case of rain, the shelter was covered with cow skin and poles to make something that resembled a tent. They started moving south until they found the "brightness" of water from the Nile River (in Maa, bright is "Nalil", from which "Nile" has its name). Nonetheless, the Nile was dangerous due to the presence of crocodiles, and they slowly started moving again, towards Sud Sudan. When again in need of resources, they marched southwards, in an area that was colder than the previous one, so they called the place "Nairobi" (which stands for "cold" in Maa). Their pastoral society was a flourishing one, they witnessed demographic growth and territorial

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[53] For all the details about the interviews setting, conduction and dates, see chapter 6.

expansion. Hence, they moved towards Amboseli and Maasai Mara areas, additionally expanding until they reached the endless plains of Serengeti (a toponym of Maa origin that indicates the vastity of plains) and Ngorongoro (Maa toponym that means "round", or "hole" to indicate the huge caldera), around the XVI century.

In the following centuries (XVII and XVIII), the abundance offered by the plains of Serengeti and the highlands of Ngorongoro made these areas their favorite lands. They moved later to the Arusha[54] and Meru area, where they started sharing the land with the Warusha and Wameru people, and also on the Pare Mountains, where they later shared forceful evictions with the Wapare people and other agro-pastoral communities. They even settled in the lower plains of Kilimanjaro, where they started a fruitful friendship and exchange of knowledge with the Chagga group, from whom they learned farming. Nonetheless, Maasai's favorite food comprises blood, milk, and meat, but they had to integrate with vegetables and grains. However, elders usually preserve traditional food habits. I had the chance to interview[55] a Maasai elder who told me never to eat food like chicken, fries, or avocado, which are considered kids' food or non-Maasai food (interview of the Author with Maasai representatives from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum, and from Tinga Tinga village[56]).

Polygamy is still a very important part of Maasai identity and social structure, it is a sign of wealth, together with the number of cattle. Each wife has her dedicated hut, wives do not share the house, only the husband. Men are not allowed to sleep with babies and kids, nor with pregnant or breastfeeding wives. In such conditions, women are generally excluded from daily tasks, and they receive help from other wives. Daughters usually leave the village of origin when they have to get married, while the son stays. Men are entitled to the care of their old parents, consequently the birth of a male child is particularly cherished and cheered. If a woman cannot get pregnant with a son, she should pay a visit to a traditional healer. During the interview with a Maasai woman[57], she specified that women are entitled to cattle

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[54] Kimani said that Arusha is a toponym that comes from the Maa word for the gray color, that identifies the peculiar color of the rock of Mount Meru

[55] For all the details about interview conduction, setting, and dates, see Chapter 6.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

property rights. They do not graze cattle, nor manage it, and only partially participate in livestock selling decisions, but they own such cattle. This is a form of insurance in case of the loss of the husband (interview of the Author with Maasai representatives from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum[58]). The boma is the famous Maasai settlement, and it is considered a permanent settlement (Lamprey and Reid, 2004). Men have to graze very far away and can be away for weeks, and in the open pasturelands, they usually build temporary shelter, while kids and women stay in the boma. It is in this sense that today Maasai define themselves as semi-nomadic: grazing is still conducted according to traditional mobility patterns that allow the regeneration of pastures through following the alternance between rain and dry season, whereas the rest of the family lives in the villages, attends schools, and farms. An old lady I had the chance to chat with during my visit at Olpopongi, was born nomadic. She was born very far from the Enduimet area, in Ngorongoro, and for most of her life she lived nomadically: she followed the herds to Serengeti, Maasai Mara (Kenya), then she back to Ngorongoro, and then Synia, Namanga, and more recently near Kilimanjaro, then Sinya, and lastly, Tingatinga, where she resides today. Nomadism was characterized by temporary settlements, with fences to be protected from wildlife and minimum shelter. When nomadic, the whole community would move, following rains and grass to feed cattle through Northern Tanzania and Kenya, in a movement that resembles the migrations of herbivores in the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem (Serneels and Lambin, 2001), even though today Maasai herds routes are heavily constrained by the presence of National Parks, indeed the lady told me that the Serengeti area is inaccessible today and that movements occur between the Kilimanjaro-Longido-Loliondo areas, and Kenya (interview of the Author with Maasai representatives from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum[59])

Maasai welcomed Christianity (especially because the introduction of the bible by missionaries became the vehicle for literacy among Maasai people), but traditionally they worship nature gods, and among some communities, these are still worshipped. Specific elements of nature (rains which symbolize the favor of gods, whereas eruptions symbolize a punishment) and of the local morphology are

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

worshipped, such as local volcanoes (Oldonyo Lengai for instance). To gain the favor of gods, Maasai would sacrifice livestock, under an acacia tree. Burying rituals were peculiar during the nomadic eras: corps were left in the open bushland to be eaten by wild animals, and they would abandon that area, to return only after the body disappeared. Christianity introduced burial practice even though it is not associated with a burial ceremony: Maasai do not mark the location where the body is buried. Such change in the burial practice was presented to me as "the "change for the better" that the Maasai people incorporated into their customs after their contact with the Western world. This allowed the community to become more stable (interview of the Author with Maasai representative from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum[60]).

Age influences the role of a decision-maker in the community, and after 80 y.o., men become the ultimate decision-makers. Before that, male individuals were part of the council entitled to choosing the traditional leaders (Laigwanan) and before that, they were entitled to the security and the defense (being moran, warrior). Becoming moran means becoming an adult (for men), and an iconic ritual is the adulthood ritual of passage: the killing of the lion with the spear or bare hands. Youths are sent in groups in the open bush, lurking for a lion to approach and kill. The ritual is performed not only at the passage to adulthood but should be practiced every time livestock is predated by a wild predator. The successful killing means the boy is now a man, ready to take care of the household. This ritual is being progressively abandoned especially among the communities who reside within or near protected areas (for instance, Enduimet WMA prohibited the practice and villagers progressively abandoned it). When imposed, the prohibition is highly controversial and divides the opinions of community members, especially because tourism hunting is still allowed to tourism, and poaching still occurs, whereas the ritual Maasai practice is criminalized, and heavy sanctions are associated with it (interview of the Author with Maasai representatives from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum and Tinga Tinga village61). Nonetheless, the ritual is not compulsory, told me Kimani, it is the ritual of circumcision is compulsory to sanction the passage to adulthood, be allowed to marry, become moran, and become one day the

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

252

decision-maker (interview of the Author with Maasai representatives from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum62). Circumcision was traditionally practiced on women too, told a female Maasai elder, interviewed in Tinga Tinga village63. She regrets that female circumcision is not allowed anymore because it has an important ritualistic and symbolic value. Despite being dangerous when performed in general, and even more so in non-hygienic conditions, she accused modernization (symbolized by the presence of tourists) of the cause of such imposition on behalf of the government. Despite being harsh to hear from a Western woman's point of view, the testimony of this old lady made me realize the importance of the ritual even for female members of the Maasai society, and how important it is for every deep identitarian change to occur voluntarily, as the result of internal deep and autonomous reflection, regardless how good the intention of the imposition is. Conversely, such campaigns are seen as an imposition based on a lack of understanding and discrimination, and thus potentially result in the spread of extremism and radicalization.

"Change only for the better, not for the fun," told me Kimani, (the Maasai representative I interviewed at Olpopongi says this a typical expression of Maasai). This typical expression is transmitted through generations and represents a simple, although effective principle through which the individual and group identity of Maasai evolves through the generations and deals with the ongoing changes of the world and the society: Maasai should never forget their roots, and a sense of tradition has to be nurtured since it represents the bond with the roots of Maasai identity. According to this principle, Maasai have adopted the urban lifestyle, they saw younger generations attending higher and higher levels of education, and they even became important politicians, or influential government officers. What is important, is that a good balance between tradition and innovation is maintained between old and young generations, which means, for instance, that if you become an influential person far from where you were born, you must cherish your family and ancestors by always paying a visit to the family. "Change only for the better, not for the fun" is a key regulatory mechanism through which Maasai communities face everyday decisions and through which they regulate their pathways to the

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62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

future: since the elders are decision-makers of the community, younger members can rarely decide for themselves, and they have to respond and be accountable to elders, and the same principle applies to every change in practice and traditions. It is of paramount importance for the Maasai community that these decisions are reflected upon and autonomously taken following the simple principle "Change only for the better, not for the fun". Whatever change, after reflection, is deemed to bring a transformative change that pursues the good of the collectivity, is more likely to be approved by the elders, whereas the change of lifestyle to lifestyle and unreflexively abandon centuries-old traditions is badly perceived by the elders. It is through this principle that the elders became more and more available to approve schooling of younger generations, or approve changes in customs and traditions, such as burial ceremonies or the abandonment (in certain areas) of the traditional killing of the lion: because it would bring progress and positive transformation, or it would represent a compromise that would allow the long term survival of the pastoral livelihood. These considerations on the negotiation of the Maasai identity on the background of the ever-changing context, for example regarding the state policies and interventions, concerning modernization, and the paramount importance of values such as obligation and reciprocity are key aspects to understanding Maasai identity today, and are aligned with the reflections by Chabal (2009) on the sense of belonging, on kinship identity, and on how the one's role within its community and the wider society works. Chabal (2009) argues In this perspective that the adaptations and negotiations of individual and group identity evolve around key aspects such as ethnicity, although not exclusively: age, origin, kinship, values such as collective good, reciprocity, and obligation are other key determinants on one's identity. Hence, individuals as much as group identity should never be regarded as fixed or static, but fluid and constantly adapted to local, social, cultural, political, and historical contexts (Chabal, 2009).

Breaking down to pastoralism as a livelihood, and the relationship between Maasai and cattle, pastoralism and cattle are the core of Maasai social, political, cultural, and economic life. What is most interesting and remarkable is the herds' mobility pattern. With the changing of the seasons, the herds move to a different location, allowing the grasslands to regenerate. Seasonal mobility allows regeneration because it leaves certain pasture areas as fallow, allowing grass regeneration. Land is a common resource, equally shared but under careful

management to ensure sustainable use. The structure of access rights allows effective control over grazing land, and it is directly related to the environmental necessities of herding in the semi-arid savanna: people and herds must be able to move over large areas in search of water and grass, keeping certain areas at fallow to allow regeneration in the alternate between rainy and dry season. Rich grazing areas are typically used during the dry season and left to recover during the rainy season when lower-potential areas can be exploited. During severe droughts, grazing may be extended into marginal rarely used lands. The pastoral activity needs to count extra reservoirs of pasturelands, to cope with environmental shocks. Cattle breeds kept by the pastoral Maasai are low-producing but strong, able to endure drought and disease (Oakland Institute, 2022; IWGIA, 2016; Arnhem, 1985; Homewood and Rogers, 1984), even if Maasai interviewee64 told me that indigenous cows are disappearing because it is more and more common to breed them with an improved breed of bulls from Kenya, which are more productive.

The Maasai social and political system is flexible and based on cyclical expansion, reorganization, and contraction of the cattle and human component, and their social organization reflects the adaptive capacity of the pastoral lifestyle to the changes in the environment. Land and resource administration is a key aspect of their social and political system which works on rationality of resource utilization and cooperation, rather than based on the rule of kinship, or inheritance of leadership. Livestock is an asset and insurance against environmental shocks or economic emergencies, but it holds a deep social and cultural meaning among Maasai, it signifies wealth and confers status, it is a medium of exchange, legitimizes marriage, and symbolizes social relationships. Cattle are objects of affection and are covered in religious significance. The grass is a key symbol in the Maasai ritual, and its abundance is worshipped, and its scarcity prompts the community to engage in rituals and sacrifice (Arhem, 1985; IWGIA, 2016). To the Maasai, cattle and pasturelands (which they call Maasai Land) mean life itself (Arhem, 1985), and in line with that, during multiple interviews I conducted with Maasai villagers65, a great extent of identification between the Maasai community

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

and Maasai land was highlighted (for instance, participants would interchangeably refer to Maasai community as "in Maasai land").

The Maasai indeed adapted to constant changes in context, and their livelihood and typical cultural, political, and economic system survived despite huge changes in the political and historical context and the numerous colonial and post-colonial attempts to survive. During the XIX/ beginning of the XX century, the Germans and the British envisioned the first ordinances for wildlife conservation, and created the wildlife reserves in Ngorongoro and Serengeti, Meru, and all over northern Tanzania, prohibiting hunting, and farming (for a comprehensive account on the evolution of reserves and National Parks in Northern Tanzania and the ongoing conflict with Maasai community and other communities of peasants and livestock keepers see paragraphs 2.8 and 4.5 respectively). Simultaneously, it was quite a time since Maasai elected the Serengeti and Ngorongoro as their favorite spot, and the group started becoming aware of demographic growth and land scarcity dynamics that were less visible when they were always migrating from one area to the other. The overall health status of the group suddenly plummeted, after the encounter with Europeans and their diseases. Maasai and their herds became affected by epidemics of yellow fever, smallpox, malaria, ticks-associated diseases, and sleeping sickness. They relied on traditional ecological knowledge to select plants with healing properties, still employed today. Some members of the community migrated to urban areas, to access education, and medicines. Initially, the Maasai agreed to the enclosure of game reserves wanted by the British and ceased parts of lands in today's Serengeti National Park. In exchange, the British provided the Maasai community with medicines and veterinary expertise, of which they were in dire need, they built infrastructures and roads and provided the Maasai donkeys (interview of the Author with Maasai representative from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum[66]). By the XX century, the Maasai community who used to control a vast area of land from central Kenya to central Tanzania, owned less than two-thirds of their former (ancestral) territory (Oakland Institute, 2022). Due to pressure imposed by colonial and post-colonial government development and conservation policies, Maasai passed from being entirely nomadic to semi-nomadic. Both colonial and national governments heavily affected access to land

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[66] For details about interview conduction, setting, date, see chapter 6.

and resources on behalf of pastoralists and agro-pastoralist groups all over Tanzania (by giving farming land to European settlers, setting up game reserves, by implementing agriculture-oriented rural development policies that highly discouraged pastoral lifestyle) (Oakland Institute, 2022; Saruni, 2021; IWGIA, 2016).

With the advent of the independence and Ujamaa era (mid-60s/70s), land acquisitions, evictions, and compensation were the main tools to deal with the issues generated by rural and land policies. The ultimate threat to pastoral lifestyle and major imposition on the Maasai community was the implementation of the villagization program, which aimed at the creation of concentrated settlements (villages) against scattered ones, the collectivization of means of production, and intensification of productive systems, with the abandonment of traditional systems (Oakland Institute, 2022; IWGIA, 2016; for a detailed account of the national policies of land management, and the villagization program see paragraph 2.7). Many pastoralists experienced villagization as a threat to their nomadic way of life and their culture as a whole. Villagization imposed a new authority structure on the traditional community, and a new model of settlement and land use, incompatible with the pastoral values. Coercion and the use of force were the main tools for the advancement of the occurred during the villagization program (IWGIA, 2016; Arhem, 1985).

As a response to the shrinking livelihood base, the Maasai took on subsistence agriculture. They also engage in livestock and crops trading. Although the pastoral economy is almost entirely subsistence-oriented, the need for food and their orientation to the market firmly ties the Maasai to the economy of the larger society. Since the '90s/2000, Tourism has become a common activity in Maasai land, especially thanks to the success of community-based tourism, and multi-stakeholder efforts to involve the Maasai community in conservation and tourism, as a tool for poverty reduction (interview of the Author with Maasai representative from Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum[67]).

On the rise of conservation, and the relative threats of eviction targeting the Maasai community, in the 80s ecological studies started being conducted, the scarce evidence in support of the fortress conservation argument (that to survive,

[67] Ibid.

the ecosystems had to be enclosed from community use and access), and to highlight how ecologically sound pastoralism was. Indeed, studies such as Århem (1985) and Homewood &Rogers (1984) addressed how Maasai and their herds had peacefully coexisted with the wildlife for generations, without constituting a threat, but a benefit. The renovated approach to ecological studies of pastoralism pointed out that the joint land use (of pastoralism and wildlife conservation) would work to benefit each other while stressing that the hypothesis of conservationists was unsubstantiated and that traditional pastoralism was not the cause of environmental degradation, or decline in wildlife numbers. Even if pastoralism is characterized by a high number of cattle per person, human density is usually low and the careful management of grazeland resources and the adaptation of mobility patterns to resource availability made the Maasai lifestyle and the pastoral livelihood suitable systems to strike a viable balance between man livestock presence, and use of water and pastures. (IWGIA, 2016; Arnhem, 1985; Homewood and Rogers, 1984)

Threats of eviction, forced relocation, rights neglect, basic human rights violations, and the demolition of access rights are the primary threats to groups such as Maasai, but also to all the other groups that traditionally settled in the Northern Regions of Tanzania, and that today represent the farming and pastoralist community of Enduimet (IWGIA, 2016; Sébastien; 2010; Mustafa, 1997; Neumann, 1992). Concerns have risen on the life conditions of pastoral and agro-pastoral communities, and on the state of their rights, particularly land rights, instead of Land Acts N° 4 and 5 of 1999, which prompted the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) and its members PINGOS (Pastoralist and Indigenous Peoples Organisation), PAICODEO (Parakuiyo Indigenous Community Development Organization) and UCRT (Ujamaa Community Resource Team) to conduct a study to consolidate the information around these concerns.

The study was conducted among pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in various regions of Northern, Central, and Southern Tanzania. The study indeed confirmed an ongoing trend of reduction of the land available to these communities, to the extent of a condition of "permanent dispossessions" (IWGIA, 2016:10), which resulted in the escalation of violent conflicts. This study is considered an important bibliographical source and valuable research and knowledge-production effort because it was produced by organizations that represent the instances of IPLCS. The study also became an editorial effort to address the common anti-pastoralist

narrative that characterizes development and conservation studies and policies, whereby IPLCs are portrayed as backward, anti-economic, primitive, and a cause of environmental degradation.

The study remarked that the main causes of evictions and landlessness are the allocation of pastoralists' lands to investors in the agribusiness and tourism sector, the creation of new protected areas (game reserves, private conservancies), the expansion of National Park, as long as Wildlife Management Areas, de facto agreeing with the hypothesis of dispossession perpetrated by community-based conservation schemes, as advanced in Kicheleri et al (2021); Moyo et al. (2016), and by other critical scholars (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). The government pursues an economic policy oriented to a neoliberal market economy, according to which pastoralism must be abandoned and discouraged whereas land has to be allocated to investments, and the open "idle" pasturelands protected by easily deceivable customary rights become the perfect target (Razzano et al, in press; Saruni, 2021; IWGIA, 2016). In addition, poor governance of land in the terms envisioned by the Village Land Act exacerbated this condition (Kironde, 2009). Despite the land reform of 1999 and the Land Acts formalized customary rights of villages by registering them as Village Land and through Village Land Use Planning (VLUP) and enabled rural people to formalize their land holdings through the issuance of Certificates of Customary Right of Occupancy (CCRO), it managed to provide little if no tenure security, since presidential powers are all-encompassing, whereas village authorities are left with rights of occupancy and use only (see paragraph 2.7; and IWGIA, 2016). In addition, land conflicts examined by the Indigenous NGOS PINGOS and PAICODEO highlighted that rightful procedures of consultation of the community were not respected, the right of villagers to be informed in due time before eviction, to make representations, and to get compensations for the land loss were generally neglected. Even when court orders demanded the evictions to stop, these did not, whereas National Parks and Game Reserve officials continued to shoot livestock, extorting money, and ignoring the ongoing court cases raised by pastoralists to resolve the boundary disputes. More specifically, the study (IWGIA, 2016) identified the state agencies that played direct role in the evictions, such as the police, the Field Force Unit, the Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA), the Anti-Poaching Unit of the Wildlife Division, prison officers, Tanzania Peoples Defence Force, district authority officers, and District

Council authorities, often supported by local militias or private security guards. The revision confirmed that in all cases examined in the different Tanzania regions, evictions were associated with human rights violations, killing, injuries, detention without trial, sexual assault, brutality, cases of people disappearing, livestock killed or injured, illegal and corrupt procedures of livestock dispossession, which forced the owners to pay expensive fines which resulted in the owners selling their livestock at very low prices, which in turn resulted in many impoverished families, who never recovered from that. Hundreds of pastoralists 'houses were burned down, to scare people away, and destroy all means of living. Accessing police assistance to report these crimes, as well as accessing health treatments was impossible, due to retaliation from police officers. The police are accountable to district and state authorities who demanded the same evictions. Against this backdrop, people sought the support of social movements and civil society organizations, but activists and representatives were threatened, and imprisoned (IWGIA, 2016).

Other than landlessness, the system of evictions and forced relocations destroys family and communitarian networks, leaves families food and water insecure, children unable to go to school, marginalized segments of the society become even more marginalized, generalized impoverishment due to lack of land is a direct outcome, due to dispossession of livestock, burning down of food crops, and payment of fines. Pastoralists perceive hate and discrimination on behalf of the state, their practices and livelihoods are criminalized, blamed for conflicts with farmers, and retaliation against wildlife and conservation measures (IWGIA, 2016). Civil society organizations and activists have consistently brought attention to human rights violations, collecting evidence and supporting the social movement of pastoralists, and their instances. Organizations like the PINGOS forum (see PINGOS Forum website and YouTube channel) and other Indigenous people NGOs engage with media, government, and international mechanisms to advocate for the respect of IPLCS rights. CSOs and iNGOS have also engaged with the government, trying to strike strategic alliances with other groups, especially to advocate for improved policy, respect rights, and IPLCS well-being (Hodgson, 2002; IWGIA, 2016). Few major civil society organizations operate within pastoralist communities, such as the umbrella organization PINGOS, but communities keep on forming grassroots organizations, village committees, and social movements.

Pastoralists and local communities already have effective customary institutions to address their community issues, as well conflicts around the land, or issues of marginalization for example around gender IWGIA (2016) stresses how important it is to strengthen the capacity of civil society and indigenous people organizations, despite the power and the brutality of central government employed to maintain the status quo can become hard to contrast.

PINGOS, and its local and transnational partners68 (from IWGIA to MVIWATA, to PAIDECO and UCRT) claim for responsibilities of donors, financial institutions, investors, and international NGOs, to show greater concern about these evictions, and address be accountable for the conflicting interests they hold over pastoralists land. In addition, local organizations as much as international organizations for the protection of human rights, and rights of Indigenous people demanded Tanzania government change the direction of the political agenda to include the principles inspired by the movement for food insecurity (see MVIWATA Website) and self-determination of IPLCS (see PINGOs website), but are systematically ignored, on the base that Tanzania has no Indigenous people because all ethnic groups of Tanzania are indigenous, and replied that the regulative framework envisioned in case of eviction was respected and that the government acted fairly (IWGIA, 2016). Current national and international media, however, could not help but show that the brutality of the Tanzania government continues (Craig, 2023).

Washamba: invaluable cultural heritage and the careful ecological adaptation

The Washamba people come traditionally from the Usambara Mountains in the Northern area of Tanzania (Tanga region), in proximity to the coast, where they settled around 200 years ago. They speak originally a Bantu language, Kisambaa. They used to be organized in a successful kingdom under the long rule of various dynasties of chiefs; later the German colonizer and the Tanzanian state removed all power from the hereditary chiefdoms. The cultivation of the banana is of primary importance in the Shamba household and constitutes their traditional staple food and the diet is enriched today with other starchy foods such as cassava, rice, maize,

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[68] For the complete list of PINGOS' partners see PINGOS website

and beans. They successfully engaged in cash crop farming, such as sugarcane, coffee, and sisal (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008).

The traditional cult of ancestors is of primary importance, together with the rituals of the rainmakers. They have very important rituals of spiritual healing which are used to assure mental and physical health. They employ visual and performing arts as embodiment of the spirit, and to enforce socio-cultural norms. They also employ body ornaments, dances, and sculptures to preserve and perpetrate their traditions and ideologies. The Washambaa still preserves a rich cultural heritage of songs and dances. Songs are used to teach younger people their history and expected behavior for when they are adult members of the tribe, even though today they are affected by gradual identitarian loss, due to globalization and urbanization. (Ngugi, 2023; Thompson, 1999; Feierman, 1972; Feierman, 1970). Today, The Protestant and Catholic faiths are both well-established among the group members, which discourages polygamy. Rituals of passage are very important and still practiced today, both males and females have to be accompanied and trained by a mentor to learn acceptable behavior in adult life but circumcision adapted through time, and today occurs in health facilities. Their traditional settlement was a circular hut about a few meters in diameter known as msonge. Nowadays, most houses are modeled commonly with cement walls and iron roofs. (Ngugi, 2023; 101 last tribes Webiste).

The traditional farming system of the Washamba people has been carefully adapted to the local environment. Their system sustainability integrates tree-keeping with the farming of multiple crops such as yam and maize (farmed for subsistence), together with cash crops such as sugar cane. They use forest resources for their livelihoods, especially as a source of building materials and firewood (Rantala and Lyimo, 2012). Nonetheless,

Their traditional livelihood system is at risk due to the ongoing attempt to introduce farming technological innovation, market productivity, pressure, and direct competition over land due to agricultural investment in the area, combined with the expansion of forest reserves and conservation schemes. The generalized failure of the devolution process in creating a strong local authority over resource management has exacerbated mismanagement, leading to a condition of land scarcity for the Washamba people, underpinned by the neglection of their

customary land over rights, with direct threats to their traditional livelihoods (Schonmeier, 1977; Rantala and Lyimo, 2012).

Wapare people: outline of culture, norms, and livelihoods

The Wapare people are neighbors and descendants of the Washamba people, living in the highlands of Norther-East Tanzania (The Pare Mountains). They speak a Bantu language, and they successfully engaged in the cultivation of cash crops, such as coffee, sisal, and tea; before colonization, they used to engage in traditional activity as ironsmiths. They traditionally developed sound forestry and farming practices adapted to the local environment such as terraces, and they are famous for developing an advanced system of irrigation that allowed the development of successful agriculture. Their traditional livelihood also includes livestock grazing, therefore they can be considered agro-pastoralists or they are also addressed as pastoralists or peasants, according to the prevalent livelihood strategy (Mbeyale, 2010; Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; Wickama et al., 2005)

They were traditionally organized in chiefdoms, that were suppressed with the advent of the British rule over Tanganyika. They traditionally worshipped ancestors, and they still maintain sacred sites The group joined one the earliest ethnic-based nationalist movements in the 40's for independence. In particular, the group distinguished for the pioneer struggle of Pare women against the colonial tax system. Among their instances, there was a fairer recognition of the rights of sisal farmers and the top of their exploitation. They follow a patrilineal system of inheritance and access to resources, decision making is dominated by a husband or male head of the household or clan (Mbeyale, & Songorwa, 2008; 101 last tribes Website; Unitedrepublicoftanzania Website)

Wameru and Warusha: the inhabitants of Mount Meru

Wameru are a Bantu-speaking group (their language is known as Kimeru), who settled around the slopes of Mount Meru 300 years ago. On the slopes, conditions are favorable to agriculture. They indeed practice small-scale farming, usually associated with stall livestock keeping. Wameru is better off compared to other groups in the area of Meru Mountain (Maasai and Warusha) (Istituto Oikos, 2011). They reached high levels of education for wealth, and of political

representation, and their settlements have very good access to education and health services (Butovskaya et al, 2016). The Meru sometimes call themselves 'Varwa', which translated from the Kimeru language means 'those who climb'. Their religion is predominantly Christian today, and a very small percentage practices Islam. Their origin and the origin of their language are tied to the Chagga language and the Chagga people: several Wameru clans considered themselves the descendants of groups associated with the Chagga community, who presumably moved from Kilimanjaro to Mount Meru 3/400 years ago. They were traditionally engaged in banana cultivation on Meru Mountain slopes, and thanks to the fertility of the land and their success in farming, they knew intense demographic growth, indeed today Meruland is characterized by high population density, which led to land sacristy.

Their social and political system was heavily disrupted at the arrival of the German rulers, and then finally deleted by the post-colonial government. They had more peaceful relations with the British rule, than with the Germans, and during that time they successfully started growing coffee for the market. Their society is patriarchal (and only males can inherit the land, even though it is the youngest son to inherit, not the firstborn because the firstborn can enjoy the help of the parents while they are still young and strong) and organized in clans. Each Meru clan is believed to be descended from a common ancestor, and each toponym within Meruland has been associated with the name of a prominent and respected ancestor who originally settled in that specific area. Different clans specialized in a different sphere of social, cultural, economic, and political life (such as the clan dedicated to the cult of magic, and the clan dedicated to political power and administration.). Later on, near them settled the Warusha Group and they always engaged in lively interactions with the other local groups (Maasai and Warusha) They have traditionally practiced polygamy, which is a sign of wealth. Women in polygamous families also have a better position compared to monogamous, because all wives share workload and take care of children together. Among their compulsory rituals, there is the birth ceremony, when the mother-in-law first, and neighbors visit the woman, bringing gifts. Circumcision is still a very important ritual of passage to adulthood, and it was traditionally practiced on girls too, even if the British and the post-colonial government banned it. (Butovskaya et al, 2016).

Contemporary Meru grows bananas, mangoes, avocados, coffee, tomatoes, legumes, and cereals, including maize, rice, millet, and sorghum in a very carefully adapted farming system, that, like the Chagga multi-layered system, combines different crops on the same field. The farm commonly hosts livestock, which they used to graze in open pasture land, making them a traditionally agro-pastoral community, that successfully adapted to land availability, shifting to stall livestock, according to Istituto Oikos (2011), they are the only group of the Meru area to grow livestock feed on their farm, usually plaint and elephant grass. They used to live in traditional housing characterized by roofs made with banana leaves, which hardly exist anymore. They live in contemporary dwellings made of bricks and iron roofs. Part of their success was associated with coffee farming, which started at the beginning of the XXth century (Istituto Oikos, 2011; Butovskaya et al, 2016).

Warusha people are also inhabitants of Mount Meru, the practice of both agriculture and livestock keeping. The Warusha are Nilotic, like the Maasai, to which they are related. They arrived in the area of Mount Meru in the XIX century, and since then, they have shared with the Wameru the agricultural land on the fertile slopes of Mount Meru. Both Warusha and Wameru have traditional multi-layered agroecosystems, based on the inter-cropping technique. They grow plantain, coffee, finger millet, sorghum, and staple foods (maize and beans), which replaced indigenous, drought-resistant foods, such as cowpeas. They developed a successful farming economy around coffee, just like the other groups such as the Wapare people. On the Meru slopes, a quite intensive irrigated farming system developed, and tomato production became particularly successful, making the slopes of Mount Meru one of the major tomato producers of Northern Tanzania. The Warusha have permanent huts where the whole family lives together, even if the traditional lifestyle has changed considerably over the years and so has their average settlement. Both groups, who have successfully integrated subsistence with market-oriented farming and livestock keeping have livelihoods directly dependent on the surrounding nature, thus the availability of land, as well as access to forest resources for household energy, building materials, forestry activities, and beekeeping Threats to the traditional farming system, island and water scarcity and the increasing incidence of agro-toxing episodes, due to misemployment of fertilizers and pesticides (Istituto Oikos, 2011; Butovskaya et al, 2016; Neumann, 1992).

7.4 Enduimet WMA and member villages: background information

Enduimet WMA (EWMA) is the WMA focus of this investigation, and it was gazette and granted user rights in 2007. The north is bordered by Kenya; bounded by Siha District and the National Park of Mount Kilimanjaro (KINAPA, in the East) and Rombo District (North East), and bordering with Engikaret, Longido and Namanga villages in the West.

Figure 7.3: EWMA Map. Source: Sulle et 2011 (courtesy from AWF).
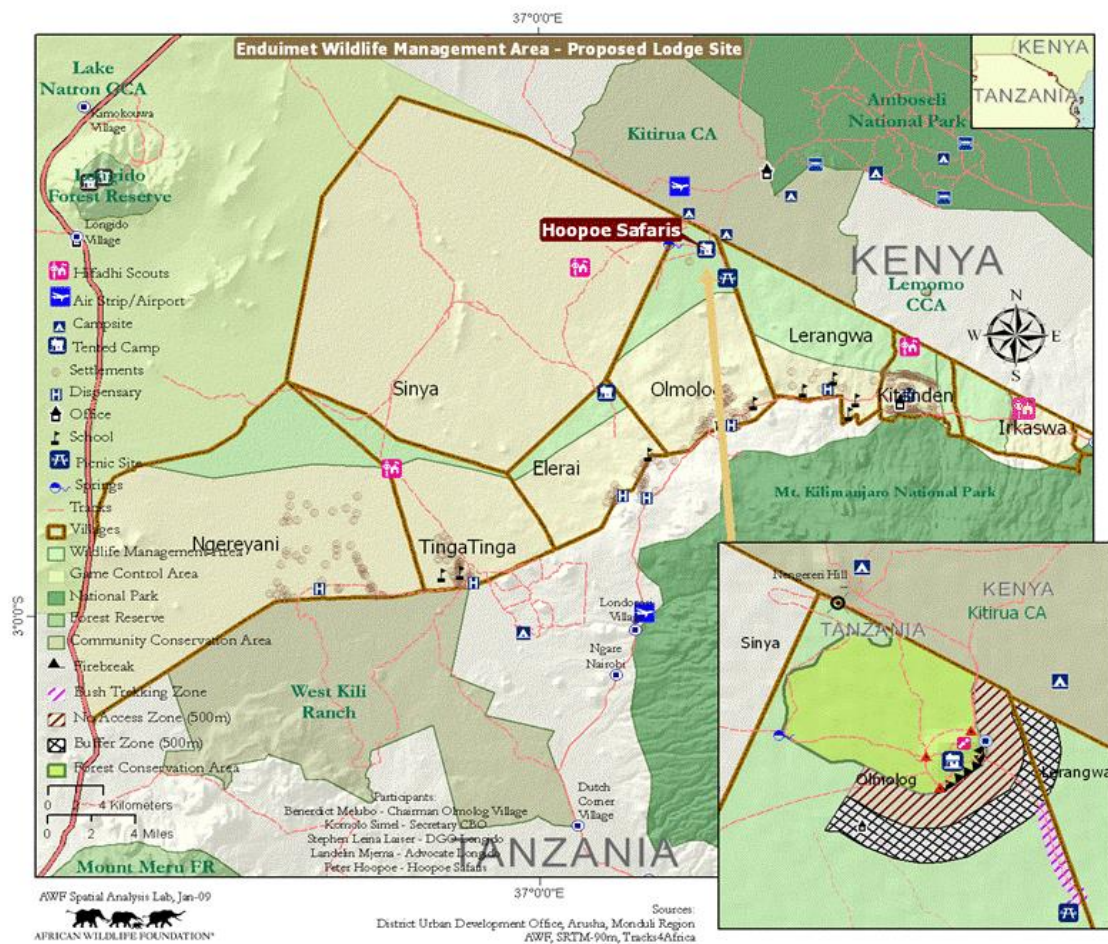
Enduimet comprises the villages of Ngereiyani, Tingatinga, Sinya, Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa, Kitendeni, Irkaswaa, and Kamwanga, covering a surface of 128,179 square km (EXWMA Constitution-ENG). Enduimet lies in an area of high tourism potential. It is adjacent to Mount Kilimanjaro, one of Tanzania's most

popular tourism sites, and the Namanga and Tarakea border crossing with Kenya, which is one of the main thoroughfares for tourists. Arusha is only 2-3 hours by road. Wildlife in the area is relatively abundant and diverse, including the famous Amboseli elephants often seen around villages in the WMA, as well as rarer species such as gerenuk and lesser kudu (Sulle et al, 2011). The majority of Enduimet village's surface has been set aside as a wildlife management area. The remaining part is still under individual village jurisdiction. The area also has a tourist hunting block. Other existing activities include photographic, cycling, and walking safaris (HDIC ET AL, 2010).

Table 7.2: Enduimet Villages and their location within respective District and Wards.

VILLAGE	WARDS	DISTRICT
Tinga Tinga	Tinga Tinga	Longido
Irkaswaa	Kawmwanga	Longido
Olmolog	Olmolog	Longido
Ngereiyani	Tingatinga	Longido
Kitendeni	Kamwanga	Longido
Elerai	Olmolog	Longido
Ildonyo	Sinya	Lonigo
Endonyoemali	Sinya	Longido
Leremeta	Sinya	Longido
Kamwanga	Kamwanga	Longido
Lerangwa	Olmolog	Longido

Unfortunately, Sulle et al., (2011) report that the after the first 4/5 years, revenues started dropping from 2010. In recent years, revenues dropped due to the interruption of international arrivals due to COVID-19 (primary data in line with secondary data, by Shoo et al. 2021).

Figure: 7.4 Enduimet WMA Income Trend From the 2018/2019 Financial Year. Source: EWMA manager mail
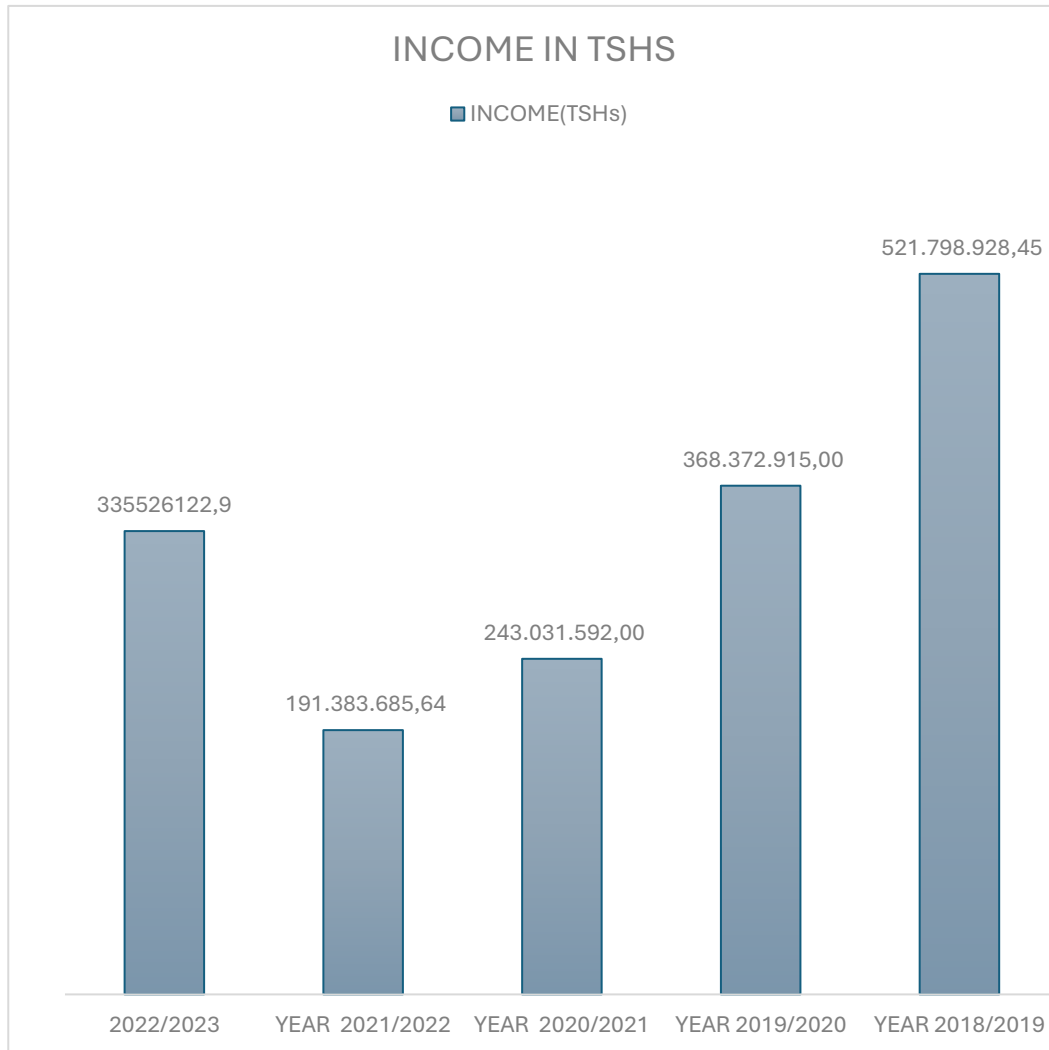
Figure 7.4

According to EWMA info material (a touristic brochure-map) developed by honey guide, and Sulle (et al., 2011) other lodges and camps inside the WMA are Kitendeni W. Camp in Kitendeni; Nengereri Wilderness Camp and Lengawas Hill W. camp, both located in Lerangwaa village; Lerikaru W. Camp in Olmolog; Tembo Campsite and Emboloio W.Campsite in Elerai; Nambala Wilderness Camo, Shu'mata Lodge, Shanrgilla Lodge located in Sinya (which also has one of the few

268

public campsites in the conservation area). A search of hospitality facilities on Google Maps allows to addition of the following tourism facilities located in WMA villages (but not within WMA borders): Olpopongi Maasai Cultural Village (cultural community-based tourism experiences and hospitality facility) in Tinga Tinga.

Figure 7.5: Enduimet Brochure and Cover of the Touristic Map. Source: of the Author
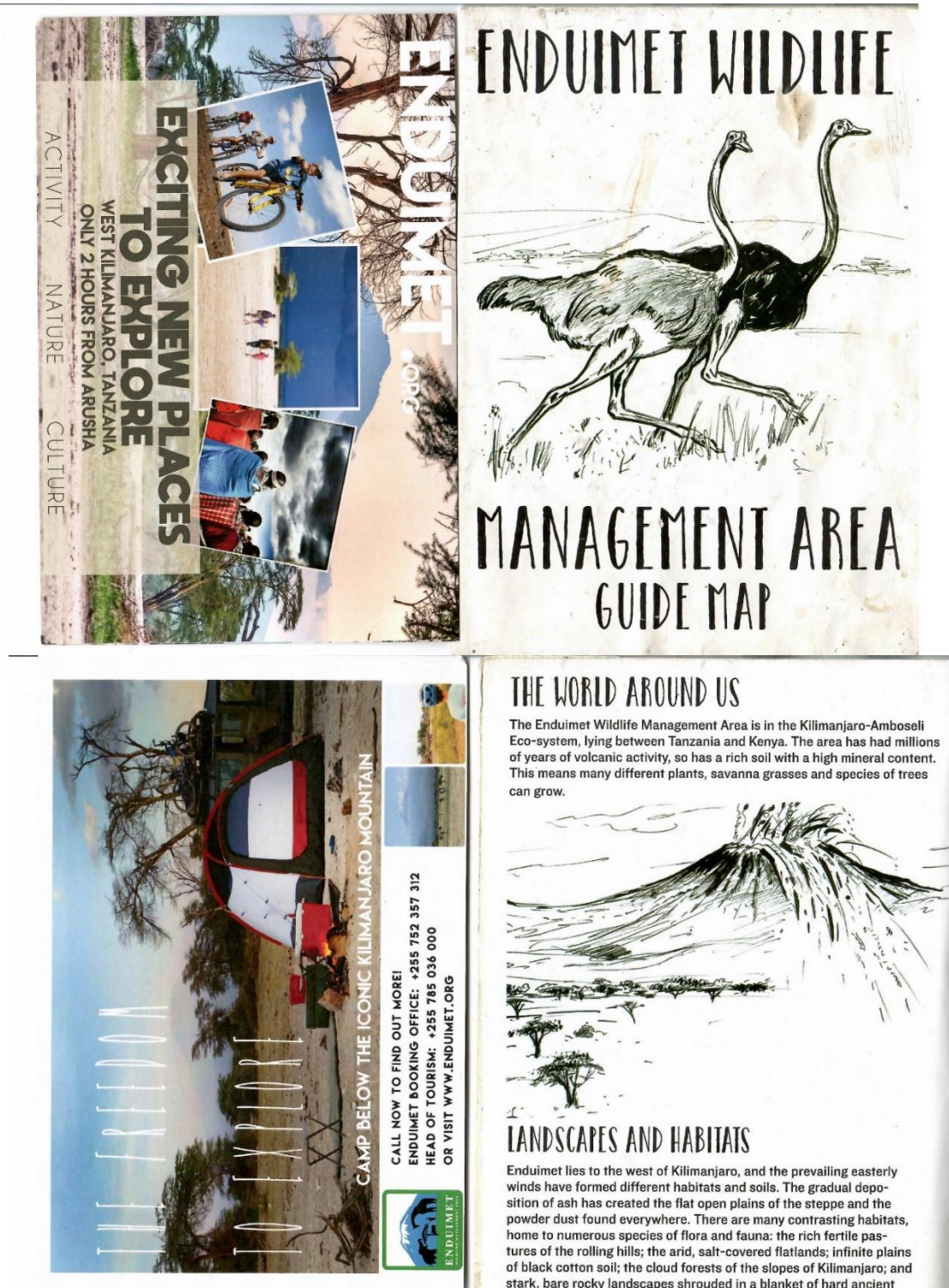
Figure 7.3

Olmolog village is reported as the only one having a natural water source (HDIC ET AL, 2010) and together with Sinya, are the village with the most abundant wildlife, compared to more farming-oriented villages (such as Kamwanga and Irkaswa) and at the beginning of the Enduimet experiences, this unbalanced distribution of wildlife fueled resistance to join the WMA on behalf of wildlife-abundant villages (Sinya, who was successfully embarking on tourism ventures with private investors individually) because joining the WMA would have meant they had to equally share tourism-generated revenues with other villages. (Sulle, et al 2011; Benjaminsen et al 2013). Furthermore, the village suffered uncertainty and resentment towards Enduimet when it was instituted. However, uncertainty around the process of membership caused missed payments on behalf of the investor to the WMA, nor the village, for several years, as reported in Sulle, 2008, exacerbating villagers' malcontent.

The village of Tinga Tinga, where data gathering was conducted, hosts the Olpoponi Maasai cultural Village as well as the Headquarters of EWMA, which recently moved here from Olmolog[69]. When interviewing the village council, the village chairman reported that before WMA was born, the African Wildlife Foundation started a tented mobile camp in Selous Game reserve, while also conducting (1996-97) research activity, anti-poaching and wildlife conservation awareness, as a preparatory step before the actual implementation of the WMA. Several villagers (around 2000 people from villages all around Tanzania) who received education or training as rangers or hold some previous education on wildlife were brought for intensive anti-poaching training in Selous Game Reserve. After the experience, village councilors of Tinga Tinga and Sinya and other villages started a camp in the Elgasurai area (corresponding to the central area of Enduimet) to monitor poachers in the area of Enduimet, before the establishment of WMA (4 camps in total), another camp was found in Kitendeni, one in Snya and one in irkaswaa. After the WMA establishment, those 4 mobile camps became today's Enduimet ranger post. The current village chairman of Tinga Tinga was among the people trained at Selous Game Reserve. During the years of the training, Tingatinga hosted a tourism investor, known as Rojo Safari, who had not been paying fees for several years, even though the village council did not provide

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[69] Interview with WMA manager in Arusha (February 2023).

further information. Tingatinga received support from a charity foundation that implemented rubbish bins in the villages, an anti-corruption project of the WWF, to monitor the implementation of old WWF projects. Soon, more WWF projects will be implemented for the benefit of the community (a sunflower growing project), and TASAF (Tanzania Social Action Fund) will build a road nearby. The agency visited the village while I was doing my research in the village to say that those who disposed of their land to build the road would be compensated.

Irkaswa village, where data gathering was conducted, is considered by Sulle et al., (2011) the one with the least tourist potential because mostly oriented toward farming. However, it has much wildlife crossing on its land, given the presence of the Kitendeni corridor. The village is heavily affected by human-elephant conflicts in Enduimet see: Sanare, J. E. et al (2022). At the protection of the Kitendendi corridor, there is a ranger post and the ranger enforcing the border of the corridor often has to deal with encroachers, because the village has no idle land. Important to note for tourism opportunities, is that Tarakea (40km from Irkaswaa) is a cross-border village, where it is possible to cross the international border between Kenya and Tanzania. There is a specific tourism phenomenon going on here, that creates an important opportunity also for villages like Irkaswaa (that are remote and likely may receive fewer tourists from the Tanzania side): tourists' cycle from starting in Amboseli (Kenya), crossing the border in Tarakea, and then cycling at the foot of Kilimanjaro mountain, inside EWMA, in particular through villages like Irkaswaa and the neighboring Kitenden.[70] Villagers hosted bikers in the past, and it is easy to spot tourists cycling near the village.

In addition, the government of the Netherlands started an agroforestry and tree nursery project in the village a few years ago. The village was about to become a desert when a bunch of villagers started planting trees and then this initiative became institutionalized. Today, the village is lush and covered in trees. Irkaswaa is currently repairing the road under a TASAF (Tanzania Social Action Fund) project. Villagers are working on the road construction site. Videos shared by local VEO show that many people are involved. It is surprising how elders (and also women) are participating. TASAF is funding the construction and according to VEO, community members work on the site two hours a day, paid 3 thousand Tshs/day.

[70] Ibid.

They receive such payment every two months. A total of 203 people have been involved in the TASAF road project from 2013 up to date. Furthermore, both the WWF anti-corruption project and the WWF sunflower project (previously mentioned about Tinga Tinga village) are active.

The villages of Ildonyo, Leremeta, and Endonyoemali correspond to the former village of Sinya. They are located within the border of the protected area, and they constitute a special "zone", where settlement is allowed inside the WMA. Indeed, cultural activities promoted by the WMA (visit to the Maasai settlement) are conducted here. Oikos East Africa involved the local Maasai community in a leather project. Initially refusing to join the WMA due to a range of concerns, Sinya village joined in 2009. In the 90s, given the good position (near Kilimanjaro NP and Kilimanjaro Airport and the urban center of Moshi) and abundant wildlife, the villages saw the number of private investors growing, dealing directly with the village council. Just as village-based ecotourism ventures began to become established in West Kilimanjaro, the local and national policy environment suddenly changed, to make space for WMAs. All of Sinya's Ward lands fall within the boundaries of a tourist hunting concession (Longido Game Controlled Area) which claims exclusive access to the wildlife therein, and conflicts emerged between tour operators in West Kilimanjaro and the hunting concession holder. The combination of these conflicts on the ground prohibition of village-based tourism initiatives in hunting blocks discouraged investments in ecotourism in the Sinya area and surrounding villages. However, one operator formulated an agreement with the Sinya village council. Formal approval for the initiative was obtained at the national level from the Tanzania Investment Centre (despite the nominal illegality of such ventures according to the Tourist Hunting Regulations), and the village's tourism income has increased rapidly (Nelson, 2004; Benjaminsen et al., 2013). Consequently, tourism-related opportunities started being appreciated by the local community: employment in a luxury camp set up by the investor and curio selling. According to Nelson (2004), the local community immediately started appreciating wildlife conservation, and the number of animals increased in the area. The village was gaining income from wildlife, and despite a long story of human-wildlife conflicts, the community saw tourism as a source of valuable collective income and individual employment. While some revenues were invested in socially valuable community projects, much of the revenue was not used well. The village

government was lacking accountability and transparency in revenue management, many village chairmen turned over without completing their mandates, and tourism and revenues became a source of conflicts in the community. In 2002, the events culminated in the arrest of the tour operator's management for allegedly violating the Tourist Hunting Regulations' provisions. Despite the legal challenges, the investor in Sinya used the leverage of the official approval from the Tanzania Investment Centre to counter the decrees of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and kept practicing the tourism business (Nelson, 2004). As highlighted by the author, the case of Sinya shows how different central government bodies can hold conflicting positions on tourism investments in village lands leading to the confusion surrounding tourism and wildlife governance. Although community-based ecotourism in Sinya has flourished, the report pointed out how uncertainty around the reform advanced by the central government led to conflicts and imposed significant costs(of time and resources) on the private sector and local community actors that together contributed to a non-conducive scenario for business.

Around 2007, when Enduimet was being institutionalized as the result of the changes made to wildlife legislation, fee payment to the village stopped, while deceived by the Ministry (Wildlife Division). Villagers then started perceiving the new regulations as another attempt by the government to increase control over wildlife investments and weaken village authority over benefit allocation (Benjaminsen et al., 2013). The village was unsure regarding the consequences on the village budget, given the fact that the area of Sinya was the one with the most abundant wildlife, and had a fruitful agreement with the investor. Furthermore, villagers had serious concerns about losing their land, or at least access rights for grazing on their land, once the WMA was established. However, doubts were dispelled by the District Game Officer of Longido, who explained that community-based wildlife management through a WMA was a better option for the community because it assured more transparency and contrasted village elite capture of tourism-generated benefits (Benajminsen et al., 2013). Unfortunately, pressure was added to convince the village administration to join the WMA: the investor who had the agreement with the village was eventually pressured by the government to move its camp to a neighboring village and Sinya stopped receiving the payments. Sinya's villagers started boycotting and disturbing tourist activities. Then, the investor started accusing villagers, and the conflictual scenario worsened. The

village of Sinya was against the WMA for years, but after prolonged pressure from the government and African Wildlife Foundation (AWF, one of the partners that worked during the implementation years of the WMA reform) the village elected a new village council that turned out to be favorable to the WMA and officially joined the protection scheme (Benjaminsen et al. 2013).

8. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

8.1 Research purpose and questions

To understand the role of the local community in the local Ecotourism system, whose governance is affected by the outcomes of decentralization/devolution reform and tension towards recentralization, I posed the following research questions on the case study Enduimet WMA:

RQ1: "To what extent are devolution and decentralization occurring *de facto* in the community-based protection scheme under observation -? Or in other words, to what extent is the community participating in the CBC-CBT scheme, Enduimet WMA?";

RQ2: "To what extent can local farmers and pastoralists move towards a condition of self-determination and how does Enduimet and the conservation system affect such condition?".

8.2 Data collection context and data quality statement

The description of the empirical setting, my challenges, and my impressions can be found in Chapter 6. However, I will say here that during focus groups with villagers and the interview with one of the rangers[71], the emotional context of the interview became intense, especially when talking about land conflicts, livestock dispossessions, fellow villagers being in jail for crimes or alleged crimes against conservation, or when speaking about what was happening in Ngorongoro. With the other participants (Enduimet officers in particular), the topic of discussion was more professional, than personal and this was mirrored in a much-reduced emotional scope of the interviews. Lastly, I will add that (almost) all the professionals, village administrators, and villagers involved in the study conveyed

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[71] I met this ranger on multiple occasions when I visited Enduimet, he was very kind to me, and we were in contact and exchanged ideas and information a lot during my stay in Tanzania. He was a friend, and he is a Maasai, and we had the chance to extensively discuss the relationship between Maasai livelihoods and culture, in relation to conservation and tourism.

to me a sense of pride and belief that Enduimet deserved their professionalism and commitment, despite many shortcomings.

On the quality of the data, I will state that further reflections will have to be made on the Perceived Wealth data. After asking "Which is your wealth group on a scale from very poor to very rich", all participants gave the same answer as the first respondent, as a consequence of the group dynamic when asked a very sensitive and personal question[72], in my understanding, was "I will say exactly what she/he just said because I am not reflecting nor exposing the differences between me and the other participants in this setting". Noteworthy is also the fact the typical members of the Maasai group are quite reticent in openly sharing their socioeconomic status (determined by the number of cattle and goats owned).

Lastly, I have to state that possible interference in the data can stem from the fact that village chairmen and VEOs[73] helped me with the identification of participants. This intermediation of village officers was necessary given the extensive time needed to personally recruit each villager, although this did not allow full control of the socio-economic characteristics of participants. Nonetheless, the mix of participants resulted in a balanced one, compared to the sampling I initially had in mind. In many groups, a satisfactory age, education level, and ethnicity diversity was achieved. I also managed to conduct all the focus groups I planned, except one (women farmers in Tingatinga, due to incompatible schedules).

Additionally, village leaders and VEOS may have selected someone they knew or that they knew would not have shed a negative light on them and Enduimet; or even family members, as suggested to me one day by the Ward Executive Officer of Tinga Tinga Ward[74] when she saw us conducting our activity in the office. Still,

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[72] wealth status was left to participant self-estimation- both to protect sensitive data and not to shame the participants with exact estimation. This choice is also justified by the lack of record on the income of such communities, which makes it necessary to acquire primary data directly from participants.

[73] VEO: Village Executive Officer. Appointed (non-elected) public officer entitled to budget administration and other daily administrative tasks in the Village government (Village Council), such as budget administration.

[74] The Ward Executive Officer is an appointed public officer of the Ward administration, mostly entitled to budget management and other daily administrative tasks. The Ward is a local

much controversial information emerged from the interviews, and critics of the various institutions were made. This can be a sign that the respondents were not excessively influenced. However, on the very last day of data collection, in the village of Tinga Tinga, I recruited 5 female participants (it was a Sunday, and the chairman and VEO were not available). Accidentally and interestingly, I ended up recruiting women who used to engage in charcoal making, a forbidden and highly condemned activity. I treasure the point of view of these women, which I deem necessary to increase the quality and reliability of these findings. With them, I had a very different discussion than with the other participants, and I realized the shortcoming of outsourcing the identification of participants to the village authority: it would have been almost impossible for the intentional selection of violators on behalf of village officers.

Discussions were conducted in Kiswahili with the help of a mediator. The location of focus group discussions was the two village offices (village council offices). Interviews with WMA stakeholders were held in English. With Olpopongi Staff, interviews were translated from English to Kiswahili or Maa by Olpopongi owner and guide.

8.3 Participants demographics

A total of 50 participants were involved in the study between focus groups (43), and interviews with stakeholders (7). The colored cells in Table 8.4.1 identify participants of the focus groups (9 colors identify the 9 focus groups). In black, the stakeholders heard during individual, semi-structured interviews. Stakeholders were not selected because of their socio-demographic information (except for rangers, representative of both genders), but for the key position they hold towards the topic discussed. This is why their information remained" Unassigned" (Except for a few that spontaneously emerged during the interviews, and thus are reported in the table). Village councilors were selected according to the position they hold in the village government and not for their demographics, even though they were interrogated within the setting of a focus group discussion. 5 village councilors from

administrative level, between the Village (below) and the District (above). Tinga Tinga is a village, but also the center of Tinga Tinga Ward, in Longido District. Arusha Region.

the village of Irkaswaa and 5 from Tinga Tinga village were heard. Of them, 2 are the village chairmen (elected and expression of the majoritarian political party CCM Chama Cha Mapinduzi- Revolutionary State Party); 2 are Village Executive Officers, non-elected but appointed public administration officers; while the other village officers are elected councilors from committees relevant to the subjects of investigation: Land Committee (one chairman and one member), Pastoralists Committee (one secretary and one chairman), Environmental committee (one chairman and one member).

33 Villagers were involved in the focus groups, and they were selected based on their livelihood/occupation as farmers and livestock keepers/pastoralists (i.e. food producers) and secondly for their demographics, in an attempt to strike a balanced representation of the community living in the investigated area. Since petty trade is also a prevalent source of employment in the investigated villages, representatives of this category (either as their primary or secondary occupation) were also included:

Of them,15 are women of which 10 were female from Irkaswaa village (8 primarily working as self-employed farmers, and secondly either as livestock keepers or petty traders; one working as a waged farmer and petty trader, one as a full-time college student), and 5 were female from Tinga Tinga village (of which 4 self-employed farmers with a secondary occupation as livestock keeper or petty trader, and one primarily occupied as a petty trader). Both villages are in Longido District, Arusha region. Both villages are very close to the border with Kilimanjaro region and the districts of Siha and the Kenyan border.

18 men were heard during villager's focus groups, of which 9 respondents from Tinga Tinga (6 primarily occupied as livestock keepers or pastoralists and secondly as farmers, petty traders or training teachers; and 3 primarily occupied in farming and livestock keeping or pastoralism); and 9 from Irkaswaa village (of which 6 primarily occupied in farming and secondly in livestock keeping/pastoralism; and 3 primarily occupied as livestock keepers or pastoralists and secondly as farmers). The sample composition reflects the different vocations of the two villages: Irkaswaa villagers are predominantly farmers, and Tinga Tinga villagers are predominantly pastoralists.

A total of 22 Maasai villagers were interviewed in focus group discussion discussions (plus three employees of Maasai origin from Olpopongi Maasai Village

and Museum tourism project in Tinga Tinga village); 7 participants belonged to the Warusha group; 3 to the Chagga group and 1 to the Mpare group. In the villages investigated, Maasai and Warusha ethnicities are predominant over other groups (See Chapter 7, and Paragraph 4.5), and this was reflected in the composition of focus groups.

Of these men and women (33), 2 belong to the 18-19 age group; 7 to the 29-40 age group; 14 to the 41-59 group; 7 to the 60-79; and 3 to the over 80 group.

Of them, 6 hold no formal education title; 23 hold a primary education title; 2 reached and completed secondary education; 1 Post-Secondary Vocational Training or Technical Education and Training Education; 1 holds College Diploma Or University Degree.

8.4 Research Findings: Restitution of the Identified Themes

A summary of the themes is reported first in a schematic representation, then follows the list of the TOP 10 selected results, and lastly follows the detailed description and explanation of the content of each theme, from 1 to 21, and the mutual relations among them are highlighted. In the theme explanation and description section, in blue are highlighted the Theme names. In cursive follows a more detailed explanation of the theme title. The detailed description of the themes, quoted in cursive, can be found in the interview extracts. In addition, in the themes description participants' testimonies are reported indirectly in the text. These passages can be identified using cursive.

Given the explorative nature of the investigation, data gathering was extensive, and this resulted in an abundance of results (Themes) and a very extensive result restitution. However, to enhance clarity and point out the most poignant results, a TOP 10 results and a schematization of results are offered before deepening into the description of each theme.

Top 9 results

The result of the thematic exploration suggests that the case of Enduimet WMA is characterized by:

Food Insecurity
- caused by widlldife demage, PAs induced land loss

Wildlfie more valuable than humans
- perceived by villagers and their leaders

Re-centralization of WMA revenues
- which has generated sytstematic lack of rescources for the WMA

Lack of transparency associated to WMA management
- by villagers

Trust and Transparency associated to village leaders and representatives
- by villagers

Land Insecurity
- perceived by villagers: Fear that presidentaila powers will transfrom the WMA into a NP

Loss of livelihoods and threatened cultural practices
- associated to threats to local identity and discrimination

Community's pride, resiliency and innovative capacity

Biased education of villagers about tourism and conservation
- juxtaposed to a biased narrative against the community

A narrated restitution of the thematic exploration of the themes is the following:

1. Villagers elaborate strategies to address livelihood scarcity caused by climate change and the expansion of protected areas,

The community reports that the livelihood resource base is shrinking, which exacerbates poverty and food insecurity. Primarily, livelihoods are affected by climate change, deforestation, by the expansion of the nearby protected areas. To address that, villagers violate conservation schemes' dispositions (grazing and settlement encroachment, charcoal making…). Alternatively, villagers activate other types of locally and traditionally managed mechanisms to cope with land scarcity and poverty of livelihoods., such as traditional pastureland rotation; or they activate proximity bonds and communitarian networks to cope with environmental

degradation, such as through a self-organized and self-managed tree plantation and re-forestation group of villagers.

2. Violent enforcement characterizes WMA and NP enforcement: beatings and humiliations

Enforcement practices and compliance style of the WMA do not differ from, nor improve those active in fortress conservation: violence or humiliation characterize WMA punishments, and villagers' compliance is obtained out of fear, not far from enforcement practices (violence) and compliance strategy (fear) that characterizes fortress conservation.

3. WMA concerningly interferes with resource access and cultural practices.

Breaking down to how the WMA can undermine community access to resources, it has been noted that WMA may worsen the current resource access scenario: the WMA is committed to introducing no grazing areas in the future, increasingly denying grazing access rights within WMA lands. Furthermore, no-grazing dispositions affect all the areas near the tourism facilities. Other WMA dispositions interfere with villagers' livelihoods, culture, and traditions (hindered collection of medicinal plants, and building material, replacement of traditional fences with metallic fences, forbidden construction of additional (and relocation of existing) bomas in pasturelands, prohibition of ritual predator killing).

4. To a small extent the WMA is beneficial for access to resources: it allows flexibility, and it slows down environmental degradation.

However, to a smaller extent, the CBC can improve -or at least facilitate- access to resources – because of community-friendly practices and regulations, such as the missed enforcement of Limit of Acceptable Uses; the fact that villagers do not need a written WMA authorization for grazing (needed instead for wood collection); the fact that the ratio behind Enduimet RZMP is to carefully survey resources to introduce conservation disposition that do not excessively jeopardize villagers' sources; the fact that the WMA fosters sustainable use of resources among villagers though trainings and projects; and the fact that as a consequence

of conservation, villagers acknowledge that environmental resources are degraded at a slower pace.

5. Participatory Resource Zonation Management Plan but ineffective communication to villagers results in lack of transparency.

Regarding the process behind the WMA Resource Zonation Management Plan (RZMP) – the main tool through which the WMA regulates access to resources on behalf of villagers, it has been observed that despite RZMP making follows a participatory process, it is also characterized by a lack of transparency: villagers result scarcely aware of its dispositions and its updates.

6. Presence of land conflicts with WMA, with the National Park, and with local investors, poor governance of land tenure, and institutional marginalization of the community involved in conflicts.

It has been observed that the land inside and outside the WMA is marked by conflicts. Villagers report a lack of institutional interlocutors when they experience land conflicts, and systematic challenges affect land governance, in the villages investigated: lack of clarity of borders, overlapping claims, and weakness of customary rights. When involved in a conflict over land, the local community is perceived to occupy a weak position compared to the other actors involved, and the capacity of the WMA institution to address or bring relief to this situation is perceived as limited.

7. Village-level/traditional resolution mechanisms are preferred to institutional ones, but the WMA is simultaneously considered helpful and detrimental to the position of the community in conflicts.

Ultimately, villagers prefer to solve land conflicts by activating participatory resolution mechanisms at the village level. On the other hand, when the village is involved in bigger conflicts, such as with an investor, or a central government institution, conflicts can be addressed thanks to the support of land rights advocacy organizations. Villagers also identify that, to a small extent, the WMA can be supportive in that (WMA revenues can be employed for legal expenses). At the same time, the perception of villagers is that the WMA could potentially jeopardize

the already weak position of the community within conflicts with external, more powerful actors, due to the excessive importance acknowledged to tourism investors.

8. Lack of transparency and uncertainty of authority characterizes WMA, which combined with the lack of security of WMA land because of centralized presidential powers over land confirm the hypothesis of land dispossession.

Breaking down to the possible sources of land conflicts, it has been noted that the portion of village land allocated to WMA is at the origin of contradictions, confusion, and uncertainty, as showed when Enduimet demanded the village of Tinga Tinga to sign a title deed to officially recognize that WMA HQ land belongs to Enduimet. The village refused scared this would be legitimate dispossession of land, and at the same time, it raised questions on the legal nature of WMA land, among affected villagers and their leaders. The main aspect that is not clear for villagers is who holds the ultimate authority over the land allocated to WMA by village governments, and whether it is possible to retrieve land after withdrawal from WMA. Uncertainty was also detected about the villagers' understanding of the role and mandates of AA as the holder of user rights over WMA land. This adds to a land tenure system that excessively centralizes power over land in the hands of the president, as reported by villagers, village leaders, and WMA officers. A generalized lack of transparency in WMA regulation makes WMAs dissolvable anytime, by presidential will. This is perceived by villagers, village leaders, and WMA officers. The WMA manager affirms that this is not conducive to a participatory conservation scheme that is supposed to bring incentives to local communities to become engaged with wildlife conservation.

9. Shortcomings to village land tenure security and lack of clarity and transparency around Village Land Use Plans are exacerbated by the WMA process: potential lack of legitimacy.

An additional source of uncertainty, and possibly lack of legitimacy in the WMA process is a flawed and complicated relationship between Village Land Use Plans /VLUPs, and WMA RZMP. If participants acknowledged that land planning helps reduce land conflicts and that the village land is legitimately given to a WMA

through the Participatory VLUPs, it must be noted that villages lack devices and resources for autonomous land survey and planning and that to some extent it was difficult to receive unequivocal answers about recent updates of Village Land Use Plans, which indicates lack of clear information among villagers around land planning tools. Furthermore, it becomes difficult for villages to plan according to future needs since most of their vacant land was given to the WMA. This has already created a conflict between Enduimet and Irkaswaa village, regarding a small portion of land to be retrieved by the WMA to build a school facility (Enduimet denied the request).

10. Marked land tenure insecurity: VLUP potential tool to balance and protect community land interests over communal resources.

It has been detected that the CBC scheme deploys in perceived land insecurity. Villagers perceive insecurity of tenure and identify pastoralists as the most affected livelihood category. The WMA design does not address the highly centralized system of land tenure, rooted in the all-encompassing presidential power over land. Against this backdrop, the Participatory Village Land Use Plan balances different land uses, and land interests of the community, and it represents an important tool to protect villages' customary rights (when paired with a certificate of Village Land); compared to title deeds whose aim is the formalization of individual ownership which are deemed by villagers as not suitable to secure pastoralists' rights.

11. Highly flawed WMA governance can affect the participatory structure of the scheme (lack of transparency, legitimacy, and accountability, lack of institutional dialogue, and recentralization mechanisms). Trust and transparency are associated by villagers with AA and the village council.

Observing the characteristics of the governance of Enduimet as reported by participants, challenges, and weaknesses are present, such as a structural lack of budget that undermines WMA operations, especially operations for security, and open meetings necessary for villagers' participation. Lack of transparency affects the WMA process (villagers are not fully aware of how the WMA works, or what the role of the manager is; AA need long training before undertaking office; unclear how

to withdraw from Enduimet, and how to influence decisions about investors; important documents required village approval produced in English; English acronym WMA difficult to understand), and even lack of legitimacy (unmet expectations, desire to retrieve land, WMA irrelevant to village life). In addition, important mechanisms of recentralization affect the reception and expenditure of WMA revenues which have been recentralized in the Treasury. This has created huge delays that have been undermining Enduimet's operations as well as the villages', deteriorating the mutual relationship. The district's approval and signature on the expenditure of WMA revenues by the village government has been introduced to address possible corruption or elite capture of village leaders. Issues of institutional accountability have been detected as well (especially in wildlife damage compensation, as reported by villagers). In this regard, villagers deem it impossible to have a dialogue with the institutions, and in their perceptions, institutions, and WMA cover each other's backs when it comes to being held accountable to villagers. The AA representative process is also affected by shortcomings: no rule to ask ineffective AA members to resign, unclear campaign timing and regulations, no political program associated with AA representatives, unclear criteria of selection, and excessive competition left villagers unmotivated to candidate again. The potential risk of poor performance in AA is associated with the unmet expectation of personal gain (AA representatives' allowances do not allow personal gain and when they realize that they perform poorly). Women representatives are reported as particularly passive or inactive. More specifically, characteristics of transparency, trust, and good communication are associated with the village level (AA representatives and village councilors), rather than the WMA management level. Village meetings, when WMA issues are discussed, are highly participated, there is freedom to speak, and AA representatives always give clear and straightforward answers to villagers, especially about WMA revenues. No mention was made in terms of misuse of WMA revenues on behalf of village leaders, nor issues with the (current and former) village leaders were reported when asked.

12. The community lacks power compared to the central government and investors and lacked free and informed consent in the choice of joining the WMA

Observing power relations in the CBC scheme, they appear highly unbalanced, where the central government holds all or most of the power in all the spheres of competence of the WMA (land, hunting and tourism fees, tourism investors conditions). The overlapping mandate over wildlife and hunting management has already generated a dispute between Tawa and Enduimet. the dynamics of the conflict show the reticence of the central government in devolving tourism hunting benefits and powers, and it will require immense resources Enduimet does not have to solve this conflict and impose its authority over the contested hunting block. Villagers feel powerless concerning hunting tourism, which they would abolish entirely. Villagers also feel powerless and victim of a double standard: hunting is forbidden for them even when it represents an ancestral tradition, but allowed for tourists. AA representatives hold no decisional power over tourism investors and their conditions, they can only advise WMA management without consulting villagers, and 'MA's power to set tourism investments' conditions is limited by the national regulations on the matter. In general, villagers occupy a weak position, evidence of that is that villagers perceive the creation of a WMA on their land as an imposed process hard to resist, which was not the result of a free choice, but rather of the fear of losing that land entirely if that became a National Park. In other words, villagers accepted the creation of Enduimet as the lesser evil rather than as a result of a reflexive, participating process undertaken by the local community. Villagers also become victims of a biased education on tourism: they are entirely unaware of tourism's environmental impact.

13. Anti-community narrative worsens the position of villagers and distorts villagers' perception of the issue of conservation, and the costs of conservation borne by the community are not compensated nor equally distributed among local and global actors

Participants' discourse reflects power relations, and it revolves around an anti-community narrative and double standards. Tourism and wildlife, rather than villagers appear to be of paramount importance for WMA and institutions, in the perception of villagers. Access to Enduimet has become troublesome for villagers, but it is not for tourists. Villagers are stigmatized as dangerous to animals, and they are the first suspects when something bad occurs to them. Because of that, villagers became reticent in reporting issues to the WMA authority. Community

livelihoods and traditions are also stigmatized as causes of environmental degradation, this has been observed both at national and local levels (in the narrative of newspapers, and as a result of the environmental education campaigns Enduimet villagers participated in). The stigmatization is so powerful, that Enduimet villagers legitimize the loss of land, and use of violence against them for violating the environmental dispositions of the WMA. This rhetorical stigmatization ignores that the trend of villagers' violations in Enduimet is reducing, and the fact that villagers are actively committed to wildlife protection. Accordingly, villagers (especially of Maasai origin) identify themselves as a friend of conservation. What has been observed is that the community of Enduimet bears great costs for conservation. Ultimately, these immense costs are not compensated by the benefits of tourism. Furthermore, it has been noted that both villagers and WMA officers, when they talk about how tourism investors should contribute to community development, usually refer to the implementation of development projects, often through investors' philanthropy organizations. They do not speak about taxes, nor levies which is disempowering for village governments, and does not improve village governments' capacity for service provision, In addition, no sustainable tourism strategy is in place in Enduimet, which means that lodges nor tourists are contributing specifically to reduce their environmental impact. Only villagers are. The costs associated with conservation should be equally shared, locally among all actors (villagers, tourists, investors), and globally between Global North and Global South countries. Unfortunately, such equal distribution is not in place, as it is possible to understand by the media, especially in the news about global climate action summits, and the results these global events produce.

14. Failure of the main WMA objective: limited benefits of the WMA do not cover the costs of wildlife conservation, and institutional marginalization of the community concerning human-wildlife conflicts

Villagers associate benefits to the WMA (revenues for the village governments, scholarship programs, tender, and employment opportunities), although many shortcomings and challenges undermine the enjoyment of such benefits. The most affected appears to be the protection of villagers from wildlife. The cost of living with wildlife remains unbalanced because of the failure of the compensation/consolation mechanisms, while wildlife damage to crops, livestock,

and infrastructure occurs daily. Compensation is a key action in the compromise that villagers (especially Maasai) accept to change their behaviors (i.e. no trees cutting, no Moran revenge hunting). Therefore, it can be observed the failure of the compromise that led villagers to accept to become part of Enduimet. Consequently, episodes of escalation of violence against wildlife and the rangers that are there to protect it may occur. Against this backdrop, villagers feel a lack of support and a lack of institutional dialogue.

15. The tourism model centered on lodges and tour operators fails to involve and benefit the community truly and increases the risk of culture banalization, but villagers are willing to participate more.

Tourism is the main tool for the community to benefit from the WMA, but multiple challenges affect these benefits (a drop in tourism visits, scarce promotion of CBT and cultural tourism at the national level, and the Enduimet level. It has been also observed that touristic activities of the WMA are not participated by the community (both in terms of benefits and decisions). WMA management officers agree that private, and public actors of the tourism system do not redistribute enough to the village level. The tourism model of Enduimet and other National Parks in the Northern Safari Circuit is excessively centered around tour operators and lodges, as it has been directly observed. This reduces revenues for protected areas and their staff. Associated with that is also a high risk of banalization of local culture, because tour guides in Enduimet cultural bomas tours are predominantly outsiders (not villagers). Against this backdrop, villagers showed interest, proactivity, and consciousness regarding tourism activities on their lands, in which they wished to participate directly. Furthermore, an important contribution of Enduimet to the tourist identity of the area is acknowledged by villagers. Enduimet helps preserve and diffuse the imaginary landscape of the foothills and slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro to the world, even though Enduimet villagers do not see themselves as tourists with the chance of enjoyment. The imaginary landscape of the Northern Safari Circuit and Enduimet in particular does not include the community, it is rather pristine and characterized by wilderness (villagers and livestock are not allowed near the hospitality facilities since they would ruin the scenery). This reduces the opportunity for the development of a truly community-based tourism/ cultural tourism component.

16. Villagers prefer village-based tourism ventures to WMA's for a sense of ownership, greater control, and trust.

Villagers prefer village-based tourism ventures rather than WMA-based ones, when present. When the venture belongs to community members (Olpopongi Maasai village), or to an investor who has a direct agreement with the village council, is preferred even when it generates smaller revenues. Village-based tourism ventures also constitute a better employment opportunity for women in the village.

17. The pandemic had a deep impact on WMA operations and tourist arrivals.

Unfortunately, global dynamics affected the global and local tourism sector, reducing the benefits for the community. The pandemic deeply transformed every aspect of Enduimet operations as well as the relationship between villagers and Enduimet because revenues, staff, and meetings were reduced dramatically. The long-term consequences of Corona deserve further investigation, but the short-term ones are highly concerning. Revenues have not stabilized yet to the pre-pandemic level, and meetings are less participated, and fewer resources are available for them.

18. WMA exacerbates the tourism and development gap between central and peripheral villages, as well as negatively affects land dynamics in disadvantaged villages.

The comparison between the two villages investigated turned out to be informative about Enduimet and the life of villagers. It was shown that the two villagers investigated have very different characteristics, in terms of natural and touristic resources, and access to basic services, but also in terms of how they are affected by the structure of Enduimet. Tinga Tinga appears to have a more privileged position: it is in a more advanced stage of tourism development and its proximity to WMA gates is an additional advantage in terms of participation in decisions, easier dialogue with WMA, and greater chances to benefit directly from tourists' presence. Irkaswaa is remote and isolated, it is difficult to have WMA

tourists so far from Enduimet gates, it has no tourism facility to attract tourists, and it has problems in terms of basic service provision and infrastructures that exacerbate its remoteness. It is affected by land scarcity dynamics and land conflicts with bordering Kilimanjaro NP, whose presence exacerbates the consequences of the land scarcity dynamics occurring in the village.

19. To a small extent the WMA valorized local culture and traditional knowledge

Observing the relationship between the CBC scheme and the local identity and culture, it was observed that Enduimet has developed practices that recognize the value of some cultural and identitarian characteristics of the local community (traditional knowledge and vernacular language), such as the reliance on Maa language during interventions or village meetings, the fact that majority of Enduimet staff comes from the local villages and is familiar with local culture. In addition, villagers and rangers co-participate in patrolling, taking advantage of villagers' knowledge and expertise. Such practices represent the opportunity for Enduimet to be truly community-centered. Thanks to village-based tour guides, Enduimet has the opportunity to reduce cultural banalization during tourism activities. These practices need to be valorized and diffused more than what they currently are.

20. The WMA is a factor of cultural and identitarian loss experienced by the community, while government and conservation institutions are causes of discrimination against the pastoral community.

Nonetheless, the identity and culture of the Enduimet community are under threat and discriminated against, as reported by villagers It has been observed that the CBC scheme directly and largely contributes to it. Examples are the prohibition of the Maasai ritual hunt of the predator who attacked the livestock, the relocation of "unnecessary" boma, the prohibition of collecting medicinal plants, the loss of land due to the expansion of protected areas, and the associated loss of bond with ancestors. Environmental and Institutional factors threaten local identity tied to pastoralism and farming. In general, not only the livelihoods but also the identity and the traditions of villagers are under threat and subjected to discrimination on

behalf of central and local government and behalf of conservation institutions, among which Enduimet and Kilimanjaro NP.

21. The local community is highly self-aware, is proud, and their livelihoods are resilient, it retrieves agency and the capacity to transform their surroundings by capitalizing on internal resources.

Against the detrimental and even discriminatory backdrop, villagers would not trade their traditional livelihoods for something else, regardless of the discrimination and the effects of climate change that make it harder to pursue them. Villagers successfully and resiliently balance traditions and innovation, by embedding external knowledge into their traditional one. They proactively approached the focus group discussions and the topics discussed, and they cherished information and reflections deployed during interviews to engage with AA representatives more carefully and consciously, in the future. Villagers also revealed that to protect their rights inside and outside the WMA, they need higher education and legal expertise, which can be autonomously sourced both internally (higher level of education reached by younger generations) and externally (through the support of advocacy organizations). This ultimately leads to the expansion of the trans-local networks that villagers can connect with to advocate for their rights. In this perspective, villagers claim autonomy in their decisional life, practicing and reclaiming self-determination and sovereignty, the resources necessary to elevate themselves from an Ecotourism system that locally and globally tends not to acknowledge (and even repress) the agency of local communities and indigenous people.

Figure 8.4.2: Research Findings Diagrams (Authors' Elaboration)

Land & Resources

Resource Scarcity and Climate Change

- Villagers strategize to address livelihood scarcity due to climate change and protected area expansion.
- Primary impacts: climate change, deforestation, expansion of protected areas.
- Shrinking resource base exacerbates poverty and food insecurity.

Conservation Violations and Coping Mechanisms

- Villagers violate conservation schemes due to resource scarcity.
- Activation of traditional management mechanisms (e.g., pastureland rotation, communal networks) to cope with environmental degradation.

Beneficial Conservation Practices

- Flexibility and sustainable resource management through community-friendly regulations.
- Some CBC practices slow down environmental degradation and foster sustainable resource use.

Transparency and tenure Secuirty

- Ineffective communication worsens transparency.
- Uncertainty in WMA regulations and land authority
- Lack of transparency in land tenure exacerbates conflicts.

Land Conflicts and Governance

- Conflicts due to unclear borders and weak governance.
- Villagers lack institutional support and perceive a weak position.

Governance and Power Relations

Enforcement Practices and Compliance

- Compliance obtained through fear rather than cooperation
- Violent enforcement practices characterize WMA enforcement.

Interference with Resource Access and Cultural Practices

- No-grazing areas and restrictions on cultural practices negatively impact villagers.
- WMA regulations interfere with resource access and cultural traditions.

Institutional Marginalization and Land Conflict

- Weak governance and lack of institutional dialogue worsen land tenure security.
- Institutional marginalization exacerbates land conflicts.

Benefits and Failures of WMA

- WMA fail to cover conservation costs+Failure to address human-wildlife conflicts

Tourism Model and Community Involvement

- Preference for village-based tourism ventures for greater control and benefits.
- Limited community involvement in tourism activities.

Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic: challenges in WMA operations and tourism benefits

293

Figure 8.4

Ultimately, these results suggest that the devolution and decentralization that occurred with the creation of Enduimet WMA have not resulted in a scenario of true and informed participation and devolution of tourism benefits towards the village level. Instead, the community result is scarcely empowered by the state of grassroots participation. Nonetheless, regardless of the outcome of the implementation of the WMA, the community has shown to rely on internal resources (tied to traditional knowledge systems, cultural practices, and proximity bonds nurtured by the village-level organization and village Institutions) that, being capitalized by the same members of the community, can contribute to improve their condition, elevate their position in the local system of Ecotourism/conservation, and start a process to center the transformation of Ecotourism based on local self-determination needs and vision.

8.4.1 Themes detail description and explanation

Theme 1: Villagers elaborate strategies to address livelihood scarcity caused by climate change and the expansion of protected areas.

I community reports that the livelihood resource base is shrinking, which exacerbates poverty and food insecurity. Primarily, livelihoods are affected by climate change, deforestation, by the expansion of the nearby protected areas. To address that, villagers violate conservation schemes' dispositions (grazing and settlement encroachment, charcoal making…). Alternatively, villagers activate other types of locally and traditionally managed mechanisms to cope with land scarcity and poverty of livelihoods., such as traditional pastureland rotation; or they activate proximity bonds and communitarian networks to cope with environmental degradation, such as through a self-organized and self-managed tree plantation and re-forestation group of villagers. Total codes:13. Total references: 61.

Theme 1 is a background, general context theme about the community and its relationships with natural resources The theme explains how the local community is affected by the local conservation system and global dynamics of climate change, and how communities have internal resources to cope with such a worrying scenario. It is strictly connected to all other themes. For this reason, it seemed appropriate to start with it. In terms of the counts of codes and references, theme 1 is very relevant.

Participants reported a scenario of food insecurity, because of persistent drought (code: "drought-related_food insecurity") (due to climate change, i.e. global dynamic). Their livelihoods are hindered and consequently, they are losing income sources: both farming and livestock keeping (on which their income depends) directly depend on rain patterns. Another effect of climate change is the loss of tree cover. Tree cover is not directly linked to agricultural activity but is intended by villagers as a sign of environmental health, and when trees are missing, it means the overall environment is suffering. Deforestation is particularly experienced in the peripheral village of Irkaswaa, which started having a bad reputation in the area, due to lack of trees. It is located at a higher altitude on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, where the forest cover is supposed to be thicker, compared to the lower, semi-arid

295

area where the village of Tinga Tinga is located. Another consequence of climate change is reported by villagers, i.e. the appearance of alien species that are threatening the quality of pastures, therefore another consequence of a global dynamic (climate change) is posing an additional threat (code: "alien species_jeopardize livelihoods"):

"Can you see this plant there? [he goes and collects a small plant outside the village office] This plant is dangerous to the environment. It does not belong here. It started in Simanjiro [a famous Maasai district not far from the study area] and it spread everywhere. This plant hinders the growth of other indigenous grasses, of other plants. It is conducive to drought because it takes too much water, it will kill other plants around the area. It's very dangerous. Wild animals don't eat it; cattle do not eat it." – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

On the other hand, different local factors affect the resource base for livelihoods: loss of pasture cover due to uncontrolled fires in the WMA area, set up by poachers (two codes, "hunting and poaching destroy the environment" and "pasture regeneration_hindered_by poachers' fires". Additionally, villagers fear population growth, and they identify it as a threatening element: more people can only mean fewer and fewer resources.

A negative sentiment of fear and generalized insecurity was expressed about this scenario of shrinking resources. Moreover, due to the recent extension of the National Park on one side (that villagers reported having occurred in 2015), and of the WMA (established in 2007villagers complain about a generalized scarcity of land where to conduct farming and grazing activity, as well as where to implement services, such as lack of land where to build a much need additional school building (code: "land scarcity for livelihoods and services between WMA and NP"):

"We are hurt that we are not allowed to graze our livestock there [in Kilimanjaro NP], we don't have enough land where to bring livestock. We do not feel well. I think it would be good to be given the right to graze near the corridor, on the mountain slopes, and also to collect firewood. Because we are squeezed between the [WMA] corridor, the Kenyan border, and [Kilimanjaro] NP. Everywhere we go, we are pushed back by rangers or Kenyan authorities. When are we going to have the right to move around in this country? We are all squeezed in here"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

But *"there is no unplanned area where we can develop anything new…"* *Irkaswaa farmer*

"If you have 20 hectares of [available] land and you allocate half of it for tourism activities, you will see in a short period that [that amount of] land is not enough [to sustain your livelihood]" - *EWMA Manager*

Because of this scenario, villagers of Irkaswaa encroach on Kilimanjaro NP to graze their livestock, and villagers from both villages violate the disposition of the WMA, for instance, to make charcoal that has a good market and represents an important source of alternative income (code: why violations occur):

"[Encroachment in WMA or the NP] could happen because of settlement [necessity], but mostly for pastures, good pastures [because communities] are mainly pastoralist. […] Charcoal has a good market [and it] is a simple and easy source of income. When you ask them, "Why do you do this?" They say, "Because I don't have the capital to do other businesses. I surely have to start somewhere"- *EWMA Manager*

"Sometimes, because of the scarcity of grazing area, we went there [inside Kilimanjaro NP] to graze the livestock. Even if we can get caught, we still need pasture areas, so we go"- Irkaswaa pastoralist.

Against this backdrop, villagers identify a few elements that help them. Unfortunately, institutional support is not among them:

"We don't have a right to speak to anyone [about this situation of livelihood loss], and even if we do, we would be taken to District Council [under arrest because we encroached out of necessity]. On these occasions, District officers usually shout to us, warning us we're not allowed to even step inside National Park " – *Irkaswaa pastoralist*

Indeed, what helps pastoralists to cope with dry grazing areas is traditional pasture rotation. Pasture rotation is traditionally managed by the Maasai community, supported by their traditional knowledge of rain patterns and pasture regeneration. According to villagers, where conservation or local government institutions cannot offer support, traditional environmental practices, and traditional regulative mechanisms, elaborated in centuries of adaptation to the local environment, can.

Furthermore, another element emerged in the interviews that stressed how important spontaneous, self-managed, and self-regulated activities are, to face climate change. In the village of Irkaswaa, highly affected by deforestation, villagers organized themselves in tree planting groups, coordinated by the chairman of the Environmental Committee of the village council:

"We did it because our environment was very bad due to the climate change. We engaged in a very big village campaign to plant trees. It was conducted by our environmental [committee] chairman. We established a permanent tree nursery, where the community group is growing small trees [tree seedlings] to sell to villagers who want to keep trees on their land, and also to sell trees outside our village"- Irkaswaa VEO

After the interview, I was invited to the house of the Chairman of the Irkawswaa Environmental Committee. He proudly showed me the tree nursery, where all his family works. I asked him whether they were approached by NGOS to start the tree plantation project. He told me that villagers made a big effort to counter deforestation, that they initiated the tree nursery and replantation project themselves*, because it is always more effective to do something yourself, for yourself, rather than depending on an external organization. He stressed how villagers know their environment and know its condition; therefore, they are most suitable to engage in an issue to solve it.*

their action turned out successful, which is why, throughout the years, they received support from KINAPA – Kilimanjaro NP Authority and NGOs to continue the project. *He highlighted that in other villages, these projects were initiated by NGOs and not the villagers, indeed, they did not obtain the same degree of success, because villagers were not behind the idea of and in control of the project.*

To conclude, villagers reported the increasing pressure posed by conservation institutions, that are expanding in the area investigated: the WMA ranger interviewed revealed that the government is planning on transforming Longido Game Controlled Area into a WMA. Longido is the name of a big village nearby, that also gives the name to the district where Enduimet is located. The GCA borders with Enduimet WMA, and the Longido community is against this project of transforming the CGA into a WMA because they would lose access to resources and land, which is currently not restricted under the GCA. *Conflicts were reported by the WMA ranger between the community and Longido District Council because*

the community cannot stand additional restrictions on accessible land and resources. This evidence reinforces the scenario depicted in the investigated villages and also outside the investigated villages and Enduiemt, s. Another example of the local expansion of Protected Areas occurred around 2015 when the perimeter of Kilimanjaro National Park expanded into a portion of land customarily used by local pastoralists as a reserve of pasture in the dry season. This was reported by villagers. Consequently, the event sparked a conflict between the community and KINAPA that will be detailed later in the chapter:

"It seems like the boundary KINAPA is every time nearer and nearer to our houses, it's making it difficult for us to survive" -Irkaswaa pastoralist

To conclude, a councilor from TingaTInga village explained how, *the presence of Enduimet is identified just as the lesser evil, compared to evictions and forced relocations occurring in Ngorongoro*, in a context where the interest of government institutions is to expand protected areas.

"Enduimet helped to overcome what is happening in Ngorongoro and Lake Natron, because like us, they live inside or near a national park, and now [we fear] there is some hidden agenda to kick people out [as is happening in Ngorongoro], to transform this land into a conservation area for the animals" -Tinga Tinga VEO.

"WMA is an advantage because without it, all land would be Kinapa land, and we would have no land to graze left, while in WMA we are allowed to graze and that's an advantage."-Irkaswaa village councilor

To sum up, global dynamics over which the local community has no control, i.e. climate change, drought, and alien species, affect the chance of survival. Locally, the expansion of protected areas exacerbates this condition. Against this backdrop, villagers' behavior not only is criminalized by conservation institutions (violations of the conservation measures to access resources to transform those in income), but institutional support to alleviate such conditions is lacking. What the community identifies as helpful are the traditional practices and knowledge or spontaneous organization that helps them cope with jeopardized livelihoods, while reinforcing communitarian bonds.

Theme 2 adds a key element to the understanding of the consequences of violations that villagers commit, as introduced in theme 1.

Theme 2: Violent enforcement of WMA and NP dispositions: beatings and humiliations

Enforcement practices and compliance style of the WMA do not differ from, nor improve those active in fortress conservation: violence or humiliation characterize WMA punishments, and villagers' compliance is obtained out of fear, not far from enforcement practices (violence) and compliance strategy (fear) that characterizes fortress conservation. Total codes:11. Total references: 49

The importance of this code lies in the fact that being Enduimet a community-based protection scheme, and being a violent style of enforcement the most problematic characteristic of fortress conservation (national parks), the researcher would have expected to find an enforcement style more friendly to community, that would not reiterate the same injustice that affects fortress conservation schemes. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

Violations usually include encroachment for temporary settlement purposes (both in the WMA and neighboring Kilimanjaro NP), tree cutting and charcoal making, entering the WMA with pangas (*Kiswahili* word for machetes, used to cut trees and branches), and poaching. I had the chance to interview a group of women involved in charcoal making in Tinga Tinga village, but not poachers. Also, poaching was defined by respondents as an activity practiced by outsiders of the WMA community (code: "outsiders practice poaching):

"Poachers come from outside usually. We catch most poachers coming from Siha district into Enduimet WMA to poach" – EWMA ranger

Villagers reported that the common punishment is physical punishment, such as beating, or humiliation (code: humiliation and violence) even if the regular punishment should be the payment of fines and in a few cases, detention (code: punishment iter). This attitude was justified by the interviewed ranger to even the odds for a fair fight since usually, perpetrators are wearing knives or machetes. However, it is very unlikely that common perpetrators are familiar with knife fights:

"Everywhere we have guards or rangers beatings us an sending us away"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

"If askari [guards, in iswahili] will catch you doing something that is not allowed, first they will beat you with some stick. They usually wear a mask so you will not know whose children he/she is, since Askari are villagers' children.

300

Alternatively, they are given punishment like heavy physical exercise. Like to jump many times until you are tired. I witnessed it once, four years ago. I was in the bush, and I saw two rangers who caught a charcoal producer. They told the lady to bend on her knees and jump until she was able to jump over the termite mound. It was extremely difficult for her"- Tinga Tinga woman

"if they catch you producing charcoal, they will destroy everything...even if it took much energy to cut the trees down, even if you are close to finishing. They do not care about your effort; they will just destroy everything you made" Tinga Tina woman

Unfortunately, it is very common for villagers not to be able to afford the fine payment, especially for the huge amount envisioned for those building temporary settlements.

Furthermore, an extreme measure adopted by KINAPA (Kilimanjaro National Park Authority) rangers was reported by villagers in Irkaswaa: *livestock dispossession*. This measure is extreme because livestock is a primary source of livelihood and income, which leaves villagers affected by it with no means to live by and to pay for the fine. A vicious cycle determined by enforcement rules of the conservation scheme that are detrimental to the local community.

"When some of the villagers were caught by KINAPA rangers, grazing inside KINAPA land, rangers took their animals. After asking KINAPA what happened, they never received information about it. Usually, you are supposed to pay a fine to get your animals back, but I am not sure whether they paid and succeeded in having their animals back. There are other stories like this one, about people grazing in KINAPA land and that were condemned to a fine of up to 1.4 million Tanzanian shillings. Animals were caught by rangers and brought to the police station. It happened to a couple of young guys in the village, and their parents went to the police station and paid a huge fine and only then the kids were left free to go back home. ."- Irkaswaa farmer

Against this backdrop, the WMA ranger told me that the WMA -for minor violations that envision a fine – accepts payment in kind, especially hours of free work.

Another extreme consequence of encroachment that is very negative for the security of villagers, is that rangers usually deny support and rescue if a villager

encounters a dangerous wild animal in the National Park since villagers are not supposed to be there. Alternatively, WMA denied rescue and monetary support for the hospital bill when a kid was only attacked, but not deadly attacked, by a buffalo in the WMA:

"For instance, we had an accident grazing inside Kilimanjaro NP, KIANPA rangers said, 'It is your fault because you encroached, so we do not need to assist you' When this [thing] happens, it hurts us so much. Another good example is what happened one month ago when a kid was almost kicked by a buffalo. We called WMA but because the child was not dead, the WMA replied they did not have to intervene, they did not even visit the kid at the hospital." Irkaswaa pastoralist

Consequently, a generalized feeling of fear and mistrust is conveyed by villagers regarding WMA and KINAPA enforcers indistinctly.

"Because of these punishments, we do not feel comfortable when we see Enduimet rangers' cars passing along the roads"-Tinga Tinga woman

"They look very dangerous and aggressive to us if they catch you grazing in KINAPA land. We are scared of them"- Irkaswaa farmer

The generalized feeling of fear is so deep that chances of encroaching into the National Park are very low:

"There is no man in this village courageous enough to go into the National Park because if they dare, they'd be caught by those guards [KINAPA rangers] and be arrested according to the laws of National Parks" -Irkaswaa village councilor

Paired with such enforcement style, there is villagers' compliance obtained out of fear rather than out of environmental awareness (code: stop violatios_environmental awareness or fear_ a thin line). This was highlighted during an interview with (former) charcoal makers in Tinga Tinga when asked what made them stop producing charcoal:

"We would never go to the bush to cut down trees to produce the charcoal. We feared the consequences, the rangers catching us, so we stopped doing it. In the past, we felt that limitation [forbidden charcoal making] was a violation for us, but after receiving education on environment conservation, we agreed with it" Tinga Tinga woman

"In some villages, many people still don't know about conservation activities and they think that they will be rich by making charcoal...so, I think that WMA must educate the villagers about the importance of conservation. "- EWMA ranger

. Conflicts between villagers and rangers are described as very common, and fear of the enforcers is diffused among villagers. In this fashion, conservation is expressed through a regime of authority over land and people, whose compliance is obtained through community subjectification, bringing no transformation to the compliance regime characteristic of fortress conservation.

Theme 3: WMA concerningly interferes with resource access and cultural practices.

Breaking down to how the WMA can undermine community access to resources, it has been noted that WMA may worsen the current resource access scenario: the WMA is committed to introducing no grazing areas in the future, increasingly denying grazing access rights within WMA lands. Furthermore, no-grazing dispositions affect all the areas near the tourism facilities. Other WMA dispositions interfere with villagers' livelihoods, culture, and traditions (hindered collection of medicinal plants, and building material, replacement of traditional fences with metallic fences, forbidden construction of additional (and relocation of existing) bomas in pasturelands, prohibition of ritual predator killing).

Total code: 11, total references 49.

Theme 1 explained how conservation areas are expanding, constituting an exacerbating local factor that hinders access to resources. Anyway, the reader has to bear in mind that conservation areas constitute a regime of authority over a certain portion of space, which primarily regulates access to resources, this is their primary goal. However, evidence suggests that the WMA goes beyond that, resulting in a scenario where access to resources is increasingly difficult for villagers, beyond measures such as forbidden tree cutting or forbidden agriculture within WMA land. Indeed, villagers cannot cut trees but only collect dead wood for the fire. This means that villagers strived to access wood, the main building material (for temporary but also permanent settlements) available to the local community. Indeed, the WMA supported the introduction of metallic fences for livestock, instead of the traditional wooden fences, to reduce wood consumption. However,

participants complained that not only they cannot afford metallic fences (few were donated by the WMA, but it is unfeasible for the WMA budget to provide every villager with metallic wire), but also that the metallic fence is fixed, while their need is to expand the perimeter of the livestock enclosure during calving season. This is another WMA practice that is not sensible to local livelihood needs and traditional practices. It is a local measure that creates an additional restriction in terms of access to resources, because not only villagers are demanded not to collect firewood or building materials, but the indirect result is a limitation in the space that animal enclosures can take.

Unfortunately, forced relocations of unnecessary bomas were reported. However, no relocation of permanent settlements was reported. Maasai pastoralists predominantly build temporary settlements (the boma) in grazing areas, far from their residency village. Today, as explained in Chapter 4, Maasai are no longer nomadic, but rather semi-nomadic, which means that nomadism only characterizes the activity of men, during the dry season when they necessarily roam very far from home, in search of pasture, while the rest of the community adopted a sedentary lifestyle.

Both inside and near the WMA, temporary bomas are removed. Outside the WMA, the WMA authority should not have jurisdiction, however, TingaTinga village VEO reported this occurrence also near the boundaries of WMA. This finding is consistent with what is coded under the label "on purpose or not on purpose", where the WMA manager addresses the issue of lack of clarity of WMA borders, and the need, on behalf of WMA, to invest in signs, beacons and on an informative action towards villagers regarding the land use plans, when borders are marked, to be sure that WMA borders are fixed, secure and consequently respected by villagers:

"Encroachment is one violation that people undertake on purpose. People know where the border of the WMA is, but they ignore it or pretend they do not know where the border is and cross it. But that could be [done] not on purpose. Both purpose and non-on-purpose violations occur, especially because of the lack of clear [knowledge] of where the border is. That's why for the WMA is very important to go through our land use plan and to put the beacons very precisely. This will reduce [encroachment]. Some people encroach on purpose, but It could also be because of not knowing. "– EWMA Manager

The practice of boma relocations can be an explanation for the fact that the WMA highly discourages the building of temporary, bomas by WMA officers, which identifies some of them as "unnecessary". In the WMA rationality, this occurs to reduce wood consumption (see theme 1) and reduce interference with wild animals. Indirectly, such practices influence also traditional costumes, not only resource consumption. However, relocations are enforced by the village authority (village leaders go and ask perpetrators to remove the boma) and no conflictual episodes were reported. One villager in this regard said that the final decision on relocations is shared and participated by the village community and that:

"The one affected should take action and move from the land. That person will not have enough power to stay there, because all villagers agreed that that person is not allowed to stay there"-Tinga Tinga councilor.

In a nutshell, temporary bomas represent what still ties contemporary sedentarism with ancestral nomadism in the tradition of Maasai pastoralists, these settlements (bomas) are key for livelihood and cultural identity survival, indeed. However, they are not preserved by the CBC scheme, on the very contrary, a key cultural and identitarian trait is a criminalized practice labeled as "unnecessary", while no intermediate step was envisioned (such as a strict and planned regulation of bomas in open WMA pasturelands, to allow villagers to cyclically maintain few bomas)

Another indirect consequence of the no tree-cutting policy is that the community cannot collect medicinal plants inside the WMA, which can be very important for the health of the local community. Unfortunately, this scenario is worsened by the fact that none of the two villages has a communal forest at their disposal within the village borders. It is possible to read in the Guidelines For Integrated And Participatory Village Land Use Planning, Management And Administration In Tanzania[75] (by the National Land Use Planning Commission of the Ministry of Land), that during Village Land Use Plan making, village governments are encouraged to "set aside, own and manage 'Village Land Forest

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[75] National Land Use Planning Commission (2020) GUIDELINES FOR INTEGRATED AND PARTICIPATORY VILLAGE LAND USE PLANNING, MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN TANZANIA. November 2020. Third Edition. Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development. Dodoma

Reserves' within the village boundaries" (National Land Use Planning Commission, 2020:61). Forest areas can be managed for the "production and use of timber, fuel wood, charcoal, honey, herbs, etc; and protection of natural vegetation, animals and water sources" (National Land Use Planning Commission,2020:61). Alternatively," Villages that are contiguous neighbors to wildlife protected areas (National Parks, Game Reserves, Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Game Controlled Areas)" should be advised by the District Council to "demarcate 500 meters as buffer zone or identify and demarcate community wildlife management areas (WMAs) within village boundaries. [...] Also, villages with wildlife migration routes, corridors, and dispersal areas should consider allocating land for such uses" (National Land Use Planning Commission, 2020: 31)

In the two villages investigated, all the unsettled or forest-covered land that could have constituted a Village Land Forest Reserve was ceased to the WMA, which became the only ruler over the portions of land. Having such a forest reserve would have meant having a resources reservoir during the dry season or environmental shocks under village jurisdiction. Furthermore, this type of land reserved for resource and biodiversity preservation purposes allows a certain degree of flexibility, allowing a greater balance between the needs of the community and the need for environmental conservation:

"In a communal village forest, you could pick fruits, make timbers, or collect herbs and spices, but there is no communal forest in Irkaswaa."-Irkaswaa Village Councilor

An interesting anecdote was reported by villagers in Tinga Tinga. They asked the WMA to build a water pond for irrigation near the village, for farming purposes. The WMA replied that that was out of the budget possibility of the WMA. It was indeed an infrastructure worth 600 million Tsh. After some negotiation with donors, the WMA agreed to build a water pond, inside the WMA, for wildlife and cattle. Both pastoralists and farmers did not accept, they needed a pond for irrigation, not for cattle; and they feared that arrangement because:

"Wild animals would move from Ronjoo area [core, central area of Enduimet] to that area, so the competition would be not only on the water but also on the grazing land."- Tinga Tinga farmer

Do not think of villagers as insensitive towards animals' water needs. Villager already share their hardly obtained water infrastructures (donor-funded water pipes and taps) with wild animals, especially elephants, who come to the villages and destroy all water infrastructures, since they are not able to find water in the National Park, due to extensive drought. When this occurs, villagers are left alone. This occurrence is extremely common and every time they repair the pipes, the elephants come again and destroy them. Unfortunately, villagers have to repair the pipes themselves; and neither the WMA, KINAPA, nor the government offer support.

Another WMA measure that interferes with resource access is that villagers need written authorization to collect resources, such as firewood. They do not need one to access the WMA for grazing purposes.

However, the core evidence of Theme 3 is included in these two codes: "no grazing near the lodge" and the code labeled" need to increase limitation to grazing access". The first refers to a tourism and investor-centered measure. The second one relates to plans of EWMA management (code: WMA permission to collect resources).

"Villagers in Enduimet can graze everywhere, but we are called [by the hospitality facility managers] to be sure that no cattle graze around the lodge's facilities"- EWMA female ranger

"The place where the investors are conducting their business is our Enduimet WMA. So, it means the [WMA] rangers [are those who] have the authority to protect it. We have to make sure that there is enough security for the animals and the properties of people and the community at large. This means that if anything bad happens, anything that [the lodge owners] don't like- for instance a cow around the lodge or villagers building their bomas- they have to call us and tell us 'we have been interrupted, some people are coming closer to us and we don't like it', or 'cows are grazing near the campsite, please let them go far away'. We are responsible for that."- EWMA male ranger

According to the dispositions of the Resource Zonation Management Plan (2017-2022), grazing is not allowed in the proximity of lodges, hotels, and campsites. Pastoralists and cattle should be kept quite far from the tourist area. This anticipates something that will be discussed later in the chapter, namely the

imposed absence of members of the local community in the landscape that tourists admire from Enduimet's lodges.

But there is something else to worry about when it comes to the future grazing rights of the Enduimet community. This information was shared by the EWMA Tourism Officer. He said that EWMA management is thinking of introducing new zones, regulated in next year's (2024) Resource Zonation Plan, where grazing will be forbidden. Today, grazing is allowed in all resource management zones that EWMA identifies and regulates.

"Now we want to conserve a big[er] area for our tourism activities. So the thing that we hope is going to happen in the new general management plan is the institution of rotational grazing areas, areas where grazing will be allowed only at certain times of the year, and forbidden grazing areas. This is a big introduction to the GMP: we hope that to happen, for [the benefit of] tourism. [we are working on the introduction] of a small area, which is prohibited, where cattle are not allowed, whole year round."- EWMA Tourism Officer

The multiple zones in which the WMA is divided and how these zones are regulated (which activities are allowed, which are not allowed, and where) can be found in the EWMA Resource Zonation Management Plan, an interim document that a WMA can have only as a temporary measure until the WMA will have the budget to produce a General Management Plan (GMP) that will contain a more detailed description of the activities. This by itself constitutes worrying information because, since Enduimet was established in 2006/7, it never managed to shift to the proper General Management Plan but kept on working on a less specific operative document such as the Resource Zonation Management Plan (RZMP). Indeed, the 2017-2022 RZMP was not updated, but was extended until April 2024, when, the WMA manager assures, Enduimet will finally provide itself with an official GMP. The GMP is very important because it is done with a greater budget for research and professionals, allowing a more careful planning of resource uses.

Not only do measures that limit agriculture, wood, and plant collection affect the community merely on the plan of access to resources, but they indirectly interfere with very important practices (such as traditional healing medications) and traditional settlement, as well as with animal husbandry needs and practices, that are overlooked and neglected by the introduction of metallic fence. Lastly, the reality of Lodges calling rangers to chase pastoralists and cattle away reveals much about

308

the relationship between tourism and these communities, despite CBC and CBT identifying tourism as the perfect tool to pursue both community benefit and conservation. Evidence suggests that this relationship is flawed and that the presence of lodges on EWMA land is just an additional factor in limiting grazing access to a greater portion of land in the WMA. Nonetheless, this is a plan that the WMA has shown to be willing to undertake, making it official in the upcoming RZMG, to acquire bigger land for the exclusive purpose of tourism activities. All that finds legitimization in a narrative that never jeopardizes the interests of tourism while identifying pastoralists as responsible for environmental degradation.

Theme 4: To a small extent the WMA is beneficial for access to resources: it allows flexibility, and it slows down environmental degradation

However, to a smaller extent, the CBC can improve -or at least facilitate- access to resources – because of community-friendly practices and regulations, such as the missed enforcement of Limit of Acceptable Uses; the fact that villagers do not need a written WMA authorization for grazing (needed instead for wood collection); the fact that the ratio behind Enduimet RZMP is to carefully survey resources to introduce conservation disposition that does not excessively jeopardize villagers' sources of resources; the fact that the WMA fosters sustainable use of resources among villagers though trainings and projects; and the fact that as a consequence of conservation, villagers acknowledge that environmental resources are degraded at a slower pace. Total codes: 5, total references: 29.

This theme, apparently in open contradiction with the previous one, collects testimony that identifies practices and considerations around the WMA that contribute to making access to resources easier, or even enhanced. I do not deem this apparent contradiction as something that jeopardizes research results. As explained in Chapter 5, research questions were adapted to reflect the empirical reality, which turned out to be mixed: opinions on the same matter can differ and the same is true for experiences.

RQs cannot be answered by a simplistic yes or no. However, Theme 3 prevails over Theme 4, in terms of the dominance of codes and references (Theme 3 collects 11 codes, against 5 in Theme 4, and 49 versus 29 references respectively). In this fashion, the formulation of RQ turns out to be suitable to be

answered with empirical data collected in the following way: *while theme 3 identifies how to a greater extent the WMA can contribute to reduced access to resources, to a smaller extent the WMA can also contribute to improve it, according to participants.*

Half of the references that are collected in theme 4 belong to one code only, namely "not enforced limit of use". Within the RZMP, the document that identifies zones and uses allowed and forbidden inside WMA for both local community and tourism actors, limitations to the activities allowed are envisioned, so-called Limits of acceptable use. The proposed "use" zones are described, giving boundaries, mapping resources, identifying the value of each zone, and the uses permitted and forbidden. According to the operative document of the WMA, the Limit of Acceptable Uses (LAU) should be practically administered by village governments during the implementation of the measures contained in RZMP.

A concrete example of LAU is the total number of livestock units allowed for grazing inside WMA daily. For instance, in Kitendeni Corridor (part of which lies on Irkaswaa village land ceased to the WMA), the limit is 2000 cattle/day, whilst in the wider area of Ronjoo (the central area of the WMA that covers up to the 80% of total WMA land) only 400 cattle/day are allowed in the dry season and 120 thousand cattle/per day allowed in the wet season. *Such limitations to uses are not currently enforced, it was revealed by the Manager of the WMA*. Indeed, many villagers declared they were not even aware of such limitations.

"I did not know about the limitation of cattle in the WMA area." -Irkaswaa farmer

The limitation to the collection of wood is that only dead wood can be collected and entrances are regulated; such limit is enforced, and those willing to enter WMA are checked by rangers at the gates.

This can be interpreted as a sign that a certain degree of flexibility is available to accommodate and expand villagers' need for resources (that fluctuate much between dry and wet seasons). This represents an advantage for local villagers.

"We are supposed to [enforce LAU]. But currently, we are not limiting, we don't do that. We just introduced a list to regulate the flow of people in [side the WMA]. In the case of firewood, which is the major resource utilized within the WMA,

or wood collected as a building material, is possible within certain limits. We are changing our bylaws in this regard: a woman can get in just to collect firewood, no problem. But if you are entering the WMA to collect wood with a motorcycle or a vehicle, then you could face limitations. We have to monitor, you cannot just come inside with a vehicle, take firewood and tomorrow come and do the same again. This is why we introduced the waiting list, so we can check and discern who is trying to access WMA to gather resources for business purposes, form those coming to collect wood for example, for their household needs"- EWMA Manager

This unofficial but accepted practice constitutes an important factor when it comes to the relationship between villagers and rangers that, according to Theme 3, can be very difficult, but allowing cattle inside WMA, ignoring the official regulation is interpreted by villagers as a sign of empathy towards the need of villagers, who appreciate it. This practice contributes to the perception that access to pasture is less problematic in the WMA:

"We know the law is there, but askari look like sorry for us, so they usually will allow us [to graze regardless of the limit of cattle]. Askari [rangers] never checked on that, so we never faced that limitation as a problem"- Tinga Tinga

Furthermore, grazing is allowed and access for grazing purposes does not require authorization (code: "no WMA permission to graze). This contributes to smoothing the process. In addition, access inside WMA must be done through the proper gates (where rangers checkpoints are) for activities such as wood collection, but not for grazing. Pastoralists are free to roam inside WMA and they are free to enter WMA border from every location. This is another element that makes grazing inside the WMA a smooth process. The WMA managers stress that the final goal of the RZMP is not to limit resources to villagers, but rather to make their use more sustainable:

"[in the making of the RZMP] We look at the source of specific resources available in the village if that village only has one source or multiple sources. We only identify [the zones] where to do it better, how to utilize the resources without bringing a conflict. And the rangers have to monitor that"- EWMA Manager

Villagers appreciate the results of the RZMP measures and of WMA training and projects, that work towards the goal of helping villagers engage in sustainable use of natural resources, which is key to protecting their livelihood in the long run.

"If it was not for Enduimet, our land would be all settlement, where we would cultivate, and the animals would run away. Because of Enduimet, the area is very secure. Besides, is helping us with paddocking, and planting grass for pasture. Enduimet is very good, it protects the environment, our land, and our livestock."- Tinga Tinga village councilor

"Paddocking works like this: you use one area while planting grass in another one and wait for the grass to grow. This way we plan land for grazing. Land management is improving with this land planning and grazeland management technique. This training teaches many people" -Olpopongi owner and guide

Environmental preservation is cherished by villagers as well, who, despite having to adapt and change their habits and behaviors (for example about medicines, as introduced in Theme 3), appreciate those same plants are protected under the WMA.

"Those [medicinal] plants from the forest are highly protected, since villagers and WMA agreed on bylaws to protect the environment" Irkaswaa Village Councilor

, Lastly, both themes 3 and 4 highlight the importance of the operative and regulative document of the WMA, the RZMP (or the GMP when Enduimet will have one). This introduces to us the next theme.

Theme 5: Participatory Resource Zonation Management Plan but ineffective communication to villagers results in lack of transparency.

Regarding the process behind the WMA Resource Zonation Management Plan (RZMP) – the main tool through which the WMA regulates access to resources on behalf of villagers, it has been observed that despite RZMP making follows a participatory process, it is also characterized by a lack of transparency: villagers result scarcely aware of its dispositions and its updates. Total codes: 6, total references: 69.

After having introduced the importance of the RZMP and some of its disposition and how those affect villagers' access to resources, this theme goes deeper into the process of making the RZMP and its content available to all villagers, who are demanded to change their resource utilization behaviors within the WMA, according to RZMP dispositions. This theme is very important to address

research question 1 given the centrality of the role of the RZMP in the implementation of the decisions of the WMA: Under this specific aspect, the community leaders participate at the decisional table, following the participatory dispositions of RZMP process. However, many challenges and shortcomings undermine villagers' informed and transparent participation.

An important topic was identified in interviews in this regard: that the community leaders participate in the decisions taken concerning resource management and how to regulate access to resources, and this was highly appreciated and considered conducive to villagers' needs and activities (code: well-working participatory resource management plan):

"The people of Enduimet [decides who can access where and for what]. Before making the plan, we hold meetings with stakeholders to decide a strategy, a strategic vision, the goals, and what the objectives are. Then we ask: "What are the resources that we have?", "How can we utilize them better?" and after that, we proceed with the general meetings for the villagers [to share with villagers the vision and the objective of resource management of the WMA]. The WMA general meeting reunites all the leaders of all the [11 member] villages together with WMA stakeholders. These are the people who shall [participate] in the plans; then they agree or do not agree with the dispositions of the plan. [If there is disagreement], we remove [the source of disagreement]. Let's say, villagers say "We don't want a hunting block here, remove it". By doing so, the people of Enduimet are the ones who developed their plans and zonation. Finally, the plan has to be endorsed by the Director of Wildlife[the Ministry] to become effective. I never experienced a plan being rejected [by the Ministry]"- EWMA Manager

"Once a month, the officers from WMA meet with Laigwanan [traditional Maasai leaders], the [village council] pastoralists committee, VEO, and Chairman to discuss how they will conserve the grazing areas. We discuss effective planning of the use of pastoralist areas and the protection of the animals in pastoralist areas. We are involved in the decisions, that are discussed and participated. So is very difficult for issues to appear. After that, WMA usually sends the document to all villages. If the community has opinions, they will add. The villagers and the village council can discuss [the dispositions of the document] before the final version and final maps are approved. I believe everything is clear since the community usually participates in the planning and everything." -Tinga Tinga Village Councilor

Few respondents also reported being aware not only of the general dispositions of the RZMP (no agriculture, no tree cutting) but aware of the zonation inside WMA and they knew about the latest update of the document (2017) (code: transparency_in communicating zonation). However, the majority of the participants reported *they never saw the maps where the different use zones are reported* (i.e. the corridor zone, Ronjoo zone, which is the central zone of the WMA, etc) when the maps were shown to them during focus groups; nor they were aware that in 2017, the plan was updated (code: "transparency _Lack of_in communicating WMA zonation").

Linked to *the lack of resources necessary for effective demarcation of borders* reported by WMA officers,(code: "WMA lacks resources for proper zonation communication"), the process of zone demarcation can interpreted as lacking transparency:

"The maps that are developed for the WMA [RZMP], the Villages must have them. Unfortunately, because of the same budgetary constraints, we do not manage to put all the signs and beacons for demarcation [of borders and each zone], but that is the plan" EWMA Manager

Unfortunately, this condition is consistent with *the lack of resources that the WMA experiences, especially resources to sustain the participatory system of the WMA*, because maintaining a participatory decisional structure within an institution such as the WMA that extends also throughout a very vast land, can be extremely expensive. Due to budget constraints exacerbated by the pandemic, the WMA had to renounce a wider participation of community representatives, favoring smaller meetings with fewer people, or even canceling the villagers' meetings, in favor of merely informative meetings with the AA representatives, in charge of reporting the decisions to villagers (code: "lack of resources for meetings and participatory process"):

"We failed to hold the general meetings, because of a lack of finances, that was a problem. We need a meeting [to make the community participate in the decisions], but we have no funds, and we cannot tell people to pay for the travel expenses themselves in case of a lack of budget. It's a really big challenge. People complained about lack of budget or lack of transportation allowance. What we did was to change it. Now, instead of having that big meeting, we will have a little one"- EWMA Manager.

"The WMA does not have a budget to cover the expenses for meeting with the village councilors, they will have a small meeting only with AA representatives instead and AA will return what was the topic of the discussion" – Tinga Tinga village councilor

An important anecdote was told to me during focus groups. It left villagers quite puzzled. Years ago, in the village offices and at Enduimet gates, an explicative picture was found. The picture showed a lady dressed in Maasai typical clothing while she was collecting dead wood for the fire and a Moran [Maasai warrior] with his spear, refraining from killing the lion. *All of a sudden, the pictures were removed*:

"At the beginning of WMA, there was a picture showing a woman carrying firewood and of a Moran with a spear, so we knew what was allowed and what not. But nowadays there is no picture anymore, nor in the notice board, nor Enduimet...the picture helped people who could not understand Kiswahili language or those who are illiterate, like for the elders, the pictures were better [to understand WMA dispositions]"- Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"Enduimet was having a meeting with villagers here, and when I asked why the pictures were removed, the answer from Enduimet staff was not clear. They mentioned that the website didn't require that picture…maybe in some document, there is a justification for that. They should have informed villagers first, instead, they first removed the picture from the website and then from everywhere else. Eventually, we settled with their reply, because there was not much villagers could do. This happened back in 2014 more or less."- Tinga Tinga farmer

As highlighted by the respondent, that picture was needed by scarcely literate people or people unable to speak Kiswahili (especially, but not exclusively, elders) to have a clear understanding of the activities allowed and not allowed inside the WMA. Not only the episode was managed in a non-transparent way by the WMA in the perception of villagers, but it also reduced the accessibility of WMA disposition for a wide share of the local community.

Despite the good intention and the undeniable efforts to make resource management a participatory process, and despite the leader of one of the villages highlighting how both village and traditional authorities are present, evidence suggests that villagers' participation and transparency, in this regard, are limited: the majority of respondents are not aware of the WMA RZMP dispositions, and the

WMA is facing challenges to sustain the participatory decisional process, and already started shrinking the participants base. In addition to that, feelings of uncertainty, confusion, and mistrust were associated with the sign board episode. When episodes that show a lack of transparency occur, the relationship of trust towards the WMA is undermined and so is the quality and the extent of the participation of the community. The relationship between villagers and the WMA is particularly complex when it comes to resources and, therefore land. Conflicts characterize the relationship, and this topic is addressed in the theme.

Theme 6. The presence of land conflicts with WMA, with the National Park, and with local investors, poor governance of land tenure, and institutional marginalization of the community involved in conflicts.

It has been observed that the land inside and outside the WMA is marked by conflicts. Villagers report a lack of institutional interlocutors when they experience land conflicts, and systematic challenges affect land governance, in the villages investigated: lack of clarity of borders, overlapping claims, and weakness of customary rights. When involved in a conflict over land, the local community is perceived to occupy a weak position compared to the other actors involved, and the capacity of the WMA institution to address or bring relief to this situation is perceived as limited Total code 7: Total reference: 29.

The land is the battlefield where conflicting interests and agendas clash. The local community holds customary rights over Village Land, but to graze or to access other resources, villagers usually access grazing and other natural resources also outside village land. Not only do land customary rights of villagers struggle to be enforced and respected, but villagers face powerful actors (investors, central government institutions) in these conflicts, where the chance for their customary rights to prevail is scarce. This theme addresses the topic of land conflicts experienced in the villages investigated and in EWMA member villages. Such conflicts occur inside the WMA, with other villages, or with KINAPA. Participants shared the main challenges associated with them, and using participants' testimonies we try to outline the position of the community in regards to these conflicts and the factors that exacerbate this situation.

Systematic land governance challenges affect villagers' relations with the land. Poor demarcation of borders, weak enforcement of villagers' customary rights, and weak accountability of institutions are solving land disputes.

During interviews, the WMA manager highlighted how land disputes usually take very long to be solved, because the district, which is responsible for land issues, is not working fast. The district takes a long time before coming for inspections in the village, and the registries are often missing documentation. This is also because, according to the WMA manager, *it takes long before village governments send all the sound documentation to the district, causing delays*. Furthermore, he adds, that *communities tend to avoid involving higher government levels in their dispute, that they prefer to solve by themselves, within the village level* (code: "long process for resolution"). However, this testimony highlights generalized delays in solving land disputes and scarce accountability on behalf of the District Council in managing matters under its jurisdiction (code: accountability_lack of_in village land conflicts).

The villages investigated, as well as other villages members of the WMA have some dispute over borders. This condition is presented as very common, clashes are almost constant (code: complex and constant land conflicts). For reference, here is the Enduimet map (as already reported in Chapter 3).

Figure 8.4.3: EWMA Map. Source: Sulle et 2011 (courtesy from AWF).
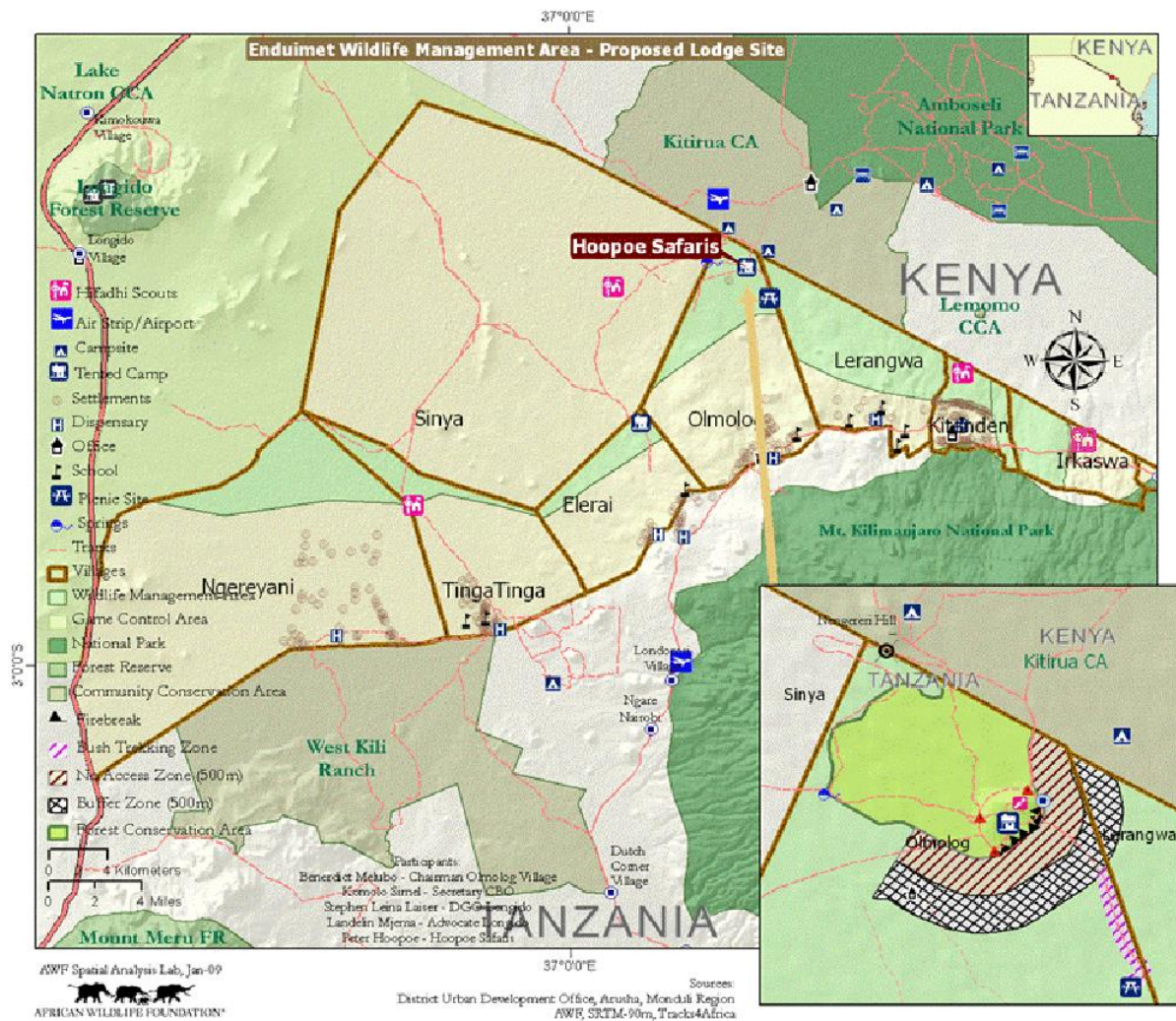
Figure 8.4.3

"You know, issues of land are very complex. When it comes to land, communities always clash. The village of Sinya currently has a dispute over the border with the village of Longido, which is not very clear. We will be trying to address this issue during the renovation of RZMP in 2024. Also, Ol-molog village and Lerang'wa have a conflict over borders. Because each village says, "This is my border", there are many conflicts. We are working with village governments and the land committees to make clarity over village borders" -EWMA Manager

In addition, border disputes characterize the portion of land that the village ceded to the WMA. Enduimet is soon going to revise borders when updating the RZMP, but it is not clear how this is going to affect member and non-member

villages that have disputes over their borders. Both villages (Village Land Use Plans) and the WMA (RZMP) claim their borders according to official maps realized during land planning activities, however, conflicts still occur, and *the WMA has a direct interest in solving WMA land-related dispute, not really village borders disputes, and being holder of land planning maps, the WMA manager feels to be in the right, while the villagers are deemed in the wrong*:

"We found some villages have [their borders] encroached inside the WMA border. Such a land problem is starting. For instance, the villages of Sinya and Longido have a disputed border that runs inside the WMA. Ol-molog and Lerang'wa have a conflict within the land allocated for the WMA. As WMA, we feel we don't have much problem with it, because we are using land planning. In general, we try to avoid planning relevant activities of the WMA near the borders with member villages, so [this occurrence of borders disputes also inside the WMA] has no big impacts on our operations; but now, as we go to review and update the RZMP, it will be a good chance to review the borders of the land that villages gave us. Especially in the Synia- Longido border dispute, being Sinya a member of Enduimet while Longido is not, we have to intervene in the dispute for what concerns the portion of Land the member village has allocated to the WMA because that land is under our responsibility" -EWMA Manager

Villagers of TingaTinga mentioned a minor dispute with the WMA that was soon solved when the WMA authority showed the villagers that the beacons (delimiting the beginning of the WMA) were lawfully reflecting the actual borders, as reported on the maps. *The dispute was mediated with the help of Laigwanan, a traditional leader.*

When it comes to land conflicts, pastoralists feel to hold the weakest position (compared to farmers or other livelihood categories), given their need for mobility through vast lands, a need that is not safeguarded by clear and strong rights over pastureland, that often extends inside protected areas. Customary rights over pasturelands are difficult to enforce when it comes to a conflict with an investor, who holds a formal title, or a National Park, constituted by government mandate, was reported by villagers. *Villagers of Irkaswaa reported a complex conflict over a portion of land that is today located within the perimeter of Kilimanjaro National Park*. The object of the dispute is not a portion of land that used to belong to Irkaswaa village. This contested land has a surface of 5000 acres and

administratively lies in Rombo District (Kilimanjaro Region) and it comprises pastureland and forests on the mountain slopes.

It was told to me that *in the 70s, President Nyerere and Ministry of Agriculture Sokoine produced an official document that is still in the Irkaswaa village office, where it was declared this part of the land that was bordering Irkaswaa village and Kilimanjaro National Park, had to be maintained for the pastoralists' community as a pasture reserve in the dry season. Everything went smoothly, until around 2015, when the Irkaswaa villagers started manifesting the intention of demanding to relevant authorities to use a small portion of such land, to build an additional school building*. A needed one: today, each classroom in Irkaswaa school hosts more than a hundred students and the school building cannot meet the needs. It was very difficult that such a request could have been met since that land belongs to a whole different region (Kilimanjaro Region, while Irkaswaa is still the Arusha region). Nonetheless, villagers tried to advance such a request, but they could never expect KINAPA's reaction: *KINAPA moved the border of the National Park to include Nyerere's pastures*.

"I have been here since long before KINAPA, and I know very well where the borders used to be. The worst part is that we were not informed, and the next morning we woke up and saw the beacons were moved. "– Irkaswaa farmer

The beacons were suddenly moved very close to Irkaswaa settlements, and villagers were not consulted nor notified, they just discovered that a new disposition by KINAPA came on top of the older Nyerere's disposition, which was never rectified nor revoked. Villagers claim they have an official document that testifies that pastoralists should have the right to graze on this land and that a conflicting disposition just came on top of the previous one. *As a result, villagers have lost the right to graze there. Furthermore, they tried to ask the WMA to retrieve a small piece of their land to build the school building, but also the WMA denied it*. It was a serious blow to the community of Irkaswaa.

The discussion about this topic lasted quite long, this was said to me in multiple focus groups I had with Irkaswaa villagers, during the one with male farmers and the one with male pastoralists, and during the one with the village council as well. *The emotions were very intense.* I wrote notes on the emotional scope of that interview, and even my translator took a moment to make me understand how difficult and painful the story participants were telling her.

"We do not feel good because the land belongs to us, and thus we feel very bad. That land was given to us by Julius Nyerere and Ministry Sokoine gave it to Maasai, promising us that would be our grazing area, for our livestock. But now, we're not even allowed to go there to collect firewood or something like that. We cannot even touch anything. We don't have a right to speak to anyone [about this situation], and even if we do, we would be taken to the District Council or police station. District council shouted to us [when we asked for clarifications], warning us we're not allowed to even step inside KINAPA land. We do not feel good when we see our children caught by rangers, and sent to the police station because we claim that area. We feel like we have no right to speak to anyone, the DC, the WMA... [about our land issues]. We feel bad because this is the land where we were born, where our ancestors were born, and this is why this land belongs to us"
-Irkaswaa pastoralists

The conflict and the testimony can be interpreted as informative around the power dynamics between a central government authority (KINAPA), the intermediate government administration (the District), and the holder of customary rights (pastoralists)-"This is our land because our ancestors were born here" This is, in a nutshell, the meaning of customary rights). Furthermore, that land was also part of an agreement signed by President Nyerere, some kind of formal document was testifying that the land was for pastoralists to graze[76] but this was not enough to spare that land from the expansion of the National Park.

It is also *interesting that that land was never claimed by the National Park until the community of Irkaswaa started manifesting aspirations on it (the school building)*. Timing is something else to worry about in this story because it shows that environmental conservation can be instrumentally used to legitimize, anytime, land dispossessions at the expense of local communities, and also to reduce the scope of their aspirations over land. This is can interpreted as an action that willingly and strategically reduces the agency of the local community in the local area, in a demonstration of power on behalf of KINAPA to recentralize resources when these are claimed by the villagers.

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[76] It must be specified however, that this specific element needs further investigation. I did not ask the village council to show me that document, because that was beyond the scope of this study. However, further investigation on this document could shed light on the conflict.

Additionally, *the WMA*, a community-based conservation scheme, *decided not to meet the request of the villagers*. This choice did not differ from the choice of the national park whether the community demanded WMA in the hope that the community-based institution would welcome the community's demand for land for a school building. This would have represented an exception, in which Irkaswaa village hoped. However, it could have held a more reflexive position in this regard,

The village is located on the mountain slopes and has a very small land surface. It donated a key area to the WMA, (Kitendeni Ecological Corridor is a key ecological resource for the WMA because it protects the passage of wild animals from Kenya to Tanzania and it is partially located within Ikraswaa village). Lastly, this and the following interview extracts introduce the next part of theme 6, which is the generalized lack of institutional support for villagers when it comes to land conflicts: not only they do not identify institutions as supportive, but they also feel like they are not even able to have a dialogue with them. And among them, there is also the community-based conservation scheme, (code" lack of institutions to advocate village land rights" and code "lack of land rights organizations), this can contribute to explaining why villagers are reluctant to involve other institutions, such as the District Council, in their land issues:

"KINAPA is a government agency, there is not much we can do or say against them. We have nobody who listens to us, we do not know where to go to complain about something like that"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

"We feel like we have no right to speak to anyone, the DC, the WMA...because even if we identify who is responsible, then nothing will happen to them"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

An important organization for the rights of Tanzanian pastoralists is particularly active in the Northern Circuit. It is currently involved in the documentation of the fights in Ngorongoro. It was mentioned in Chapter 4. It has an office in Arusha, and it is called PINGOS Forum. Unfortunately, it is not common for remote communities to be aware of these realities. This is the evidence that was found in Irkaswaa village (whilst Tinga Tinga, due to another conflict that will be presented later in the chapter, has asked PINGOS for legal assistance). I gave to Irkaswaa village council the contact of PINGOS for their needs.

"We don't have advocacy organizations for land rights here to give us an education about land rights, and we never asked them to support any way to know our rights in land matters. And even if there were, we don't know who they are, or how to contact them. So even if there is a problem or misunderstanding about land, we don't know where to get some legal support or advice about land issues. In case of conflict between villagers, however, people of the village can refer to the land committee that will help to find a solution. But now, after hearing the discussions I am having here, with my fellow councilors; [I reckon it would be] important to have an organization that is standing by our side, for our land rights in general. You mentioned the organization of pastoralists' rights PINGOS forum, and we would be very interested if you could leave us their contact. We could use some help to support us in asking WMA to extend the [village] boundaries or to help pastoralists with their issues. I think this would benefit the community."-Irkaswaa village councilor.

This testimony can be interpreted as an issue of representation of the land interests and land rights of the local community. Nonetheless, at the village level, different resources can be activated to solve conflicts, and in case of bigger conflicts, the villagers demonstrated themselves willing to expand their network(by accepting my help in getting them in contact with PINGOS Forum):, This can be interpreted as a positive sign of proactivity on behalf of villagers, even before major conflicts with powerful actors.

Theme 7: Village-level/traditional resolution mechanisms are preferred to institutional ones, but the WMA is simultaneously considered helpful and detrimental to the position of the community in conflicts.

Ultimately, villagers prefer to solve land conflicts by activating participatory resolution mechanisms at the village level. On the other hand, when the village is involved in bigger conflicts, such as with an investor, or a central government institution, conflicts can be addressed thanks to the support of land rights advocacy organizations. Villagers also identify that, to a small extent, the WMA can be supportive in that (WMA revenues can be employed for legal expenses). At the same time, the perception of villagers is that the WMA could potentially jeopardize the already weak position of the community within conflicts with external, more

powerful actors, due to the excessive importance acknowledged to tourism investors total codes: 5, total references: 14.

Theme 7 addresses how villagers respond to conflict. *If it is true that they tend to solve it among themselves, also due to insensitive institutions as reported, they can do so because they have internal resources and capacity to do* so. To a small extent, *villagers recognize that the WMA can support them when they have conflicts with external actor*s, and, as already introduced in theme 6, *villagers also recognize the importance of human rights organizations in joining their struggle*. However, villagers' perceptions are mixed regarding the attitude of the WMA when it comes to empowerment or the disempowerment of the local community when it has conflicting interests with tourism investors since WMA greatly values the interest of investors.

The meaning of this theme is to highlight the importance of villagers' autonomous actions and the valorization of their internal resources, in solving the problems often caused by external actors. Even if the picture appears miserable, even if villagers usually take over the weakest position within a conflict, they can count on the community, its social practices, and its resources, to find a solutionThis was the scenario depicted by villagers and their leaders.

First, *it is villagers' habit to sit together and talk through any issue that arises and this process is open to the whole community, in the Villag Assembly* (code: "participatory conflict resolution). *As happened for a dispute over the border between Elrai and Sinya villag*e. These kinds of practices should be valorized by conservation and land institutions at all levels:

"We sit down and agreed together on the borders, villagers from all villages involved in the dispute agreed on the borders, the discussion was open, and we found a common solution" – Tinga Tinga farmer

"Whether the problem is about WMA or another village, we usually sit together to solve the problem"- Tinga Tinga village councilor.

Related to that, is a piece of evidence coded as "village government can solve minor dispute":

"In case of conflict between villagers refer to the land committee. If the dispute is about our village land, the committee can help you solve the dispute" – Irkaswaa village councilor

A very important village institution was recognized as having this function of support, protection, and empowerment, specifically for women respondents (who suffer particularly weak land rights both due to political/legal and social/cultural reasons). The village council has among its bodies a *"women's and kids' desk" to help women have access to land after she divorced, or widowed, and even in case she has a fight with her husband, or she is facing trouble with her inheritance.* Women are exclusively bearing the entire load of feeding children, so when they cannot count on the land that comes from their husbands, the village government recognizes that a (small, not half) portion of their husbands' land goes to them.

Another example of these internal resources activated in case of conflicts is that in *Irkaswaa village, women formed a group that, independently from the village council, is available to support women in case they are discriminated against or abused and that is often helpful in land issues as well.*

The community can count on village institutions or village-level networks and actions for support and help, whilst (as highlighted in Theme 6) *all other institutions are reported as not even listening to villagers.* Villagers may appear powerless in land conflicts, but *they do not act helpless: when Tinga Tinga village had a conflict with an investor (located in Siha District, not a WMA investor), they activated and demanded PINGOS forum for help*:

"PINGOS people are helpful to us. We went to them to ask for legal assistance about access to pastureland. Investor came in 1995 and we had a grazing access agreement, but three years ago we called PINGOS for help when he suddenly denied villagers the right to access the land he was having under concession"- Tinga Tinga farmer

Regarding conflicts, one respondent pointed out how WMA revenues are helping the village council to pay for legal expenses, which can be interpreted as a sign that, to some extent, the WMA can be supportive.

Moreover, *according to the interview with the WMA manager, since WMA is going to review its RZMP, the manager is committed to finding donors to fund the update of Village Land Use Plans*, for the villages that are involved in border disputes with WMA or with another village. This will be beneficial for both the WMA and the villages. And even if the WMA has to update its plan, it is non-mandatory that the WMA works to find donors for the Village Land Use plan. This piece of

evidence suggests that to some extent, the WMA supports the villages in the resolution of land conflict, even if this information was reported by only one participant. On the other hand, looking at consideration from one of the rangers interviewed, it is possible to understand power dynamics in the WMA, which becomes particularly relevant when it comes to conflicts:

"I see a problem sometimes because most of the time WMA values more investors than the local people. We value investors so much" – EWMA ranger

This can be interpreted as a sign that tourism holds a more relevant position than the community in the WMA institution. This in turn can interpreted as a scenario where the importance, the centrality that the WMA allocates to the community is much less than the one allocated to investors.

Theme 8: Lack of transparency and uncertainty of authority characterizes WMA, which combined with to lack of security of WMA land because of centralized presidential powers over land confirm the hypothesis of land dispossession

Breaking down to the possible sources of land conflicts, it has been noted that the portion of village land allocated to WMA is at the origin of contradictions, confusion, and uncertainty, as showed when Enduimet demanded the village of Tinga Tinga to sign a title deed to officially recognize that WMA HQ land belongs to Enduimet. The village refused scared this would be legitimate dispossession of land, and at the same time, it raised questions on the legal nature of WMA land, among affected villagers and their leaders. The main aspect that is not clear for villagers is who holds the ultimate authority over the land allocated to WMA by village governments, and whether it is possible to retrieve land after withdrawal from WMA. Uncertainty was also detected about the villagers' understanding of the role and mandates of AA as the holder of user rights over WMA land. This adds to a land tenure system that excessively centralizes power over land in the hands of the president, as reported by villagers, village leaders, and WMA officers. A generalized lack of transparency in WMAs regulationmakes, WMAs dissolvable anytime, by presidential will. This is perceived by villagers, village leaders, and WMA officers. The WMA manager affirms that this is not conducive to a participatory conservation scheme that is supposed to bring incentives to local communities to become engaged with wildlife conservation

Total codes: 7, total references: 18

The land that villages allocated to the WMA is regulated by a very nuanced element contained in the law, that says that the WMA is the holder of user rights over wildlife and not of land rights. This nuanced distinction should imply that village governments maintain their authority over that portion of land, that land rights-wise that portion of land sticks to disposition contained in the Village Land Act, but wildlife right-wise, the land is regulated by WMA regulation and the Wildlife Conservation Act. Such distinction is not possible in concrete, wildlife roams on land, and any wildlife-related disposition will ultimately have effects on land as we have seen. Such distinction is not well understood by villagers, who are uncertain regarding the authority over WMA land:

"If that is our land, and it is under the government of the village, the village government [should be in the position of undertaking] projects in the village land"- Irkaswaa village councilor

This leads to the next important shortcoming of the contradictory nature of WMA land: its unclear withdrawing procedure. Villagers testified that they do not understand how they can withdraw from it while revealing they expect to have their land back in case they do (code: "unclear withdraw procedure):

"I know that is very difficult to withdraw from the WMA, very, very difficult. It is hard to withdraw, and procedures to do it are not clear." Tinga Tinga farmer

"When we will not be members of the WMA or when the WMA will be dissolved, maybe the land will be used for other activities. That is our vision, that is our plan." Irkaswaa village councilor

Villagers revealed to be unaware of the real consequences of the withdrawing procedure: according to the latest updates to the WMA regulation (2012), the member village may withdraw from its representative organ, the AA, but the AA will maintain user rights over the portion land allocated. In a nutshell, this theme collects evidence about the contradictory nature of WMA land and lack of clarity behind authority (code "the contradiction in WMA land authority). Villagers conveyed uncertainty in this regard (coded under "villagers' express uncertainty about WMA land ownership):

"We ask ourselves; we are not sure whether the land we gave to Enduimet is our land, or it is now Enduimet land"- Tinga Tinga farmer

Alternatively, village councilors in Irkaswaa expressed confidence that the land allocated to the WMA is still village land:

"What I know is that we have an agreement with the WMA. We agreed to give it up to the WMA, but it is still our land. We know about that. The land of WMA is still the land of the village, they just started conducting new activities." Irkaswaa village councilor

A feeling of concern is associated with the chance of being disposed of their land:

"I doubt the WMA area. I am not sure what is going to be with WMA land, I am afraid we may lose it." – Irkswaa farmer

Dismissive of the nuanced, although the central distinction between user and land rights, the WMA enforcer highlights the contradiction behind WMA land, while adopting quite an anti-community, derogatory discourse by saying:

"The land does not belong to the villagers, the land is of the WMA but they have this tendency, of thinking of this land as their land, but it is actually in Enduimet, so they do not have the right to claim that land"- EWMA ranger

Moreover, *villagers expressed a lack of awareness of the primary and most important function of the Authorized Association, which is, receiving Ministerial approval to become holder of use rights over wildlife*. Such a key passage draws the whole authority mechanism of the WMA, however, this is still unclear to community members. From focus groups emerged that villagers and villager leaders do not know that (coded as "villagers express uncertainty about the holder of wildlife rights").

Villagers' testimonies reveal they have lost track of the duties, mandates, and responsibilities of the representative and executive body of the WMA (the AA) and its management (the manager's office and its subordinated offices). During focus groups, participants asked me which organ of the WMA was the holder of user rights, and I proceeded to explain to them that that is the function of the AA, the representative body that runs the WMA. This gave them a false sense of confidence, that nothing bad could happen to their land (dispossession), since:

"You are right, it is the AA who's supposed to rule over Enduimet. And AA is like us, the AA is representing us."- Tinga Tinga Farmer

"There is no source of conflict between villagers and Enduimet because Enduiemt is a villagers' institution, it belongs to the villages." – Irkaswaa village councilor

An episode was reported during a focus group discussion with Irkaswaa village council. It is possible to interpret this episode as indicative of how unclear authority over WMA is, and secondly, secondly, as an episode that may constitute the sparkle for future conflicts:

"We have never engaged in any conflict with their WMA, but there are the signs of conflicts: in the past [AA] leaders allowed the WMA to build its office up near a rangers' post, but then, the WMA asked the villages to issue a title deed for that piece of land. For us, that was a sign of conflict, because if member villages allowed the WMA to get a title deed for the office land, one day the WMA could come and say "This land belongs to us, it is not yours. You can see we have a title deed". We refused to issue the title deed to Enduimet because we are afraid that if we approve the title deed, there could be [potential for a] conflict [in the future] "- Irkaswaa village councilor

Despite this episode is possible to confirm that ultimately, the villages have the authority to approve or deny the title deed (formal title) over the land on which the WMA operates, it is also true that their first reaction was fear that that title deed could be used against them in the future, which is a sign of an ill and complicated relationship between the authority of the village and the authority for the WMA when it comes to land matters.

It is reasonable to ask why the WMA was interested in formalizing the title over that piece of land, at the expense of the villages: one could be that indirectly, the WMA is acknowledging that the customary right that the village government should have on village land is weak, that it may interfere with WMA operation; the second could be that the WMA was interested in using the title deed as a collateral for loans. Either way, the very nature of the relationship that Enduimet managed to build with its member villages, was not conducive to gaining their approval.

To finalize the explanation of the deepest meaning of theme 8, I borrow the words of the Enduimet manager, addressing the complexity of how rights and authority are structured in the CBC scheme. Ultimately, the power of central

government is to no extent devolved to communities under the WMA, which turns out to be a project that is not going to stay within the community in the long run.

"It is a little bit complicated; you can find that [the introduction of WMAs] has given the villagers the power to manage wildlife and also to feel that this is their project, which is good. But there are some weak spots, which to me is not like a real weakness, but for the villagers and community may not be an incentive: the Director of Wildlife has the right to revoke user rights [of AA anytime]. This way, the Ministry can decide to dissolve a WMA because of reasons 1,2,3 and transform that land into a Game Reserve or National Park. That is a disincentive to villagers. Villagers are aware of that, people know that. I mean, if I had to improve something [in the WMA policy], it would be to design it into something that remains a community project, sustainably. "- EWMA manager

This testimony, especially because comes from the mouth of the WMA Manager, can be interpreted as the ultimate sign that WMAs are nothing more than a project of community-based washing (borrowing from the greenwashing term), for the realization of central government agenda and that does not jeopardize and certainly does not devolve central governments' power over tourism resources.

Theme 9: Shortcomings to village land tenure security and lack of clarity and transparency around Village Land Use Plans are exacerbated by the WMA process: potential lack of legitimacy.

An additional source of uncertainty, and possibly lack of legitimacy in the WMA is a flawed and complicated relationship between Village Land Use Plans /VLUPs, and WMA RZMP. If it is true that participants recognize that land planning helps reduce land conflicts and that the village land is legitimately given to a WMA through the Participatory VLUPs, it must be noted that villages lack devices and resources for autonomous land survey and planning and that to some extent it was difficult to receive unequivocal answers about recent updates of Village Land Use Plans. Furthermore, it becomes difficult for villages to plan according to future needs since most of their vacant land was given to the WMA and this has already created a conflict between Enduimet and Irkaswaa village, regarding a small portion of land to be retrieved by the WMA to build a school facility (Enduimet denied the request). Total codes: 7, total references: 20.

Having talked about the duplicity of rights over the land that villages allocate to WMAs and the consequences of it; the process that leads to the allocation of land to the WMA has to be considered key to ensure the legitimacy of the very existence of the WMA on those lands. WMA land can be allocated only as a disposition of the VLUPs. VLUPs making is in turn a participatory process, so it could be fair to say that a shared and transparent decision made at the village level is behind such land allocation to the WMA: this is true, but few considerations have to be made, following what emerged in interviews.

Firstly, *both villagers and the WMA Manager agree that planning helps to reduce conflicts and increase land security*. However, *capacity (know-how, devices, and resources) for land planning is outsource*d. WMA uses external consultants; while the Village Land Use Management Committee of the Village Council (VLUMC) can prepare VLUPs only if sided and supported by the District PLUM (Participatory Land Use Management) team[77]: they do not have GPS and land survey devices (code: "villages do not have planning devices"), and they always have to be trained by the District PLUM team. The VLUMC members are only required to have some knowledge of village borders and village land uses (code: "lack of education and know-how on behalf of village councilors about and planning"). Given the importance of VLUPs for villages involved in WMAs, it could be a great improvement to have GPS and other devices locally available, as well as the know-how at least to update village land use plans and the know-how for maps generation, and borders surveys and more importantly, knowledge on local resource needs and on how to meet them sustainably.

On the importance of VLUPs of member villages this is what the EWMA manager said:

"First, we have to make sure that the land use plans are reviewed. [the WMA has to make sure] that villages have allocated land to the different uses [settlement, service, farming], and that they know their borders, [the WMA has to make sure] that they made good plans before using their land. Second, we have to make sure that they are secured through good plans. Otherwise, if they have not planned, then someone can come to start some other activity on their land, without them even knowing why. "-EWMA Manager

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[77] National Land Use Planning Commission (2020)

But the manager stressed how VLUPs are important to maintain WMA operations as well, not only for villages to have secure land:

"If I am not part of this [of Villages VLUP process], what is going to be of the area set aside for wildlife? What if it is planned for something else? There is no way that the villages will be dedicated to wildlife conservation other than the land given to WMA. [I have to monitor the process of VLUP] because the land they gave to the WMA is still their land, it is still on their map. They must keep showing their contribution to maintain the WMA: this is why for me is important to seek donors to fund VLUPs" – EWMA Manager

Furthermore, *what is unclear is how villagers can plan their resources and land uses for the future, if the land allocated to the WMA cannot be planned for future needs*, for example in case of demographic growth, even if the Manager says that it is in their maps. The case of Irkaswaa building school showed that: in 2006/7 the village agreed to allocate a certain portion of its land for conservation and tourism, however, when the needs changed because time passed and the children of Irkaswaa outgrew the capacity of the school buildings (roughly ten years later), they could not plan their needs retrieving a small portion of the land given to WMA.

I also have to admit it was not immediate to speak and collect information about VLUPs, both from regular villagers but also from council members. At first, when the interviews were turning on that subject, it took some time before villagers realized what I was talking about and what kind of information I was expecting. For sure, not having a professional translator and being this topic highly technical, the communication on this very topic was affected by linguistic barriers. This is the impression I had. Only from Irkaswaa villagers, I received a clear answer about villagers surveying and planning the land to be given to the WMA (around the year 2000). I received contradictory answers on what concerns the latest updates of the VLUPs. Council members of both villages told me that no recent updates have been made:

"We haven't been updating land maps and border since 1992, even though in 2020 we received our Certificate of Registration [official certificate of village land title]" – Irkaswaa village councilor

"[VLUP was] Not [updated] recently. But we know the boundary of the village from past years" – Tinga Tinga village council.

But during focus groups with Tinga Tinga farmers, one man who used to be a member of the village council said that in 2018 the village updated its village land use plan. He conveyed this information with confidence and clarified his position as a directly informed person, therefore this is the information that should be trusted. The same happened with a pastoralist man from Irkaswa, who said that in early 2023 (January), the village was involved in meetings that had VLUP as the subject.

Having pictured the context of land use planning, we can introduce the next theme, which outlines the topic of land security, and the concerns that villagers associate with it. To understand that we have to bear in mind the information contained in Theme 9 because land planning at the village level is central to achieving land security.

Theme 10: Marked land tenure insecurity: VLUP potential tool to balance and protect community land interests over communal resources.

It has been detected that the CBC scheme deploys in perceived land insecurity. Villagers perceive insecurity of tenure and identify pastoralists as the most affected livelihood category. The WMA design does not address the highly centralized system of land tenure, rooted in the all-encompassing presidential power over land. Against this backdrop, the Participatory Village Land Use Plan balances different land uses, and land interests of the community, and it represents an important tool to protect villages' customary rights (when paired with a certificate of Village Land); compared to title deeds whose aim is the formalization of individual ownership which are deemed by villagers as not suitable to secure pastoralists' rights. total codes: 7, total references: 18.

Security or insecurity of lands is a central theme to investigate when it comes to access to resources and self-determination of Local Communities and Indigenous People because it is a concept that mirrors the complexity of land matters of these communities. Land security/insecurity valorizes the perceptions of individuals concerning the relationship with the land to explain such a relationship, going beyond an analysis limited to the legal perspective (customary vs formal rights). Therefore, it is a central theme to answer RQs; and it can be considered at the origin and the explanation at the same time for the complexity of the challenges

of the local community regarding land. This statement was identified as particularly informative and powerful in its message:

"If you look weak, or you are poor and it looks like you cannot fight, they will take away your land" Irkaswaa pastoralist woman

The majority of respondents perceive factors that undermine the security of rights and access to land, indeed. In other words, the majority of participants associate their condition with land insecurity. Village land could be shifted into the reserved land category anytime and the Civil Society Organization guiding the WMA (the AA) could be dissolved and villagers be dispossessed of their land, anytime, without a legitimate reason, but just out of central government's will.

"I am worried about that, Sometimes I fear that if WMA will not [be maintained], the law may change land regulation and become a national park". - Tinga Tinga village councilor.

This type of testimony can also be associated with what was said in Theme 1, about the WMA being identified not as a net benefit for villagers, but rather as the lesser evil, compared to the chance of being fully dispossessed of their land.

Per se, this direct cause of land insecurity could independently and very negatively answer both RQs: because of the presidential power retained over land, to no extent, the CBC scheme can be considered truly based on nor participated by the community, nor the conservation/tourism system (both of them working within the land tenure envisioned in the 1999 Land Reform) can work to empower communities towards self-determination and sovereignty over their productive and livelihoods system. In other words, the role played by the community of Enduimet is a role of disempowerment and subjection where most relevant powers and benefits are extremely centralized.

Other relevant sources of land insecurity were identified by respondents. One of them is protected areas and especially their worrying expansion that has characterized the last decades (code: "villagers perceive insecurity_due to conservation expansion),. One concrete example in the area investigated is the plan to transform Longido GCA (a hunting block within Longido District, the same district where Enduimet is located) into a WMA:

"Because of that, there is great debate between the villagers, the district, and the rangers, especially among livestock keepers who are afraid of losing their

land for pasture. The district plans to connect village lands into a new WMA, but they had to stop this project because the community is against it. For now, it remains Longido GCA and not WMA." – EWMA Ranger

Or the 2015 sudden expansion of Kilimanjaro NP. Or again, the escalation of violence and the forced relocation occurring to the Massai community of Ngorongoro CA:

"Villagers are afraid you know, a lot of them. Maasai are losing their land in Ngorongoro because the government can take the land and [decide to do] something else. In Ngorongoro, for instance, they are chasing people away. So local communities, as well as the Enduimet community, are afraid. They're scared that they're going to lose their land. In the heart of men, there is the fear that the government can transform Enduimet WMA land into a National Park anytime". EWMA Ranger

Associated with that is the second source of insecurity identified by participants: the direct competition between villagers and wildlife over land, as was highlighted by the water pond anecdote in Theme 3 (code:" villagers perceive insecurity_due to competition with wildlife):

"Enduimet wanted to build the pond for animals, in an area that we set aside for dry season grazing, so we had to refuse because we were afraid of losing that land […] the pond would [increase] the competition that would be not only on the water but also on the grazing land" – Tinga Tinga farmer

Remarkable and highly informative is what the ranger said the solution would be for villagers to protect their land:

"The only thing that can help the community to remain on their land right now is to cooperate. If they cooperate well, trying to avoid conflicts, like killing a wild animal, especially these big animals like the lion and elephant, that is the only thing that can help them" – EWMA Ranger

The ranger is suggesting abandoning resistance, and rather being compliant, even condescending towards protected areas, only this way they can avoid land dispossession. If villagers misbehave, it is only more likely that the government will transform Enduimet into a National Park. On the one hand, *the WMA officer identifies a direct relation between protected areas and dispossession*. In addition, *he is identifying protected areas as something that hinders the agency*

of villagers, who should rather be assertive about it and not make too much of a fuss.

Breaking down to what can improve land insecurity, participants identify land planning (both EMWA manager and villagers agree on that, code" planning_helps security"); villagers also stress the importance that village land planning follows a participatory process (benefit of participatory VLUP). Furthermore*, the making of the VLUP is characterized by very strong and active participation* (as identified by the extracts coded under "strong villagers' participation in VLUP making") and *villagers associate a satisfactory capacity of the village council in accomplishing such demanding task* (code "village council can undertake good planning").

What villagers identified could improve land security, on the formal level is indeed the Certificate of Village Land (let us say a title deed but not for individual land plots, but a title deed of the Village land, of all the land comprised within village borders, that can be obtained after the village makes the VLUP), that Irkaswaa village recently obtained. Also, the provisions contained in the Village Land Act are very important for land security.

This is what is particularly beneficial for land security, compared, for example, to formal title deeds that, are feared by pastoralists because they go against their mobility needs and the very identitarian characteristics of the Maasai lifestyle as well:

"Title deed is not important to pastoralists because it will not allow us to move around to graze. I fear having a title deed because that would compromise my chance to move around, to marry many wives in areas and create new bomas in other areas." – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

Another element of insecurity was identified by both pastoralists and women respondents (coded at "visibly worked land is more secure"): *land that has no visible sign of settlement (house, farming plot), as is the case of open pasturelands, are more likely to be dispossessed*. Women agree. Women who received land after the divorce or death of their husband complained that the same village government that gave them the land is always watching their plot: they have to show that the plot is always made productive, that the land is worked (for example farmed or settled) otherwise the village government may take it away from them. In this fashion, women associated the security of land to title deeds. Title deeds should not be

considered as the only available tool on the path toward land security, However, some categories could benefit from title deeds, for example, women.

Multiple challenges are associated by villagers with title deeds: they are expensive to obtain. In both villages, villagers have sent a request to the District Council but the District is taking too long to issue them. It takes years before actually having a title deed.

To conclude, land security is associated by some respondents with a feeling of resignation: the land is secure in its insecurity since all land belongs to the president. Towards that, villagers feel powerless. Other statements of that kind outline land security this way: land is secure until the president takes it away. Similarly, another testimony says land under WMA is better than land under a National Park because villagers can still graze. This is true until the President uses his power to shift the land into a National Park or forces the community to be relocated.

Theme 11: Highly flawed WMA governance can affect participation (lack of transparency, legitimacy, accountability, lack of institutional dialogue, and decentralization mechanisms). Trust and transparency associated with AA and village council.

Observing the characteristics of the governance of Enduimet as reported by participants, challenges, and weaknesses are present, such as a structural lack of budget that undermines WMA operations, especially operations for security, and open meetings necessary for villagers' participation. Lack of transparency affects the WMA process (villagers are not fully aware of how the WMA works, or what the role of the manager is; AA need long training before undertaking office; unclear how to withdraw from Enduimet, and how to influence decisions about investors; important documents required village approval produced in English; English acronym WMA difficult to understand), and even lack of legitimacy (unmet expectations, desire to retrieve land, WMA irrelevant to village life). In addition, important mechanisms of recentralization affect the reception and expenditure of WMA revenues which have been recentralized in the Treasury. This has created huge delays that have been undermining Enduimet's operations as well as the villages', deteriorating the mutual relationship. The district's approval and signature

on the expenditure of WMA revenues by the village government has been introduced to address possible corruption or elite capture of village leaders. Issues of institutional accountability have been detected as well (especially in wildlife damage compensation, as reported by villagers). In this regard, villagers deem it impossible to have a dialogue with the institutions, and in their perceptions, institutions, and WMA cover each other's backs when it comes to being held accountable to villagers. The AA representative process is also affected by shortcomings: no rule to ask ineffective AA members to resign, unclear campaign timing and regulations, no political program associated with AA representatives, unclear criteria of selection, and excessive competition left villagers unmotivated to candidate again. The potential risk of poor performance in AA is associated with the unmet expectation of personal gain (AA representatives' allowances do not allow personal gain and when they realize that they perform poorly). Women representatives are reported as particularly passive or inactive. More specifically, characteristics of transparency, trust, and good communication are associated with the village level (AA representatives and village councilors), rather than the WMA management level. Village meetings, when WMA issues are discussed, are highly participated, there is freedom to speak, and AA representatives always give clear and straightforward answers to villagers, especially about WMA revenues. No mention was made in terms of misuse of WMA revenues on behalf of village leaders, nor issues with the (current and former) village leaders were reported when asked. Total code: 60, total references: 365.

Interviews extensively addressed the topic of governance, observing some key characteristics of good governance (such as participation, trust-based actors' relations, transparency, and accountability) to see to what extent the new CBC scheme is characterized by good governance. Evidence suggests this occurs only to a very small extent. This is a dominant theme in terms of counting of codes and references compared to other themes, and it could independently answer RQ 1 on community participation in the CBC: *numerous testimonies were collected that express doubts on the overall goodness of the WMA project for villagers, up to the point that the legitimacy itself of the WMA should be doubted.*

"It seems now WMA is not a tool that can contribute to the community, rather a tool to benefit itself" -Irkaswaa pastoralist

"WMA is not important [relevant] to the village and I know some people are complaining about it. The WMA is not a good idea to them today "- Irkaswaa councilor

A particularly worrying scenario is the one depicted by this villager, about the top-down imposition of WMA decisions:

"Enduimet should involve the villagers in the decision before they act. Instead, they act and then they will come to tell the villages. So, this makes people doubt about how good Enduimet is" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

A generalized lack of awareness of how the WMA is governed was reported by participants. The WMA manager pointed out how villagers who become AA representatives need long training before they can understand their office and their mandate, and even after that, he says they are not very much aware. Indeed, he welcomed the reform of Enduimet bylaws that increased the term of service of AA representatives from 3 to 5 years. This way, there is time to train representatives and they have time to practice what they have learned.

The community did not trust the change at the top of the WMA. There used to be an Administrator, now called a Manager. Also, the person was changed. The tourism officer assured me it was the same position, just a different name. However, villagers did not like this change, they thought this manager was some kind of ruler with excessive power, compared to the Administrator:

"I would say one problem of WMA procedures regards the nomination of a WMA manager. Before, the community itself was the ruler of WMA. But later on, like ten years ago, they introduced the "manager", and this change was not understood by the villagers"- Irkaswaa pastoral

Villagers do not know to what extent the AA can influence the contracts with tourism investors, quite a key topic on which the community should be able to exercise decisional power, in a community-based, participatory tourism scheme. They associate a lack of transparency and a shady attitude to tourism investors of the WMA (code: "transparency_lack of_ about investors-WMA agreements":

"I don't know who rules over investors' rights and duties." – Irkaswa village councilor

Tinga Tinga councilor said instead:

"We are involved in WMA decisions in general, not of the investors though."

339

A group of women from Irkaswa did not know the meaning of the acronym that names Enduimet WMA: Wildlife Management Area. The name is the same English acronym in Kiswahili as well, and villagers called it WMM. It can be observed that an English acronym does not make a villager-friendly name for a community-based institution. A Kiswahili name could have been more appropriate.

Other dominant codes (codes that gathered a big number of references, compared to others) within this theme are: "delayed revenues_centralized in the treasury" and "lack of accountability for delayed or absent compensation". The WMA contributes to village development by redistributing its revenues, obtained through tourism activities, to the bank accounts of the member villages. However*, revenues are not only smaller and smaller compared to previous years, but they are delayed.* This occurs because, *since 2020, all revenues from protected areas are first centrally gathered by the Ministry and then administrated and redistributed locally by the Treasury, after taking its shar*e.

I gathered so many testimonies, from villagers, village leaders, and the WMA staff that this system is not working properly. Enduimet does not know when it is going to receive revenues from the central government and when villages ask them, they reply that they are waiting for the central government, deteriorating the relationship between villages and the WMA. This is also evidence that decentralization mechanisms are active within the WMA, undermining the autonomy of the WMA in undertaking its daily operations as well as compromising the WMA's capacity to effectively and timely contribute to village governments' finances.

"We have a new issue with the change of the financial law in 2020. It centralized all revenues from Ngorongoro, WMA, and TANAPA [National Park Authority], It's TRA [Revenue Authority] that is in full charge of the collection of funds, then revenues go to the Treasure. For us, it is a little bit difficult because the flow back is becoming a big issue. If we don't have funds, many things, many projects fail including failing to do the GMP. We cannot count on the revenues we know we have made, sometimes it takes longer or the treasury sends them back in smaller installments" – EWMA Manager

"The biggest problem for village councilors is how to deal with the complaints when the money is delayed, that's the biggest problem. People will riot; villagers shout 'Why this happened?! Maybe you are lying to us, and maybe you're

receiving the money, but you will send money somewhere else! not to us'". So that's the biggest problem with WMA. " – Irkaswaa village councilor

The issue of delayed revenues is undermining the relationship between villagers and their leaders, as well as the relationship between member villagers, who are always scared that some other member village is receiving revenues while they are not. This is a very negative element of the governance of the WMA. *Fear and lack of trust are expressed by villagers in this regard. Irkaswaa villager told me (in March 2023) that the last installment of WMA revenues was received in September 2022.* An issue of accountability arises, it is difficult for the WMA to keep the central government accountable for these delays:

"We haven't started yet to put pressure on the government, but we spoke to the member of Parliament of Longido District, to push this thing of the delayed revenues"- EWMA manager

*Enduimet Manager talked about the potential lack of transparency of village leaders in the management of WMA's revenues. The WMA manager complained about the absence of Enduimet's revenue reports on the notice boards inside a few of the member village offices. Although he did not report this episode as systematic, he referred to a generalized (and preconceived) lack of trust towards the village government, on behalf of the other institution*s. Indeed*, the WMA regulations require the signature of the District Advisory Board on village government expenditures of WMA revenues.*

The District Executive Director supervises the way village governments employ WMA funds. This way, the WMA manager stressed, villager leaders:

"cannot just go to the bank accounts and use the money the way they want because the district is also a signatory " – EWMA Manager

This is another example of mechanisms of decentralization of power and responsibilities, within the community-based conservation scheme. Against this backdrop*, it has to be mentioned that none of the villages, nor the participants (villagers and their leaders) mentioned current nor past episodes of mismanagement, or issues with the transparency and honesty of village leaders, related or unrelated to the WMA.* This was among the first questions asked during focus groups.

Moving on, *it is difficult to hold the central government accountable when it comes to money for compensation. Compensation or consolation is a small amount of money* that the central government or Enduimet WMA (should) send to villagers who have had their farms destroyed, their livestock predated, or a family member killed by wildlife.

"[the institutions] are not responding timely, and the pain caused is not being addressed. We don't have the power to force the government to do anything because they are all other institutions, with their way of working. Our work is to make sure that [aggression or damage] reports are sent. We can make a follow-up. It could be easier for the MPs [Members of Parliament] to intervene, you know. The WMA, the law enforcers, and even the DC game officers are just doing what they are supposed to, according to the regulation. After handing it [the request for compensation] over to the government, it is not easy to push the government. This is one of the weaknesses. And the issue is more political. Unfortunately, we do not have a person for this. If I tell the district, [about a delay], the district will tell me 'we have submitted the request where it was due'… what can we do about that? " – EWMA manager

This is also true for villagers' capability to hold the WMA accountable for consolation.

"It seems like the village government does not have enough power in WMA because when he lost five sheep, he notified the Village Council who notified the WMA office, but they never responded. So, it seems like the village is not powerful enough to [hold] WMA. [accountable]" – Irkaswaa farmer

A generalized feeling of discouragement is associated with the topic of consolation and compensation, and these two testimonies help to outline how difficult it is for the villagers to hold a higher level of government accountable.

"There is no such cooperation with the District Council. Not even the district councilor himself, we've never seen him here. We do not have a good relationship or good communication with them. When we have major issues, like someone being killed by an animal, just the WMA showed up and contributed very little to the burial ceremony, but DC never helped us. A time ago I had this idea, to improve the dialogue with the DC, to have a group of villagers' representatives, to go and talk about our problems to them, because the district never came here, not even

the MP of our district…nobody comes here to listen to our challenges of Irkaswaa village" -Irkaswaa farmer

Moreover, when it comes to keeping institutions accountable, the picture is miserable because flawed institutions cover each other backs and leave villagers without clear answers (code: "DC covers up: for WMA weaknesses) and without support (code:"villagers_not supported DC, WMA, AA) especially if the District level and the WMA level are observed:

"I think district council and WMA are the same things. In case we have an issue with WMA, you will receive no help from the district and vice versa. The district will stay quiet about WMA mistakes, they protect each other [from external issues and complaints]. There is no good communication between us, and the district about WMA."- Irkaswaa farmer

To address this issue of compensation, Tinga Tinga villagers formed a delegation that traveled miles to be heard by regional institutions (President's Office Regional Administration and Local Government) about a kid being killed by an elephant, unsuccessfully.:

"11 women and I went as a delegation to the regional office, where we explained our challenge, the regional officer told us to go back and complain to the District Council. We went also to the District Council, who told us they would communicate with the Enduimet manager, to make sure the elephant was not in the area. We formed the delegation to support the mother. We have never seen the District Council, nor the Regional Commissioner." Tinga Tinga woman

Breaking down to the participatory process of villagers, it all revolves around the election of Authorized Association (AA) representatives. The AA is the supra-village body that runs the WMA, comprising elected representatives with executive and decision-making mandates. Each of the 11 village members of Enduimet WMA elects three representatives. At least one of them has to be a woman. *Villagers pointed out a few shortcomings in the process. The first one is the absence of a regulation that allows villagers to demand inefficient AA representatives to resign*. The term necessarily has to come to an end to do elections to chance members of the AA.

The second was verified during interviews: despite the election, no electoral program is presented to voters, and the selection of candidates is supposed to be

non-political. In this sense, I do not refer to politics as party affiliation (as it is for village chairman election), rather, by non-political I mean that the candidates do not have a view, a mission they want to accomplish as representatives, and their mission is not associated to politics, but it should be. Representatives are elected either because of their previous work as representatives (re-election) or because of the reputation they have (trusted and hardworking), likely with minimum literacy requirements, even though no previous experience or knowledge is required. As the Manager explained, these people are going to be trained on what they are expected to do as AA members.

Furthermore, *as admitted by the WMA manager, regulations behind the scope of the AA elections are not clear, they are not intended as elections for a political project, with campaigns. It is left to each WMA to dispose timing and modality of elections, and people do not do any form of campaign, which led us to wonder what exactly the competition revolves around, during the election of AA members*. In our opinion, even if the AA is a civil society organization, it should be made intended to villagers that the work and the scope of the action of the WMA are highly political, and as such it should be understood by villagers. Otherwise, referring the work and the decisions of the AA to a purely civil society and a political realm would result in a simplistic view, that jeopardizes the chances of villagers to self-determinate their path within the WMA.

The District Executive Director supervises the election process and is called to resolve disputes, told me the WMA Manager. However, the burden of the election is left to village councils. Not all candidates go to elections. Village councils collect all the applications, screen them, and then select around 6 members to go to the actual election. Nonetheless, some participants disclosed how they are not sure about what happens during this stage. According to which criteria do councilors select a candidate rather than another? In this regard, counselors and the Manager told me that they usually evaluate the reputation of the applicant and how hardworking person he/she is. However, this is unclear to villagers. *Someone associated a lack of transparency with this process*. Other villagers told me that there was much competition to go to elections and that when they were excluded, the village council did not provide a satisfactory explanation for their exclusion, so they decided not to be candidates again. I was told *that some people candidates with the aim of personal gain because AA representatives have the right to a small*

allowance. Once candidates and even elected representatives realize there is no chance of personal gain, some of them abandon their commitment or go on with their mandate performing poorly. A small number of references expressed a lack of satisfaction with AA representative action. This is true, especially about women representatives. I was told by a woman from Irkaswaa village:

"I think the members of AA are bringing Irkaswaa down, because they go to the meeting, and they just sit there. They don't ask questions, they don't represent Irkaswaa well so Irkaswaa can be considered important in the WMA. I wish the new candidates are going to do better."- Irkaswaa woman

The respondent also said that the lady representing Irkaswaa village, during village meetings, was completely silent. Some of the respondents even said they were unaware that a woman was among the representatives, they just found out during elections.

In addition, respondents confirm that it never happened that more than one woman out of three representatives was elected.

However, the majority of references report trusting the action of the AA and they are satisfied with the degree of turnover in the AA. A small number of respondents identify the AA and the villagers as the same thing. The AA is indeed made of villagers elected at the village level. This is a characteristic to be valorized and that to a small extent contributes to making the WMA a truly community-based institution. *The majority of references expressed trust towards the Village Council when they deal with WMA issues, and they also assured that there is satisfactory turnover in village council elections. On the other hand, the majority of respondents expressed a lack of trust in the WMA manager. Villager never met him, and I collected a few negative opinions on him.* Furthermore, a *high number of references expressed a lack of pride on behalf of villagers regarding Enduimet and even perceived WMA actions as shady and non-transparent; against a much smaller number of references expressing trust towards WMA management, expressing a sense of pride, identification, and "ownership" on behalf of villagers concerning the WMA.*

Evidence highlights that how the WMA and AA are supposed to operate is something difficult to grasp for villagers. A few *interview extracts refer to aspects of the WMA that can be considered non-transparent for villagers: the AA is not*

committed to calling meetings with villagers right after they visit Enduimet HQ nor in giving villagers updates about the revenues where shared with the AA. When this occurs, villagers also report that village leaders immediately call the AA representative and hasten the AA representative to come and talk to villagers, and this represents an effective solution. However, *a greater number of references express clarity and punctuality about the AA representatives when it comes to talk revenues in village meetings. The action of village leaders and AA representatives is mostly associated with transparency. Village meetings about WMA issues are generally considered an informative moment, where village leaders and AA representatives talk clearly and openly; and more importantly, where villagers are free to express their concerns and raise questions and where villagers actively participate in big numbers*. Such *vast participation is possible because in village meetings there are translators of vernacular[78] languages* (in the villages investigated such language is mostly Maa, the traditional language of the Maasai people) for those (mostly but not exclusively, elders) who do not speak Kiswahili (code: " transparency_ in how the WMA works_during village meetings";" village meetings_ freedom to speak&ask"; "language accessibility_ in WMA village meetings"). This is a very positive element in the governance of the WMA participatory process, resulting in an overall transparent communication process and straightforward dialogue, at least at the village level. It is possible to interpret villagers' testimonies, as drawing a subtle although present line: characteristics of transparency and good communication and participation are associated with the village level (AA representatives and village councilors) rather than the WMA level (WMA manager office).

Another example can be found in a couple of non-transparent episodes that were told to me during focus groups, and both revolve around the request to village leaders to sign and approve meaningful documents about WMA that were generated and presented for approval in English. This is not appropriate. The first episode was about the agreement between WMA and Big Life NGO

"There was an agreement that needed to be signed, between WMA and an NGO, and the AA chairperson -it was me at that time- was demanded to sign and

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[78] I use this term because it was used during focus groups, by villagers who spoke some English to refer to Maa language.

approve this agreement. But the agreement was in English, a difficult language for me to understand. I could not understand exactly what was in the agreement, I was forced to sign, but I refused, telling the WMA management to go back and translate the agreement"- Tinga Tinga village councilor.

The second was about the Enduimet constitution, initially produced and shared among villagers in English. This is a sign of great superficiality and lack of transparency on behalf of Enduimet:

"I refused to sign with the Constitution of Enduimet because it was [presented to me] in the English language. Villagers in turn complained to the council, asking for the document in Kiswahili otherwise they would not sign it. The WMA [initially] refused to change the document. However, it took a long time before Enduimet translated it and villagers agreed to sign it"- Tinga Tinga village councilor

Moreover, *WMA operations are constrained by a systematic lack of budget and resources.* The first sign of this condition is the maintenance of the interim document RZMP, due to a lack of budget to complete the more detailed work necessary to produce an e General Management Plan. It was previously introduced how lack of budget affects the participatory system: Enduimet is not able to pay for transportation refunds and representatives' allowances (code: "resources_lack of_for meetings) and eventually opts for smaller meetings.

In addition, Enduimet lacks resources to provide torches and chili bombs (the main devices for protection from wildlife); *it lacks resources for effective patrolling, because both rangers, cars, and GPS devices are not enough. Enduimet rangers and employees complain of very low salaries; it lacks resources to provide villagers with metallic fences and predator-proof bomas. Bullets for firearms are not enough and the budget to buy those is scarce.*

The tourism officer also shared with me that the *touristic promotion of ENduimet (both online and offline) is going to cost a lot of money, and he is afraid that the Enduimet budget is not going to be enough*. This highlights another controversial element: *WMAs do not receive any additional budget from the central government, they exclusively depend on tourists' expenses (entrance fees, bed fees) or on donors' support, which is an unsustainable way of financing its operations*.

"Sustaining community [-based conservation] areas [the WMAs] means making sure that the communities are happy, and so the wildlife. The wildlife is more secure when the community contributes to it or at least is involved in wildlife protection"- EWMA Tourism Officer

Theme 12: Community lacks power compared to the central government and investors and lacked free and informed consent in the choice of joining the WMA

Observing power relations in the CBC scheme, they appear highly unbalanced, where the central government holds all or most of the power in all the spheres of competence of the WMA (land, hunting and tourism fees, tourism investors conditions). The overlapping mandate over wildlife and hunting management has already generated a dispute between Tawa and Enduimet. the dynamics of the conflict show the reticence of the central government in devolving tourism hunting benefits and powers, and it will require immense resources Enduimet does not have to solve this conflict and impose its authority over the contested hunting block. Villagers feel powerless concerning hunting tourism, which they would abolish entirely. Villagers also feel powerless and victim of a double standard: hunting is forbidden for them even when it represents an ancestral tradition, but allowed for tourists. AA representatives hold no decisional power over tourism investors and their conditions, they can only advise WMA management without consulting villagers, and 'MA's power to set tourism investments' conditions is limited by the national regulations on the matter. In general, villagers occupy a weak position, evidence of that is that villagers perceive the creation of a WMA on their land as an imposed process hard to resist, which was not the result of a free choice, but rather of the fear of losing that land entirely if that became a National Park. In other words, villagers accepted the creation of Enduimet as the lesser evil rather than as a result of a reflexive, participating process undertaken by the local community. Villagers also become victims of a biased education on tourism: they are entirely unaware of tourism's environmental impact. Total codes: 20, total references:73

The central government holds great power concerning land, hunting, and tourism fees. Both WMA management and villagers agreed upon this. The WMA is currently in conflict with the central government agency responsible for wildlife

outside National parks because it allocated land to a hunting investor, but that land is within Enduimet's hunting block and it is Enduimet's authority to allocate it. The structure of decisional power when it comes to the WMA-tourism investors agreement is centered around the WMA management office, and AA representatives hold an advisory, scarcely influential role. Villagers cannot help but perceive themselves as powerless regarding the WMA process in general: when they decide to become part of the WMA, their choice is not fully informed and free. Furthermore, the WMA reiterates a one-sided narrative of tourism as the only tool available for communities to balance development and conservation: *WMA's and partners' training never mentioned the dreadful impacts of tourism development nor other local sources of pollution (intensification of productivity). Villagers are "educated" about their environmental impact during the early stages of WMA implementation, but not about the global cause of climate change, resulting in a dysfunctional stigmatization of local livelihoods.*

Both villagers, the WMA manager, and the WMA staff addressed the topic of excessive presidential power over the land. The government can dispossess villages of their land, as well as transform the WMA into a National Park. The central government could identify unplanned areas of non-visibly worked land and allocate activities or investors there, without consulting villagers.

The central government still holds great power over wildlife, especially in hunting tourism. The central government issues hunting licenses, even if WMAs have rights over WMA hunting blocks. In other words, in the regulation of hunting tourism, WMAs and the central government's responsibilities overlap:

"When it comes to the overlap, I think of TAWA. Because TAWA's mandate is overseeing all wildlife activities and operations in areas outside Ngorongoro Conservation Area and national parks (NCAA and TANAPA). That means TAWA oversees not only wildlife in open areas but also within the WMA. So that's going to be an administrative overlap"- EWMA manager

At the time of the interviews, the Enduimet manager revealed that the central government agency TAWA allocated land for hunting activities to an investor, within the WMA hunting block. Unfortunately, it is Enduimet's word against TAWA's word when it comes to the borders of the area of jurisdiction. Enduimet manager told me:

"In these occasions, what [the WMA] can do is to call all the stakeholders to resolve this issue, bringing Enduimet resource management plan before TAWA for inspection, to tell them 'This is my land. This is my plan for that land, and you cannot allocate that hunting block inside WMA land'". - EWMA Manager

To solve the conflict, the WMA manager has to seek donors to provide a budget the WMA does not have, to revise not only Enduimet's RZMP but also the villages' Land Use Plans, to be sure that all borders reported in the documents are correct, for TAWA to step back. This conflict and the actions necessary to solve it become an example of how hard it is for central government institutions to give up their immense interest in controlling hunting tourism and its revenues, which in turn explicit the conflict of interest that the central government holds regarding decentralization of hunting tourism[79].

Another situation when villagers feel powerless, is when a predator kills their livestock, and they cannot revenge it because otherwise they will not be compensated, but compensation is delayed or is never received. Respondents perceive such norms as something imposed on them, to which they do not have the means to react.

The allocation of decisional power over tourism investments is concentrated in WMA management. The tourism officer told me that WMA does not seek and select investors, but rather, businessmen interested in developing their businesses. Enduimet sends a letter of intent. Then, management produces the contract. Furthermore, the conditions of the contract are decided by national regulations. A key contracting point, such as the bed fees per night, that the investor will pay to the WMA is centrally regulated. Against this backdrop, the AA is left with only an advisory role, *on what the community needs from the contract, or what the community does not agree on, and asks to re-negotiate a few parts of the contract. However, what can be negotiated are land concessions fees, possible grazing access rights, and community development projects. The AA has the power to*

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[79] Another example of the reticence of the central government in devolving power and decentralizing revenues from hunting tourism can be found in how the shares of trophy hunting fees are distributed: only 45% of trophy fees are kept by the WMA, but 65% goes to the central government. Regarding this, villagers feel powerless, as revealed during interviews. The WMA manager agrees with the tourism officer when he says this is a huge limitation to the benefit that communities could have from tourism in WMAs and that more should be redistributed to communities.

reject an investor or to reject the contract and ask for a rewriting and the tourism officers assured me that AA representatives have the time to carefully go through the contract, however, they cannot discuss it with fellow villagers until the final agreement is signed (this aligns with the villagers complaining that the WMA takes action first and then report to the community, but the community is not consulted during the process). *The discussion can only occur among AA representatives with the advice of WMA management. This results in an important limitation to the decisional power of villagers*, especially about such a key aspect.

Lastly and more importantly, villagers reported a lack of power to resist the creation of WMAs on their lands, or at least they did not experience it as a free choice. Against this backdrop, WMA staff tend to highlight that it was a community decision to become part of the WMA and that now, they should be compliant with WMA dispositions, but in reality:

"It was not easy to accept to become members of Enduimet, but we decided to agree because we feared we could suffer more later if did not accept it because the president could change land destination anytime" – Tinga Tinga woman

Following the theme of power relations, we will go through the anti-community narrative pattern that does not spare Enduimet, even if it is supposed to be a community-based institution.

Theme 13: Anti-community narrative worsens the position of villagers and distorts villagers' perception of the issue of conservation, and the costs of conservation borne by the community are not compensated nor equally distributed among local and global actors

Participants' discourse reflects power relations, and it revolves around an anti-community narrative and double standards. Tourism and wildlife, rather than villagers appear to be of paramount importance for WMA and institutions, in the perception of villagers. Access to Enduimet has become troublesome for villagers, but it is not for tourists. Villagers are stigmatized as dangerous to animals, and they are the first suspects when something bad occurs to them. Because of that, villagers became reticent in reporting issues to the WMA authority. Community livelihoods and traditions are also stigmatized as causes of environmental degradation, this has been observed both at national and local levels (in the

narrative of newspapers, and as a result of the environmental education campaigns Enduimet villagers participated in). The stigmatization is so powerful, that Enduimet villagers legitimize the loss of land, and use of violence against them for violating the environmental dispositions of the WMA. This rhetorical stigmatization ignores that the trend of villagers' violations in Enduimet is reducing, and the fact that villagers are actively committed to wildlife protection. Accordingly, villagers (especially of Maasai origin) identify themselves as a friend of conservation. What has been observed is that the community of Enduimet bears great costs for conservation. Ultimately, these immense costs are not compensated by the benefits of tourism. Furthermore, it has been noted that both villagers and WMA officers, when they talk about how tourism investors should contribute to community development, usually refer to the implementation of development projects, often through investors' philanthropy organizations. They do not speak about taxes, nor levies which is disempowering for village governments, and does not improve village governments' capacity for service provision, In addition, no sustainable tourism strategy is in place in Enduimet, which means that lodges nor tourists are contributing specifically to reduce their environmental impact. Only villagers are. The costs associated with conservation should be equally shared, locally among all actors (villagers, tourists, investors), and globally between Global North and Global South countries. Unfortunately, such equal distribution is not in place, as it is possible to understand by the media, especially in the news about global climate action summits, and the results these global events produce. Total codes: 17, total references: 96

The narrative assumed in political, public, mediatic, and academic debate around a specific topic or group, can bear very concrete consequences on perceptions and actions around that topic or group. The narrative reflects value allocation in actors' discourse and practices. This theme addresses how the narrative of the local community in conservation affects the role of the community in the CBC scheme: it was observed that the narrative that the WMA reiterates is not different than the one of fortress conservation, where wildlife and tourism are of paramount importance, and where villagers do not appear to hold as much value, rather representing passive actors who suffer the imposition of conservation measures. Recalling what a WMA ranger said:

"I see a problem sometimes because most of the time WMA values more investors than the local people. We value investors so much" – EWMA ranger

It was observed how in actors' discourses, the extension of the WMA surface appears as too vast to cover when it comes to patrolling for the security of villagers (every WMA staff member agreed, code "(way too) vast land to cover") because rangers are understaffed, and cars are not enough; but alternatively, cars become enough to protect the lodges from livestock and villagers grazing too nearby:

"For example, if a lot of cows are found near a lodge in Kamwanga, we'll run there to solve that problem and if the problem is too big that it requires more people, we'll call a car unit to solve that. We have a lot of cars to do that, we have motorcycles at our ranger posts. In case anything happens, rangers from the closest ranger post will come and intervene." – EWMA Ranger

When I asked the ranger what would happen in case the same time, rangers received a call from an investor who wanted to chase cattle away and from villagers in danger because of wildlife, he said:

"We shall divide ourselves if possible, and we always try to see where the bigger issue is, to see what the priority is. First what we need is more info: for instance, is the investor complaining that there are cows around the lodge? We understand if it is a minor issue and if two rangers are enough. But if villagers call reporting an elephant killing a human being; or a lion being killed by villagers, that becomes a priority: we have to save that animal from death… but I don't think we will ever have such a problem…In case a scenario like this occurs, we always have to give priority to investors, our investors are our kings and our queens, and they depend on us for security. We have to give them priority in what is occurring in the WMA" – WMA Ranger

The ranger refers to a priority, almost an overriding priority of investors over villagers in the operations of enforcement of the WMA (referring to investors as rulers, *the kings, and queens* of the WMA). Furthermore, even in the case of human killing, it is the animal to be described as a priority to save. On the side of villagers, this is strongly perceived, up to the point that villagers feel that animals are more important than them, and this is reflected in WMA operations of enforcement: villagers complain about the fact that when humans are killed or properties are destroyed, enforcers show up very late or they do not show up entirely, they

promise follows up for consolation, but they rarely do or nothing happens at all (code: " delayed interventions"):

"When we report to AA and Enduimet, the answer is that they will follow up. Sometimes they may come with a TV anchorman, they record something, and ask you what happened and how many crops were destroyed…we think they will come back, but they never do. When we go to the village office to report the fact, mwenyekity [village chairman in Kiswahili] communicates immediately to Enduimet management, they will immediately come, take video, and ask you many questions… but they never come back." Tinga Tinga woman

About delays in authorities' intervention and the necessity to give villagers the resources at least to be able to manage the report with autonomy:

"When someone is killed by wild animals, the District Council officer has to take GPS location and take pictures for the reports. They usually come very late, but we cannot leave a dead body for days in the bush, while we wait for District officers. I think the village council should have those GPS and cameras in the village office. We could immediately take GPS and collect necessary information and then the district will come to take a report based on village council information."
– Tinga Tinga pastoralist

When it is animal to die instead:

"You will see a huge line of cars. Even the DC will join the crew, asking around why the elephant died…the vet will check if the elephant died from natural causes, or if somebody has killed the elephant. There are many, many cars: from Enduimet and DC- … We feel very bad when the district is taking care of the wild animals more than they take care of humans. it's very painful." – Tinga Tinga Woman

This visible difference in how the death of animals is handled by authorities (code: "great visibility, but no help"), compared to the death of a human being *is excruciating* for villagers. These extracts suggest the approach of fortress conservation has not been overcome, and that animals are still excessively considered compared to humans, even if this creates conflict with the local community ("code: wildlife_more important than villagers"). This creates a weird double standard also regarding self-defense. Villagers are highly discouraged from harming an animal, even if it is for self-defense. They should always prefer to only

scare the animals away, but never hurt the animals. In case they do, they will be fined, and they will have to legally respond, proving the danger of the situation to justify their reaction to the animal. If this occurs inside the borders of a National Park, it is even worse, because villagers are not even supposed to step inside a National Park. They will legally respond to the fact that they were where they were not allowed to be. In these cases, people will receive no rescue intervention, nor the family will receive any consolation.

It was interesting to reflect on double standards in place since while I am writing this, in Italy, we are dealing with the piece of news of a bear attacking a runner in the Trentino Region, and as the immediate reaction, the President of the Province of Trento signed the order to catch and kill the bear[80]. This current state of things would be inconceivable in Tanzania and vice versa.

In this same perspective, it is possible to interpret a statement from a WMA ranger, who addressed the human presence as an element of disturbance to wildlife in the context of Enduimet, despite Enduimet being born purposely for the coexistence of wild animals and humans. National Parks are more suitable instead because animals are free to move there:

"[because of drought] animals tend to move out, towards Serengeti, a very big national park with no human settlement, no disturbance to wild animals… because wild animals like a place where they are free. […] Issues like human-wildlife conflicts occur when livestock and wild animals live in the same protected area "– EWMA Ranger

The same WMA enforcer, with this choice of words, seems to reveal that the goal of community-based conservation, of peaceful and profitable coexistence of humans with wildlife, is not ideal and that no disturbance to animals, as occurs in National Parks, is more appropriate. This is no surprise if we look at what the other ranger said about the aspiration of WMA enforcers to work in National Park, due to the very low salary of WMA rangers. Professional rangers (as opposed to Village Game Scouts, namely villagers undertaking a very brief training session to be

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[80] Sole 24 Ore (2023) Trentino, il presidente Fugatti firma ordinanza di abbattimento dell'orsa F36 (29 september 2023, online, retrieved at https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/fugatti-firma-ordinanza-abbattimento-dell-orsa-f36-lav-e-oipa-annunciano-ricorso-AFVNEVn?refresh_ce=1)

employed as WMA enforcers) follow a very long and extremely expensive degree program, and the salary offered by the WMA is too low. The WMA does not offer enough opportunities for career advancement, and rangers aspire to become employees at TANAPA (Tanzania National Parks Authority)

On the other hand, villagers feel they have no rights.

"Lions are jumping into my boma, killing my goats and the WMA response is nothing. But when rangers find an injured lion, they will be very hard on me. It seems like the WMA treats wild animals better than humans." Irkaswaa farmer

"The problem of WMA is that they employ all their forces to protect wild animals but not [as much to protect] humans and livestock. A wild animal can kill a human and the WMA will do nothing."- Irkaswaa pastoralist

This issue is even more compelling than the issue of land and access to resources because it reflects the general mindset of the institutions. Villagers are aware that institutions do not value them, not as much as the tourism revenues that come with wildlife:

"Rather than the land, our concern is that for the WMA animals seem more important than villagers. There is no place we can go [to ask for support] when our farms are being destroyed and our livestock eaten. We have no right. That's why we say that animals are more important than us. This why we say Enduimet cares more about wild animals, than they care the humans." – Irkaswaa village councilor

This leads us to the next code in this theme, "the risk of being charged for a dying animal". Several testimonies revolved around this topic. Not only do villagers emotionally suffer from a condition where animals are more valuable than villagers, but they feel they always have to watch their back, hoping that an animal is not going to die near their settlement:

"One time an elephant was coming into the village probably from the KINAPA area, the elephant looked injured. KINAPA rangers came many times to the village, asking us many questions, asking us why the animal was injured, asking what happened near the village to injure the animal... So, in case anything occurs to an animal, it is very inconvenient for us, because we get through lots of questions, the rangers will investigate, they will suspect us, and they will stop everybody's work. While they were interrogating us, they had a very bad attitude, we felt they were trying to accuse us, and we did not like that. They did not want

to understand that when we saw the Tembo [elephant in Kiswahili], the Tembo was injured already." - Irkaswaa farmer

From what villagers said, it seems that the villagers are stigmatized in the view of authorities as inevitably responsible for violations. Indeed, I found additional evidence of this type of anti-community narrative, in an interview with a WMA ranger. He said:

"They ignore the regulation. They have this tendency in our villages, of taking that land like is their land, but it is Enduimet land…So they are just ignoring the rules and regulations" – EWMA Ranger

A very controversial story was told to me in this regard, it had very negative consequences on the whole village, undermining the relationship between Enduimet and the villagers of Tinga Tinga. More or less two years ago, two young Maasai soldiers found a dead elephant in the bush, near where they were grazing. The animal was almost decomposing, they came closer to the animal to inspect it, and as soon as they touched the tusks, these came off, this is what was explained to me. They immediately told the village leaders who called WMA rangers. When the rangers came, they immediately arrested them. It did not matter that the two *Morans* called the authorities and that the elephant was dead long before their arrival. They were sent to jail. They are still in jail because villagers tried to collect enough money (60 million Tshs) for the bail, but the amount collected was not enough. The men are still there. Villagers told me:

"The only fault of these guys was to give information and to report. Now, it is difficult for villagers will report to Askari when they see a dead animal in Enduimet, because of that. For sure, they will never touch the animal, they will change direction and run away!" – Tinga Tinga woman

The long-term consequence of this episode is that villagers fear rangers even more, while rangers lost an irreplaceable ally in the fight to conserve wildlife. I asked the WMA ranger whether he knew the story, and he said that the two guys were not innocent. They killed the animals to remove the tusks and trade them. They were soon warned by an informer and rangers managed to get there on time and catch them. He assured me they had a lawyer and hearings with the judge who confirmed their sentence. The story is controversial, nonetheless, it is informative on the relationship between villagers, the WMA, and wildlife.

Although villagers are victims of this stigma, the truth is that the general trend of violations committed by villagers is reducing, as was confirmed by both rangers and the WMA manager (code: "trend in villagers' violations_stable or reducing"). The exception has to be made for the years of the pandemic when patrolling units dropped and few crimes and violations suddenly increased. Violations of WMA dispositions are constantly reducing thanks to awareness campaigns, while poaching and other crimes are reduced thanks to the presence of rangers patrolling the area.

Another form of stigmatization I found was labeled in my codes as "villagers do not know". I gathered some interview extracts by WMA officers, who addressed villagers as ignorant on different occasions: *villagers make wrongful claims when they have a dispute with investors because they do not the location of investors' land, or villagers do not know about the value of wildlife, and this is why they do not care about conservation*, as it was said by a WMA ranger about villagers of Longido (who are not part of the WMA and therefore they still haven't been educated on the importance of wildlife).

It was mentioned how all WMA officers agree that violations of WMA dispositions are constantly reducing. Nonetheless, this type of anti-community narrative rules. On the other hand, looking at the discourse of villagers, they appear very environment conscious and aware They are so conscious that it becomes dysfunctional. Not only villagers cherish the presence of the WMA because:

 "*if the areas belonged to us, villagers could cultivate but that would become dry, with no trees". Irkaswaa Village Councilor*

Rather than environmental awareness, villagers appeared to be victims of a stigmatization campaign*. They associate their presence with total environmental destruction up to the point they legitimize to loss of sovereignty over their land.* This was said by a village councilor from the village where the community spontaneously started a successful tree nursery and reforestation project! This is one of the expressions of the double standard inherent to conservation. From my position and given my background, my immediate interpretation of such a piece of information was to be in front of an impactful, although unsubstantiated double standard: in Western countries, national parks and policy of conservation were chosen, after reflecting on their necessity. Conversely, Enduimet was imposed on villagers after they were convinced by external actors that their impact on the environment was

358

so big, that they had to accept the creation of the WMA, or their survival would have been at stake.

Alongside this, it has to be reported the heart-breaking testimony from a former charcoal maker, about the physical punishment she received:

"We blame ourselves alone [for the beating] because the problem was the stomach, we were hungry and did something bad for the environment. We faced askari punishments because we were not aware that we were destroying the environment. But we needed to make charcoal to buy food, we were hungry." – *Tinga Tinga female*

This kind of statement made me think- an external observer from a Western country this woman was brainwashed. It also highlights a double standard between the global North and global South, when it comes to conservation and climate action: not only in most of the communities of a Western Country you would not find this level of remorse for an action that is harmful to the environment; but surely, nobody sane would never justify the use of violence against them, because they deserve it for harming the environment (a harmful but reversible action against the environment). Furthermore, in the Global North human life and human security would never be outweighed by wildlife, and we do not experience direct limitations to our lifestyles to be compliant with Sustainability Goals, as it is instead experienced by the Enduiment community, which has been made compliant with several restrictions. After listening to the lady's testimony, I long wondered what was said to villagers during these awareness campaigns to make them arrive at such dysfunctional conclusions. This can be supportive of the argument that the WMA is not free from the anti-community narrative: villagers do not feel part of a solution, but they feel the cause of the problem.

Another employment of anti-community narrative can be used to legitimize the ongoing expansion of protected areas, in the area investigated. Kilimanjaro NP extended the borders and in this regard, a villager said:

"In our opinion, this situation is caused by the President. After visiting the areas around Mount Kilimanjaro and witnessing environmental degradation, like tree cutting, it was given the order that all people around Mount Kilimanjaro shouldn't be protected and that KINAPA should take that land." – *Irkaswaa Pastoralist*

The community in Longido started to fight against the decision to transform Longido GCA into a WMA. All these decisions to expand protected areas are underpinned by the conviction that local communities can do no good to wild animals and natural ecosystems. Their demographic pressure and the charge of "over-grazing" are always identified as detrimental to the environment by conservation institutions. Community demographic growth and community environmental degradation are evergreen in the conservation narrative. I found this very same narrative in a couple of newspaper articles I collected during my stay. I coded this element of the conservation narrative as "ongoing community degradation_legitimizes_ongoing NP expansion":

Figure 8.4.4. Source: Edward Qorro (2023) Calrion call to save Mt Kili. Daily News, February 22, 2023

Figure 8.4.4

The anti-community narrative is already visible in the title headline, and reading the first lines is enough to understand that what Kilimanjaro Mountain has to be saved from, is the local community. What is even more remarkable about this narrative, is found at the beginning of the second paragraph: 'An Assistant Conservation Commissioner […] attributed firewood harvesting and charcoal production […] to the alleged ice cap disappearing'. In other words, this KINAPA Officer speaks to the media identifying causality between local activities

(community's use of the land) to the melting of the glacier of Kilimanjaro, ignoring what the widest part of the scientific community agrees on, and contradicting what is possible to read later in the same article, namely that 'Kilimanjaro's ice cap […] could melt by 2050 due to climate change'. Given this media representation, it is possible to understand the narrative framework in which both the public debate and the institutions work: communities are the problem, and their uses of the land are causing environmental degradation and even melting glaciers.

Figure 8.4.5 Source: Beatrice Philemon (2022) Morogoro curbs livestock grazing in forests. The Guardian, 28 November 2022

Figure 8.4.5

In this article, the issue is caused by pastoralists and livestock keepers, who will see their access to forests limited. In this article, there is no mention of an evidence-based hypothesis of environmental degradation as caused by local livestock keepers, usually overgrazing and deforestation caused by community use are priorly assumed as the problems to be solved, by denying access to locals.

What this type of narrative ignores, is that respondents identify the local culture as a friend to wild animals, especially Maasai culture (code: "local culture_friendly to conservation"). They are not hunters, and they are well used to sharing the vastity of Tanzania and Kenya pasturelands with the big herbivores and

the predators of the Savannah. Other villagers acknowledge their active role in protecting animals. Respondents have said:

"As villagers, we are very good to animals; we are one family with the wild animals since we are the ones who protect them from injuries, poaching, whatever" – Irkaswaa farmer

"We have been wondering why KINAPA expanded into our land. How so? we are good to wild animals; we do not hunt them. I want to add that Maasai people are not bad to wild animals, we can live together as we always did." – Irkaswaa pastoralist

Regarding the identification of local communities with wild animals, the remarkable is that the Kiswahili word for wildlife is literally "*cattle of the bush*" *(nyamapori or wanyamapori, plural)*. The etymology of the word suggests that for the local culture, there is not much difference between domestic and wild animals, which implies that coexistence is welcome.

Nonetheless, the conservation sector in the context of Tanzania suffers from this anti-community narrative. Within the discourse adopted by local institutional actors, as well as in the narrative of the media, communities are preconceived as the problem. This usually produces as a result very short-sighted measures that hinder villagers from accessing the communal areas near their villages, while supporting the expansion of protected areas; ignoring that the global causes of climate change and desertification are carbon emissions of the productive system of the Global North, and allowing the Global North productive system to continue to pollute, because forests and biodiversity are conserved somewhere else, through a process of de4localization of environmental externalities, according to which, the limitations and the sacrifices associated to climate action are dislocated somewhere else. Instead, the cost and the responsibility of wildlife conservation belong to the whole world (code: "the whole world is responsible for wildlife"), and all human groups should equally bear those costs, even if today, that burden is entirely borne by local communities such as Enduimet community:

"You know, I think the main weakness, something we should still work on, is that it is not like someone is responsible for an elephant. The whole world has the responsibility to make sure that the people who are directly protecting wildlife, in

case they are getting losses, have access to full compensation, and that they see that the cost of protecting wildlife is balanced, but today, it is not"- EWMA Manager

Interestingly, the responsibility and costs for conservation are dislocated somewhere where community rights are very weak. This is a colonial state of things, in which conservation is a lion to weak communities, and a lamb before the Northern productive system because it is from those very productive systems, that stem the millions of dollars that philanthropists channel into conservation institutions.

Another "brazen double standard"[81] that is perpetrated at the global scale in the fight against climate change, was pointed out by the President of Uganda Yoweri Museveni following the COP27 Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC in November 2022. Earlier that year, the European parliament passed an emergency resolution demanding Uganda and Tanzania to interrupt the construction of a crude oil pipeline that passes on a 1,445-km journey from the oil wells in western Uganda to the Tanzanian seaport of Tanga, saying it threatens the sensitive ecosystem. To this, the Ugandan President reacted by pointing out the hypocrisy and answered that Europe is applying a "brazen double standard"[82] towards Africa in its climate and energy policies. Not only Africa accounts for only 4 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions[83], but their population is the most affected by climate change. Furthermore, countries such as Tanzania and Uganda widely rely on renewable energy, such as hydroelectric. More importantly, across the Adriatic Sea, Italy, Greece, and Turkey just recently built the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline.

The President of Uganda in this regard said his country "will not accept one rule for them and another rule for us"[84], especially since developed countries failed to meet their financial commitment to contribute to Africa's green energy transition. The continent "is confronted with a decision to make on whether to get their people out of poverty through industrialization, which is also a problem to the environment,

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[81] Xinhua Agency correspondent (November, 27th 2022). Retrived at http://www.china.org.cn/world/Off_the_Wire/2022-11/27/content_78539697.htm (November 2023)

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid

[84] Ibid.

or resort to eco-friendly means of production which are extremely expensive"[85] said the Ugandan President.

Other expressions of double standard were observed, one was addressing the elephant in the room at Enduimet, scale:

"I had trouble when I was trying to access WMA. I noticed that tourists did not have any problem, but if a regular villager would try to get inside, askari would ask the villagers many questions: 'Where are you going? What do you do here?'. For me that is our challenge: you need permission and justify why you need to enter our land...I do not feel comfortable. For instance, we cannot enter to just see the animals…you either have to be there with your livestock, or with a ranger, otherwise, you are not allowed "– Irkaswaa farmer

The space of the WMA has become a space for tourists, not villagers, or at least this is perceived by villagers. Despite all the community-based, participatory, and democratic rhetoric, at the end of the day, the WMA has become the space for the enjoyment of someone else, someone external (code: "double standard in WMA access").

It was previously mentioned that a one-sided narrative of tourism was presented to villagers when they were disclosed the opportunity of joining a WMA and developing profitable tourism activities. After hearing about how environmentally conscious villagers are, I reckoned that some kind of sustainability strategy/policy had to be in place in Enduimet about tourism since tourism is a highly impactful sector. I was wrong. Talking to the Tourism officer of the WMA, he shared with me that there is no strategy in this direction currently. There is just a plan to involve recycling companies in the collection and recycling of lodges and villages' waste, but at this very right moment, there is no such thing. The immense amount of waste produced by Enduimet lodges is currently burned in the village's commercial areas.

Furthermore, it has been noted that both villagers and WMA officers, when they talk about how tourism investors should contribute to community development, usually refer to the implementation of development projects, often through investors' philanthropy organizations. They do not speak about taxes (code:

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[85] Ibid

"community development projects, instead of revenues"). It seems that this kind of system is quite rooted in people's narratives. The great profits of investors are legitimate (and direct taxes are perceived as something unfair, that undermines the rightful profits of investors), and as long as they build a school or pay for seasonal food aid, they are contributing to the community. This kind of developmental mentality is what jeopardizes the chances of communities like the one in Enduimet, to self-determinate their future, through taxes. Taxes-funded services are public, therefore owned by villagers. Philanthropists' projects are not.

The payment of land concessions directly to villages on behalf of licensed hunters in open areas has been identified as problematic by the WMA officer, because in open areas (areas not under specific protection arrangements, but where hunting is permitted) hunting blocks overlap with village lands, and the ultimate authority over these lands remain in the President, although formally being village lands:

"[Hunting tourism investors] do not have to pay land concession. Because if you are in an open area, the investor better contributes through community development [projects], [it is] more fruitful because you know that all the land is owned by the President. Especially on open areas, despite they are located within villages, [it is the government who] owns that land…So the Village just [benefit from] community development projects."- EWMA Tourism Officer

When I asked about the taxes that an investor who built a hotel in Tinga Tinga village was paying to the village government I was told:

"We do not need anything from Anita [the owner of the hotel in Tinga Tinga village], we don't care about how much profit Anita is making, we only care that the children are now in school. Anita built the English school and villagers only had to pay for the books, she also brought another white man who built the ambulatory "– Tinga Tinga pastoralists

The dominant narrative of conservation and ecotourism is not only reiterated by institutions at the local level (represented by WMA officers) and in the media (which are indicative of the debate at a higher level national and international) but has resulted highly and controversially absorbed by villagers in their thinking about environment and their impact on it. The rhetoric advanced is the one where villagers are responsible for degrading the environment and the only solution found is the

expansion of protected areas and the transformation (and limitations) of all their habits and practices, even though it often results in a prior, unsubstantiated assumption, advanced both at the level of Enduimet case study, both in the national news.

Furthermore, tourism keeps on being presented as the only profitable activity, even if no reflections have been advanced not only on how to make tourism more environmentally sound but also on how tourism investors should contribute to local communities, through taxes and levies, although this can only happen favorably for villagers if overlapping disposition in land regulation is addressed (open areas and hunting block located in village lands). In this regard, the developmental narrative comes in handy, because it sugar-coats the fact that philanthropy organizations are funded with money that does not go into taxes. Levies paid to village governments empower villagers, giving them the means to plan and own the provision of services. Development projects depend on external resources, external know-how, and external will. They do not empower communities, they may meet a service demand, although they make local communities dependent.

This conclusion allows us to proceed to the next Theme, which addresses an analysis of the benefits of the WMA for villagers.

Theme 14: Failure of the main WMA objective: limited benefits of the WMA do not cover the costs of wildlife conservation, and institutional marginalization of the community regarding human-wildlife conflicts

Villagers associate benefits to the WMA (revenues for the village governments, scholarship programs, tender, and employment opportunities), although many shortcomings and challenges undermine the enjoyment of such benefits. The most affected appears to be the protection of villagers from wildlife. The cost of living with wildlife remains unbalanced because of the failure of the compensation/consolation mechanisms and poor WMA touristic performance, while wildlife damage to crops, livestock, and infrastructure occurs daily. Compensation is a key action in the compromise that villagers (especially Maasai) accept to change their behaviors (i.e. cutting trees for building materials or the cultural practice of the Moran revenge hunting). Therefore, it can be observed the

failure of the compromise that led villagers to accept to become part of Enduimet. Consequently, episodes of escalation of violence against wildlife and the rangers that are there to protect it may occur. Against this backdrop, villagers feel a lack of support and a lack of institutional dialogue. Total codes: 55, total references: 318.

The very foundational compromise that had the WMA accepted by villagers is now coming less: the WMA is redistributing very small revenues, very late; it employs a very small number of rangers, and the area is insecure; villagers have conflicts with wild animals daily, and they struggle to receive minimum compensation. This theme is dominant in terms of the number of codes and references gathered in it, and it is central to answer RQ1 since it addresses what are the shortcomings of the enjoyment of benefits of the community-based scheme.

Many testimonies revolved around the type of benefits that are associated with the WMA (code: "wide array of benefits by WMA"): firstly, it is a source of employment. *Respondents said the great majority of employees are villagers. In the past, human capital was more of a problem to fill WMA roles; now the problem relates to budget, the WMA is experiencing budget shortages and because of that is not able to fill positions, this was shared with me by the WMA Manager. Moreover, the WMA left many of its employees, especially rangers, at home. This upset villagers greatly, they confessed, because it means that the employment capacity of WMA has been reduced, as well as the patrolling capacity.* However, most of the employees are from local villages:

"*I think 80 or 90% of Enduimet staff is made of villagers. Villagers usually fit the requirements, almost all the officers in Enduimet are from the 11 villages indeed: there is one from Ol'molog, the accountant is from Lerangwa, and the tourist officer is from Kamwanga. then there are rangers, they are from the villages here. No more than three or five people in total are outsiders in Enduimet staff". – Tinga Tinga Village Councilor*

Enduimet pays for scholarships, covering education fees for the poorest students in the village, especially to cover secondary education. WMA represents an employment opportunity for villagers, especially to be trained and employed as Village Game Scouts. Such opportunities are open to women and Enduimet management is committed to balancing genders among its employees.

However, villagers complained that WMA funds for scholarships were effective in the past, but now they have been interrupted, and one villager pointed out that this type of benefit can only be intercepted by the poorest households in the village, in this sense, the WMA is perceived as benefitting only a small part of the population. Furthermore, *the WMA always put on the village notice board some tenders, which translates into labor opportunities. Although casual, villagers addressed these opportunities as well-paid.*

Enduimet contributed to the building of the dispensary and a few water taps in Irkaswaa village and it also developed demo plots and trainings to improve livestock and pasture management practices. These trainings appear as *highly valued opportunities for villages* because they can directly improve livelihood practices while enhancing sustainable use of resources (for example through paddocking and pasturelands management workshops). *Usually, these trainings and projects are addressed to groups, rather than individual villager*s. This stimulates the networks and bonds inside the community and allows resources and know-how to spread easily. For instance, villagers said that the WMA directly supported (with funds or other resources) beehive groups, goat groups, and sunflower cultivation groups (code: "WMA contributes through group-based action"). I further observed that it was more common that female respondents were part of a groups, rather than male respondents. In this sense, this action of Enduimet has an empowering consequence specifically for women villagers. As this woman, whose goats' group was supported by Enduimet said:

"The goats Enduimet gave us are very, very useful. We use milk as a medicine for diabetic people and stomach ulcers. The milk is very important to us. It is like a triple advantage for us to be given those goats, because they are a source of income, of food and medicine for us" – Irkaswaa woman

Furthermore, *the WMA is an institutional interlocutor* that has greater resources, hence greater scope, than individual village government, and that *allows international donors to finance projects locally. Irkaswaa village leaders complained about the scarcity of projects, although few were mentioned. Tinga Tinga villagers involved in Olpopongi tourism projects spoke out more enthusiastically about the positive impacts of these projects* (code: WMA_ brings donors_who bring development projects" and "community_complains_ lack of development projects").

"Recently, the WMA have been teaching Maasai about land uses: and how to reduce pressure on soils; we took field classes on how to re-plant grass in pasturelands. Now there is a project about how to economize land uses and the growth of grass by paddocking, which is a land management technique. The project is brought to us through EWMA supported by WWF. The organization is doing its very best, they visited the assembly, not just one villager, they reached many people with this training. It is working." – Olpopongi Owner and Guide

In addition, Enduimet attracts tourists, who generate revenues for the WMA who redistribute half of them to the bank accounts of member villages. *Employment opportunities in tourism are extremely limited, as acknowledged by villagers and by the Enduimet Manager. Working in lodges is an opportunity unavailable to villagers because they do not have the know-how for hospitality work.* It has to be remembered that lodges for safari tourism are most commonly high-end tourism facilities, that require a certain hospitality service. In this regard, the Enduimet tourism officer revealed that sometimes *Enduimet covers specific hospitality-related training or education, in other occasions, it notifies such opportunities to villagers so that they can plan their education according to the opportunities locally available* (code:" funded education to cover positions in hospitality"). Moreover, *English is a barrier when it comes to opportunities to work in tourism*. Working in lodges or as tourist' guides rangers (the Ranger Units that work at Enduimet gates and bring tourists around during their visits) is very difficult because villagers seldom speak English as well.

Other benefits that villagers associate with the WMA are environmental protection and security. The WMA also contributed to the reforestation group in Irkaswaa, together with KINAPA; by donating a few water tanks and it also started a reforestation campaign in member villages, supported by WWF. *Rangers of Enduimet are particularly performing, compared to the staff of other WMAs, it was shared with me by one of the WMA rangers and I collected several testimonies that said the rangers are doing a good job patrolling the area*, which is vast and cars are not many. *The WMAs also distributed big torches and chili bombs to protect humans and properties from animals, as well as metallic fences for predator-proof bomas*. Lastly, *the WMA contributed to the expenses of a few burial ceremonies after villagers were killed by wild animals*.

However, many shortcomings affect the beneficial contribution of Enduimet, even if *few participants agreed that if villagers are going to keep supporting Enduimet and its mission, Enduimet will be able to improve in the future. A common topic in villagers' interviews was that Enduimet used to be good, but it is now less good than in the past. Revenues that villages receive today are not even comparable to revenues of the first years of Enduimet*. One possible cause is the pandemic that paralyzed international tourism for a long time, even if villagers seem to refer to a more generalized trend, and figures on Enduimet revenues as reported in paragraph 2.8 support such a claim. *More importantly, what seems to be deceiving is the mechanism of compensation/consolation. According to the WMA manager, the central government should increase its efforts and resources for local communities living next and protecting wildlife*. The WMA's primary objective, according to Enduimet's manager is to balance the costs of living next and protecting wildlife, but, as he admitted, the primary goal of the WMA remains unmet:

"The Wildlife Division and the Ministry normally have what we call a 'consolation fund', for crops raids and predation. But it is very little, and it can take up to three years to get a little consolation. This mechanism is insufficient to make people say: 'We can sustain the cost of living with wildlife'. That cannot convince you to bear the cost of living with wildlife" EWMA Manager

"Rangers will come and write the report, tell us they will come to pay the loss of the crops, but they never do "– Tinga Tinga farmer

From the perspective of villagers, the funds made available for compensation are not enough, the process to access them is too long, the money is delayed, it is hard to keep the government accountable and villagers joined a delegation to be heard on the matter from the Regional Commissioner, unsuccessfully (see Theme 11).

Furthermore, *the design of compensation policy is quite unfriendly to local villagers* (code: ineffective compensation policy"). For instance, *as revealed by the WMA manager, if the damage occurs 500 meters from the conservation area, there is no consolation even if farms were damaged (because of the disposition of the 500-meter buffer zone around WMA borders). The same in case livestock is predated inside a National Park because access is not allowed to cattle in the National Park*s.

As an autonomous initiative, *Enduimet set up a consolation fund for livestock predation, specifically, for Lions predations*. If it is not a lion (and rangers and WMA officers are called for investigation) who killed your livestock, *you will not access consolation*. Unfortunately, it was revealed to me by villagers, that lions are not common predators of cattle. It is more common that this occurs with Hyenas, but the fund does not cover that. In addition, it was shared with me that this fund does not receive money taken from half of the revenues that the WMA intercepts to run its operations, but it is funded with villages' revenues. Villages are demanded to send back to the WMA a share of the revenues they received, to sustain this "Defend a Lion" or "Akwa Simba" fund. *It was established purposely to stop Maasai soldiers from revenging their livestock and killing the Lion, which still is a minor occurrence compared to other wildlife damages* (elephants and buffalos are more deadly than predators to humans and hold greater destructive potential in farms and villages' infrastructure; for what concern the predation of livestock, other predators such as Hyenas are more commonly coming near settlements). An elder even told me that traditional compensation mechanisms were working better than the modern ones:

"When a person murdered someone else, the perpetrator had to pay 49 cows. Or if you were caught stealing your neighbor's cattle you had to pay five of them, even if you stole only one but now, if one lion comes and eats your cattle or destroys your crops, you will only be paid 500.000 Tsh. [But first, they have to] come and take a picture, but no person in this village had ever been compensated by Enduimet. Compensation according to traditional mechanisms was better than Enduimet compensation" – Irkaswaa farmer

Another extreme consequence of the shortcomings in rescue intervention and compensation is that *villagers resign: they do not report to the authorities when something happens, and they do not even start the application for consolation.*

Despite rangers being acknowledged for putting effort and obtaining results in terms of effective patrolling*, security from wild animals is not achieved in villagers' view. They cannot injure an animal in self-defense, and they say that they lack education on how to best protect themselves on those occasions. Furthermore, villagers need to know exactly how to use chili bombs which can be quite dangerous if misused, but villagers reported a lack of training about that as well. Furthermore, security toolkits (big torches and chili bombs) distributed to villages are not enough*

compared to the necessities, and those are expensive toolkits to be purchased by the village government. In addition, a few villagers reported that they were mis-distributed. One respondent told me that villagers living in the center of the village have the chili bombs, while he did not and his farm was on the outskirts of the village, very near to the WMA border.

Several testimonies were collected about the delay in the intervention of rangers when an animal approached the household or destroyed the farms. It was already mentioned how it is common that rangers never follow up on consolation, and eventually villagers perceive security as a huge, unsolved problem.

"In 2020, we lost two children. But the WMA did nothing. WMA is only concerned with the animals. Another good example is when one month ago, a kid was almost kicked by a buffalo. The WMA replied they did not have to intervene nor give consolation because the kid was not dead, he was only injured. They did not even vis the kid while he was at the hospital" – Irkaswaa Pastoralist

"Animals damage our crops, but Enduimet is not able to prevent it or solve it. Patrolling is not sufficient. When you call the rangers, they usually come late." – Tinga Tinga farmer

Nonetheless*, villagers have shown in the past years a dramatic transformation of their behaviors*, and of their environment and resources rationality, to accommodate Enduimet measures of conservation (code: "trend of villagers violations_reducing"), which was associated with the promise of compensation. *Villagers are more and more aware of how to reduce their impacts on the environment and on wildlife* (code:" villagers aware of their impact and willing to counter it"), and Maasai soldiers agreed to sacrifice a staple cultural practice for the sake of wildlife, even though mixed feelings are associated to that by Maasai villagers:

"When Enduimet started, the community was not understood, it seemed WMA wanted that land for animals. But today we are ok. One of the challenges was that for Enduimet was to understand the tradition of the Maasai because Maasai usually graze the livestock and collect firewood in the same places where wild animals are… it took a long time for Enduimet to understand the villagers that…Maasai would revenge on their livestock, by making up for it and killing the lion. To avoid that, the WMA and the community sit together and agree on the

institution of a fund, to compensate for livestock loss and avoid Maasai's revenge."
– Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"Compensation is a good deal for Maasai. They accept not to revenge on the predators who predated their livestock, so in this sense awareness on how to protect wild animals is working" – WMA Ranger

It was also noted by villagers and by WMA rangers that wildlife presence has increased compared to decades ago, thanks to the extension of protected areas that intensified around the '90s and '00s. For instance, a woman from Irkaswaa told me when she was a kid (in the 80s) there were no giraffes in the village, which are a common presence today instead. This means that protected areas are closer and closer to human settlements, which is causing an increase in conflicts between humans and wildlife. However, recent years have been heavily affected by drought which in turn affects wildlife presence. WMA rangers conduct surveys and inspections, often together with TANAPA and Kenyan officers to survey the whole Amboseli-Kilimanjaro Ecosystem. In the few months that preceded my field investigation, a WMA ranger told me that at least 500 animals died due to drought in Enduimet.

However, the long-term trend is that wildlife is more present in the villages investigated compared to the past, and residents report that clashes with wildlife are occurring daily. This has a highly dysfunctional impact on the local community. For instance, elephants are particularly dangerous: they are very smart and not easy to scare, which means that if a chili bomb is used against them in a specific area of the village, in a few days the elephant will be back from another area of the village and villagers will have the same problem, just with a higher chance of running out of chili bombs. *Furthermore, due to drought, animals are struggling to find water inside the Parks, so they come to the villages where they destroy all water infrastructures*. This was told to me about Tembo (elephants), villagers fix the infrastructure, but elephants will come again soon and destroy water points. Furthermore, wild animals directly contribute to exacerbating food insecurity, due to crop raids that occur almost daily. Villagers said that drought is already compromising their harvest, a very small amount of what they plant managed to achieve ripening but when it does, animals come and eat it. *Villagers are desperate, they do not know how to harvest maize anymore. The strategy that they started adopting, is to harvest before full maturation*. This means the nutritional value and

the market value of those food crops are reduced, resulting in exacerbated food insecurity. This is another expression of a "brazen" double standard, between Global North and Global South communities: in a developed country, wildlife-caused or -exacerbated food insecurity of residents would be completely unthinkable.

All that results in moments when violence can escalate quickly between the villager, the animal, and WMA enforcers that arrive to protect the animal, as said to me by the WMA ranger:

"An elephant killed a person near Longido, they called WMA and we rushed there to secure the area, we had to calm the people down... because some people in Longido do not know yet about the importance of having the wildlife near them. They were very pissed; we calmed the family and brought the body to the mortuary. I can give you another example, an elephant killed a villager and the DC game officer [DGO] joined to avoid escalation of violence: we needed to separate people from the animal first, people can become very violent against the animal who killed their family member. So, the [district] game officer joined us to calm people down and protect the animal. Another example, last year in December, there was a problem that occurred in Longido, a man met a group of elephants at night and got killed. Luckily, the district officer was very close to there, and WMA rangers also arrived there shortly after. We had to keep people away. We took the body to the mortuary. On another occasion, a lion attacked five cows. After that, Moran wanted to kill the lion and give Maasai elders the lion's head. The DGO and a quarter of the leaders from the whole district came there to calm down the situation, convincing the Moran to accept the money instead of revenge. We warned him that we could arrest him…but you see when there is no cooperation from the villagers- like when they insist that they want to kill the lion-, then we have to use force. It means we shoot, and we arrest them. We shoot in the sky, maybe we attack some. We identify the notorious, the leaders of the rioting… and if they're 100 and we are 20, we catch the notorious one, and we arrest them for a while. In those groups, there must be a leader [that is what we target], so to reduce violence we arrest the leaders of the group, and we usually obtain cooperation from the rest" -EWMA Ranger

Against this backdrop, villagers feel their expectations from Enduimet were unmet, especially security and compensation expectations. Therefore, *their*

relationship with the WMA was often depicted in interviews as undermined by fear and lack of trust.

Theme 15: The tourism model is centered on pristine landscapes, and lodges and tour operators fail to involve and benefit the community truly and increase the risk of culture banalization, but villagers are willing to participate more.

Tourism is the main tool for the community to benefit from the WMA, but multiple challenges affect these benefits (poor tourism performance). It has been also observed that touristic activities of the WMA are not participated by the community (both in terms of benefits and decisions). WMA management officers said that investors and the central government of the tourism system do not redistribute enough to the village level, compared to how much they benefit from it. The tourism model of Enduimet and other National Parks in the Northern Safari Circuit is excessively centered around tour operators and lodges, as it has been directly observed. This reduces revenues for protected areas and their staff, channeling tourism revenues towards investors. Since tour guides in Enduimet cultural bomas tours are predominantly outsiders (not villagers) this poses also a high risk of banalization of local culture. Against this backdrop, villagers showed interest, proactivity, and consciousness regarding tourism activities on their lands, in which they wished to participate directly. Furthermore, an important contribution of Enduimet to the tourist identity of the area is acknowledged by villagers. Enduimet helps preserve and diffuse the imaginary landscape of the foothills and slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro to the world, even though Enduimet villagers do not see themselves as tourists with the chance of enjoyment. The imaginary landscape of the Northern Safari Circuit and Enduimet in particular does not include the community, it is rather pristine and characterized by wilderness (villagers and livestock are not allowed near the hospitality facilities since they would ruin the scenery). This reduces the opportunity for the development of a truly community-based tourism/ cultural tourism component.

The WMA is struggling to acquire new visitors, and this undermines the capacity of tourism to benefit villagers. *This occurs partly due to the pandemic, partly because- as confirmed by the tourism officer, community-based tourism is not widely promoted by the Tanzania Tourism Board* (TTB, the national agency for

touristic promotion of Tanzania inside and outside the country), *which should put greater effort in promoting WMAs and strengthening local tourism demand*. This is also part of the TTB strategy, as it was possible to read in the news[86], even though in the article about the upcoming initiatives of TTB to promote the tourism sector of Tanzania, no mention was made of community-based tourism (. Researching through the various tabs on the TTB website, there was no sign of information about WMAs that could appear in the research results to a hypothetical tourist.

Observing testimonies that commented on border implications of the tourism system, b*oth villagers and WMA management agreed that a greater share of tourism revenues generated by investors and intercepted by the central government should be redistributed back to the WMA and that investors should contribute more to the community through development projects*

Another systematic challenge of the tourism model of Enduimet is that it appears excessively lodge – or tour-operator-based, with negative consequences on Enduimet revenues and possible cultural exploitation. As it was confirmed in the interviews with tourism officers and rangers, a small number of tourism activities necessarily require the presence of WMA staff or joint planning with the WMA. The visit to the cultural bomas or game viewing can be conducted without Enduimet staff. Cycling instead requires a ranger. *As it was reported by the WMA officer, it most commonly occurs that visitors rely on their tour operators to set and assist in the visit to Enduimet, alternatively, every tourism experience can be planned at the lodge, with the support of the tourist guide that usually accompanies tourists from the moment they land up to their take-off*. This kind of arrangement of the tourist experience in the WMA means that Enduimet staff and Enduimet tourism facilities, such as the campsites, are hardly requested, which translates into smaller revenues for the WMA itself. Tourist guides, furthermore, usually come from the urban centers of Arusha (or Moshi). The premium that a tourism experience in Enduimet can offer, is that local villagers accompany tourists around, and explain about local culture and livelihoods. However, this arrangement comes less when the visit is organized with an external tour guide and tour operator. This can become problematic especially about cultural tourism, because an external person can only explain local culture from the outside, with greater risks for banalization.

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[86] Mwalongo, 2023

I found confirmation of that, during my visit to Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village. Olpopongi is a small boma inside the village of Tinga Tinga, with additional hospitality facilities (rooms and toilets resemble mud huts typical of the Maasai boma, with additional comforts such as electricity or running water), typical mud huts to educate tourists on Maasai's lifestyle; and a museum, where a Maasai tour guides narrate the story and the main traditions of the group. The museum hosts artifacts personally donated by other Maasai villagers, which means that the museum is made by villagers.

The theme of the banalization of Maasai culture emerges and this museum aims to bring tourists in touch with Maasai culture, possibly debunking some common beliefs,

"For tourists to learn about Maasai, not just seeing the Maasai" – Olpopongi owner and guide

The idea came to a European investor, but the business is owned by three villagers of Tinga Tinga of Maasai origin. The whole visit, and the reasoning for the presence of Olpopongi, revolves around the necessity to debunk legends and misconceptions around Maasai culture, which are commonly reiterated during standard cultural visits:

"It is very nice for us because books often tell something not true about Massai, for example, the killing of the lion. Here you can find the true Maasai history. It is important because it reminds us of our culture, we go through our history when we tell people about it. People from outside don't know really about Maasai, and here they can learn about it. We feel proud when people come here to visit when we are teaching outsiders about our culture. I like to revise and see my history and bring the good memories back, it helps me to know and remember Maasai cultural norms, and this way I do not forget. Maasai history is my favorite part to share with tourists. Our norms are respected also outside our group– i.e. if there is a problem of wildlife-Maasai conflict, the government and also the village government would talk with our elders and traditional leaders ".– Olpopongi Performer and guide

As it is possible to read on Olpopongi business card, the main feature of this experience to be promoted is authenticity:

Figure 8.4.6 Olpopongi Maasai Cultural Village Card. Source: of the Author
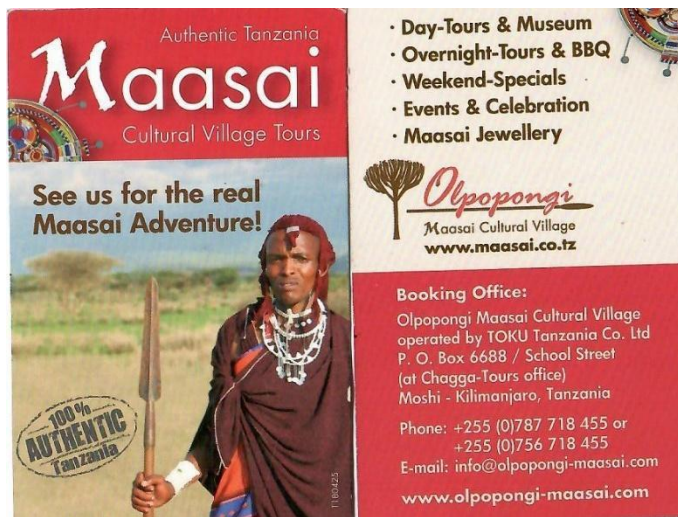
Figure 8.4.6.

Two additional observations come to support what I observed in Enduimet. When I was visiting Tarangire National Park (one of the main attractions of the Northern Safari Circuit), I slept at the public campsite. My friends and I brought our camping gear and our food, and at the campsite, we found two members of Tarangire staff (just regular villagers, not TANAPA rangers). They were there to protect and maintain the campsite, and they assisted tourists in the cooking, camp setting, or fire making. I had a brief conversation with one of them. *He told me that in the last few years, the lodges inside the park multiplied and that as a result, public camping facilities were less and less demanded by tourists. The camps went idle for quite a long time, posing a direct threat to his source of employment*.

Furthermore, at the gate of Tarangire National Park, we organized a night game drive directly with TANAPA staff. Alternatively, every lodge in the park can organize night game drives with its private staff. This means less revenue for the park authority. TANAPA Rangers were very happy that we settled the night game drive with them, they confessed it had not happened for a long time. When I associated this episode with what I was observing in Enduimet, I concluded that this tour-operator-oriented model should be corrected, because it reduces employment opportunities for villagers, concentrating them among urban, more educated, residents, and concentrating profits in powerful investors, rather than in public agencies. In this sense, public revenues are threatened, potentially reducing the resources that the Ministry has at its disposal to make improvements to the community-based tourism system.

Another piece of information that could be interpreted from this same perspective, is the fact that the *Enduimet-owned lodge has run unfinished since 2006. When Enduimet terminated the budget to complete the construction, it tried to search for a venture partner but never succeeded, while other lodges were built all around Enduimet. When asked, it was confirmed to me that the proceedings of the lodge shall be shared between the WMA and the private investor because the owner of the lodge would be the WMA, this likely hindered the identification of a private investor willing to share proceeding with the WMA. Political representatives had to intervene to identify a suitable investor for Enduimet Lodge. This, at least, is the commitment from a Kenyan MP and Longido MP to Enduimet WMA*. Furthermore, Irkaswaa villagers told me they got excited about a tender from Enduimet, that required many villagers to work at the construction of a hotel, in an area called Nambopo. This happened more than 15 years ago. The project was never realized.

To understand the extent of villagers' participation and awareness around tourism visits in Enduimet, I showed participants the promotional material from Enduimet to record their reactions. I had a map that Enduimet realized many years ago, with examples of the activities that were possible to do in Enduimet, together with an explanation of the main attractions. I showed the map, as well as pictures of the tourist information at the Enduimet gates. It was a moment of the research that required villagers' active participation and it was rewarding for me because villagers seemed happy to participate. The material, exclusively in English, reported the story of Kilimanjaro, the lifestyles of the farming and pastoralist community, traditional Maasai myths, and the activities that could be done in Enduimet. Unfortunately*, the majority of participants said they had never seen the material before, and that they had no clue of what tourists could do in Enduimet, other than a general" game viewing*". But in Enduimet, tourists can visit the cultural bomas, they can camp, go on hikes, do donkey rides safari and cycling tours. However, most of the respondents were not aware of that. I interpret this as a sign of scarce participation in and awareness of the tourism process in Enduimet. *Some other respondents, from Tinga Tinga village, told me that they recognized the pictures because they saw them at the gate, and only understood thanks to the drawings. Tinga Tinga village councilor pointed out how most of the residents cannot understand those documents in English, and that the council demanded Enduimet*

to translate them into Kiswahili for villagers to understand, but the WMA never did (code: "language inaccessibility of tourism material"). The touristic material in English is just another example of how the tourism process of Enduimet excludes, rather than includes villagers, reiterating an attitude that is perceived by villagers as shady, and non-transparent.

Nonetheless, most respondents affirmed they would be more than willing to participate more in tourism activities and planning. I asked them if, for example, they would like to work and propose personalized itineraries in Enduimet, and many of them got extremely excited: they know exactly where to find animals and their knowledge would help tourists achieve the best experience of Enduimet (code: "community willing to participate to tourism activities").:

"Villagers are the one who knows where to find the wild animals better than WMA. We could advise the tourists, like where to easily spot the animals because we know their routes."- Irkaswaa village councilor

Furthermore, regardless of age, ethnicity, or occupation, respondents said they welcome tourism development in their villages and told me that the whole community would be favorable, not just the youths. Thanks to Enduimet, now, every villager knows about the opportunities of tourism, and everyone wishes these opportunities to spread (code: "whole community favorable to tourism development").

In this regard, one of the rangers said that in his opinion, further tourism development is possible only if the central government commits to increasing public expenditure to locally develop all the required infrastructure to support tourism development in the area. Roads are in extremely poor condition in Enduimet, especially in the northern, remote, villages of Enduimet, like Irkaswaa. Speaking of which, early in my stay in Tanzania I noted a memo that I titled "The roads of value". Living in Northern Tanzania (in the city of Arusha)and visiting major National Parks of the Northern Safari Circuit, I immediately noted that the network of tarmac roads corresponds to the roads needed by tourists: tarmac roads go from the international airport to the very remote national parks, passing through major urban centers such as Arusha and Moshi; and outside that, roads to reach villages are always in very bad conditions and they are never tarmac roads. I titled my observations that way because I figured that the network of tarmac roads was an expression of which places are considered more valuable in the touristic region of the Northern Circuit.

The tourism officer highlighted the need to improve infrastructures and services for cycling in Enduimet villages (code: "need to improve cycling infrastructures") There are a lot of tourists that cycle in the area between Amboseli, Kilimanjaro, and Enduimet, also thanks a nice tarmac ring road that goes along the Kilimanjaro Mountain (although interrupted near the northern villages of Enduimet, such as Irkaswaa). The tourism officers suggested that villagers should be involved in services such as cycling gear renting and fixing and that more itineraries could be developed, so that tourists could spend days cycling around Kilimanjaro always visiting a different village, having a different view of Kilimanjaro peak.

Finally, regarding the decisional power of villagers (or the AA representatives) regarding tourism investors, the reader can refer to Theme 12; however, specifically regarding villagers participation, when I asked the tourism officer whether the WMA was facilitating the dialogue between villagers and WMA investors, he replied that there is no chance that investors are dealing with villagers, because everything has to be already regulated by the contract, at WMA HQ. He probably intended meetings between investors and villagers as destabilizing for the business owner, but by saying that there is no dialogue, he also confirmed how distant villagers and WMA investors are. *Villagers confirmed. They have no clue of what activities investors and tourists are conducting in Enduimet, and surely, they never had the chance to speak with any of the investors* (code: "no investors-villagers dialogue").

The presence of tourists in Enduimet can be a huge opportunity for development and employment, but most importantly, it contributes to diminishing the remoteness of these villages and increasing the scope of the experiences that villagers can have. As one participant said, many of her fellow villagers never spoke to a tourist (the villager said Mzungo, a white person in Kishawhil) but:

"Tourism helped us overcome our bias: in the past, we were highly wary of Wazungo [white people in Kishahili], we did not like to be close to them, but now, we have learned about them, and it is now a normal issue to see them in the village" – Tinga Tinga woman

"It makes me feel good, I meet different people every day, learn about different cultures, this way I get in touch with different ways that different people have to live their lives" – Olpopongi owner and guide

It is possible to conclude that the generalized lack of awareness and participation of villagers affects the tourism process of Enduimet. Tourism proceedings would require greater redistribution towards villagers, and Enduimet management should reinforce its position in the tourism model, which is worryingly following the same direction of the tourism model of National Parks: lodge and tour-operator oriented, with reduced margins for villagers to take advantage of tourism opportunities, despite being Enduimet a community-based tourism institution. Nonetheless, villagers always show proactivity and consciousness on the matter.

Moving on with the characteristics of tourism visits, Enduimet has huge tourist potential. This was observed during desk research when I was selecting the case study, but I received multiple confirmations about that, not only during my visits to the WMA but also through interviews:

"Enduimet has the best view of the African highest pick [Kilimanjaro]. Furthermore, in Enduimet you can find all the big five [the 5 iconic animals of the savannah: elephant, buffalo, lion, leopard, and rhino] except for rhinos. And also, in the Enduimet area you can walk all around on foot or by bike, which is not allowed in national parks, So that's the difference between us and the national parks" -. EWMA ranger

WMAs could bring up a revolution in safari and wildlife-based tourism, which is quite a boring activity because you spend a whole day (or multiple days) in a car. In WMAs, you are free to hike, and get close to animals, or, *as one day the WMA Manager told me, you – tourist- could find yourself helping WMA rangers to rescue a baby elephant from a mud pond*. What a magnificent and irreplaceable experience for an outsider, who could only imagine and dream of Kilimanjaro. These arrangements represent the additional value for WMAs to compete in the tourism market against the big national parks.

This made me conclude that, despite major shortcomings in the WMA tourism process, the presence of Enduimet is important not only to promote Enduimet as a destination, but potentially to build and reinforce the identity of that area. Once the identity of a place is reinforced in its residents' minds, it becomes interesting for outsiders as well. Strong identitarian traits of a place nurture the tourism potential of that area because they become the factors that stimulate people's curiosity. As a villager told me:

"Enduimet is a tool to advertise our area well to the world" – Tinga Tinga

Instead, when I asked villagers if the presence of the WMA stimulated tourism development in their villages, or whether tourists and investors were already present there they told me:

"Enduimet stimulated the tourism industry in Tingatinga village." Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"We were completely ignorant about the opportunities of tourism for Irkaswaa, and for that, we thank the WMA for asking Irkaswaa village to become part of it. Since then, our village benefited from tourism so much" "- Irkaswaa pastoralists

Before 2000 Maasai did not know how important wild animals were and about tourism opportunities, only Ngorongoro Maasai were already involved in tourism. But since 2009, after WMA started, Maasai communities received education about tourism and its opportunities "- Olpopongi Owner and guide

Despite multiple shortcomings and the exclusion of the local community from the tourism process in Enduimet, the WMA has the merit of building, reinforcing, and promoting worldwide the area, and its beauty. It was observed, however, that while Enduimet contributes to reinforcing the touristic identity of this place, this identity may not include the community. In the touristic idea of places like Enduimet, there is no place for cattle and pastoralists, identified as an element of disturbance:

"I think tourists mostly like to see the savannah and wildlife" – EWMA tourism Officer

"If we allow grazing near the lodge site, then what [tourism] business are we doing?"- EWMA Manager

A highly coded image of the Savannah is prevalent among tourists, one of a very dry environment with sparse vegetation. So, I made a very small experiment myself. On my Instagram page, I posted two pictures from the same place (the open grasslands of Tarangire National Park) during two different times of the year: the first picture was taken in the dry season when the Tarangire landscape looks exactly like the one in the documentaries. Another picture was taken in the rainy season when that place looked like a green and lush grassland, that could be associated with Argentina grazelands. Therefore, I asked my followers what they saw in the pictures, and more often than not, respondents associated "Africa" with

the first picture but not with the second one. This just to explicit how tourists' expectations of what a place should look like, can impact our perceptions, as well as the reality on the ground.

Another example to support this observation of mine was that when a group of Italian friends visited Ngorongoro with me, they did not know that cultural tourism was one of the possible activities since Maasai groups lived inside the protected area. They were quite annoyed, they confessed that this type of experience was not promoted at all, and they had to leave without a visit to a Maasai boma. The striking thing is that we planned our trip to Ngorongoro directly in the Ngorongoro CA office in Arusha, with Ngorongoro CA staff, which made absolutely no mention of the chance to visit the boma. The staff never mentioned community-based tourism experiences, and we were there planning a two-day visit! Community-based tourism, cultural tourism, or, more negatively indigenous tourism, is hardly promoted in the context of the Northern Safari Circuit, hindering the chances for local communities to become protagonists (and beneficiaries) of tourism on their lands.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that the promotion of the local culture and livelihood as part of local touristic capital should not revolve around a process of commodification and banalization of the local culture, that characterizes indigenous tourism in its most negative and colonial connotation. My conclusion is that efforts to promote tourism experiences based on the community, rather than wildlife, are completely useless until the wild and pristine (as well as the indigenous) bias is dismantled. My statement is supported by the answer of the Enduimet Tourism officer, when I asked him, what tourists found attractive when deciding to visit the attractions of the Northern Circuit:

"I think tourists are mostly attracted by the savannah, wildlife, and people with their typical dressing, and [the local] culture... But you see, here a lot of people here are dressing in modern clothes, with suits...so not much to see" – EMWA Tourism officer

The officer agrees that wildlife and savannah constitute the primary attractions, followed by a highly coded expectation of what the local culture is: people dressed in traditional clothing. And when people are not, there is nothing attractive for tourists. This is a worrying feature of tourism demand because it marginalizes and banalizes local culture (code: "tourists are attracted by specific

384

features"). However, *the tourism officer shared with me that Enduimet tourism strategy is going to focus on cultural tourism more in the future. The primary attraction for cultural tourism in Enduimet is traditional bomas, mostly located in the central village of Synia. Visits to the bomas directly contribute to villagers' pockets (tips for tour guiding or dances and performances, selling curious), compared to game viewing* (code: "increase cultural tourism to benefit villagers' pockets"). This can be a positive strategy until it does not come at the expense of the community and a banalization of the Maasai culture. Unfortunately, not every visit to Enduimet cultural bomas is guided by a villager employed in Enduimet as a tour guide, although every cultural boma in Enduimet should always have someone (a villager or a ranger) able to speak English when tourists are coming to visit cultural bomas, to correct external tour guides, when they misrepresent Maasai culture. *This aspect of authenticity was also highlighted by the tourism officer, who said that bomas in Ngorongoro are not authentic. Because those bomas are made exclusively for tourists visit. Enduimet's bomas, on the other hand, are the authentic bomas that pastoralists still use when they graze*. It is interesting again, to compare the narrative of bomas advanced by Enduimet's officers: they are the quintessence of Maasai authentic culture when they are a tourism attraction, and therefore they need preservation, but they are "unnecessary" when they consume natural resources and take up spaces from wildlife.

Lastly, when I asked villagers whether they ever visited Enduimet for leisure and if they ever had the chance to be tourists in their place, the majority of respondents told me that villagers are not tourists, Wazungu (white people in Kiswahili) ("code: "Enduimet is for tourists to visit, not for us"). Villagers have to work hard every day; they cannot afford leisure time to go on a vacation. I interpret these answers as a further sign of disconnection, and of distance, between Enduimet as a tourist destination and Enduimet as the land where villagers live.

To conclude, what Enduimet is promoting and potentially reinforcing is the former identity of Enduimet (idle land inhabited by animals or people in traditional costumes), rather than the latter (the place where a community, characterized by specific livelihoods live together with an extraordinary biodiversity that local humans managed to preserve). In this regard, evidence suggests that a deeper and greater sense of ownership is perceived by villagers regarding village-based tourism

ventures rather than WMA-based ventures, such as the Olppopongi Maasai Museum and Village or the hotel built on the village land by a European investor.

Theme 16: Villagers prefer village-based tourism ventures to WMA's for a sense of ownership, greater control, and trust.

Villagers prefer village-based tourism ventures rather than WMA-based ones, when present. When the venture belongs to community members (Olpopongi Maasai village), or to an investor who has a direct agreement with the village council, is preferred even when it generates smaller revenues. Village-based tourism ventures also constitute a better employment opportunity for women in the village. Total codes: 7, total references: 42.

This theme addresses the importance of a sense of ownership, decisional power, and control that villagers want to hold regarding the tourism process occurring on their lands, something that is not happening in Enduimet.

From the villagers' perspective, Enduimet developed a tourism model that reduces the scope of the agency and of the decisional power of villagers; in other words, the introduction of a WMAs-based tourism model led to a model that erases village councils' role in developing agreement with tourism investors, in favor of the determining and decisional role of the WMA. Nonetheless, this occurred in a time when villages in the Northern Circuit, and villages comprised in Enduimet today (Synia) successfully) developing direct tourism agreements with investors. In the past, this created resentment between Synia and Enduimet (see Chapter 7). Today, Tinga Tinga villagers all agreed that they prefer their village-based tourism projects and facilities, rather than Enduimet. Under multiple points of view. On the other hand, Irkaswaa village has no tourist facilities or attractions on its land, it has no investors and all their chances of tourism development currently depend on the WMA.

In the village of Tinga Tinga, a German lady (Anita, previously mentioned) invested in a lodge. To contribute to the village, she built an English secondary school, paid for teachers, trained single mothers to become tailors, she distributed food during the dry season to villagers. Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum pays bed night fees and land concession fees straight to the village government and they are a reference point for poor households of Tinga Tinga who know they

can always go there to ask for monetary support for expenses such as schoolbooks or unexpected medical bills. The village assembly decided where the project had to take place, furthermore, Olpopongi financially contributed to village water infrastructures and Tinga Tinga secondary, and recently, the village agreed on the renovation of the Olpopongi contract with the village council.

When asked to compare the benefits of WMA investors and village investors*, respondents had no doubt: that greater benefits were associated* with Anita and Olpopongi compared to tourism in the WMA. Furthermore, *villagers stressed the importance of a personal, friendly, and trust-based relationship they need to have when they engage with an investor* (code: "the importance of trust in the investor"), something that in WMA tourist ventures is absent (remember the "no investor-villagers dialogue" code in Theme 15). Investors have to be introduced by someone already trusted by villagers, the investor has to come and be present in village meetings and dialogue with the community, show that she or he is there for the community, before gaining trust.

Specific elements were identified as premium characteristics of village-based tourism ventures, compared to WMA-based ones, which are: direct control of villagers on the business conditions; *direct control over revenues collection and expenditure* (which is missing in WMA revenues, because the District Council approval is required before villages can spend them); furthermore, village-based tourism ventures such the Maasai village or Anita hotel required smaller land compared to the land given to Enduimet (codes: "village direct control_is a premium"; "village-based venture take less land", "village direct control on revenues_is a premium").

"We believe in a shared and participated agreement between villagers and investors because in those cases, we usually call an open village meeting, where everyone can discuss the investor's proposal-Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"It is better to have Olpopongi with direct control over revenues, rather than Enduimet because it takes a long time before obtaining the revenues and we have to share them with a lot of people. We may gain only a little, not a lot, but it comes directly from it to the village. So, I prefer Olpopogi" Tinag Tinga farmer

"I prefer to have the investors here, in the village, although we usually know what is going on with the agreement with investors in Enduimet, through AA, I prefer Wazungu coming directly to the village to invest" – Tinga Tinga farmer

"Olpopongi is good, it only took one acre of land, and there is another hotel here, that took like 15 Acres of village land, while Enduimet took very big land" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"Olpopongi agreement is better than Enduimet, in terms of the control we can have. Our village council is the one who signed the agreement, Olpopgi belongs to this village, in Enduimet there are too many people. We appreciate them both, we are proud of both, but we can control and directly discuss the decisions of Olpopogi." – Tinga Tinga Village Councilor

The community developed a deep sense of ownership and pride towards the Olpopongi tourism project, in which the whole village participates. Their participation assured that also from the cultural point of view, the tourism activity is self-determined and internally owned by the Maasai community of TingaTinga. The fact that individual villagers picked tools and artifacts typical of their livelihood and culture to set up a cultural museum represents an additional value of this tourism project, that contributes to a more empowering and authentic representation of Maasai culture:

"The whole village contributes, and I stand as a translator. Also, women participate equally in decisions in Olpopongi. The idea behind the cultural village is that the whole group together decides and organizes the tourist visits together. Besides, we meet with the village assembly to talk about how we run the activity with tourists. When the museum started, some of the artifacts shown here were donated by the villagers! – Olpopongi Tourism and Guide

Olpopongi and the hotel were identified as a good employment opportunity for the group of villagers that always strived to grasp employment opportunities: women. Since they are averagely less educated and less oriented to search for jobs outside farming, it is not common for women from rural areas to be employed in tourism, except in cleaning or bed-making (or other types of unqualified jobs). In Olpopongi village instead, Maasai women work as performers, cooks, and guides. Anita, on the other hand, always allows women to sell their beads and sing outside

her hotel and this is highly appreciated, especially because it is forbidden outside Enduimet camps and lodges.

"I appreciate Olpopongi very much because the mamas are getting some money from when they go to sing Maasai songs, and bring the tourists to your BOMA and take pictures of your cattle and they will pay you so...I also think Olpopongi is a better employment opportunity, especially for women, rather than Enduimet, because it is not easy for Mama to and sing and sell beads in Enduimet camps and hotels, so I think Olpopongi is a better option for them." – Tinga Tinga village councilor

The observation of village-based tourism schemes highlights even more how the Enduimet tourism model is far from villagers, in every sense, up to the point that it becomes irrelevant for villagers that WMA tourism revenues can be higher than village-based tourism revenues. Even more so, after the pandemic, that saw WMA revenues shrink dramatically. The next theme introduces the topic of the pandemic, and how it structurally affected Enduimet. The next theme was not envisioned in interview questions, it is one of those topics of discussion that naturally emerged in interviews and focus groups, that always focused on acquiescing respondents' interests and priorities.

Theme 17: The pandemic had a deep impact on WMA operations and tourist arrivals

Unfortunately, global dynamics affected the global and local tourism sector, reducing the benefits for the community. The pandemic deeply transformed every aspect of Enduimet operations as well as the relationship between villagers and Enduimet because revenues, staff, and meetings were reduced dramatically. The long-term consequences of Corona deserve further investigation, but the short-term ones are highly concerning. Revenues have not stabilized yet to the pre-pandemic level, and meetings are less participated, and fewer resources are available for them). Total codes: 8, total references: 33.

Even if this theme is not a dominant one in terms of codes and references, it holds a great informative potential, to understand this present moment. It is also extremely relevant given the particularly impacting consequences that Corona holds specifically on the tourism sector. Even more so, in a country like Tanzania,

where tourism contributes to important shares of national GDP, and arrivals are mostly international arrivals. It was interesting for the author as well, because initially I never figured the pandemic as a possible topic of discussion, but thankfully, respondents made up for that, turning the pandemic into an unexpectedly key theme to answer research questions.

The most unexpected consequence of the pandemic on WMA operations was that it reduced WMA research and data collection capacity, as shared by the WMA manager. Enduimet collects a lot of data about wildlife and the environment, conducts wildlife surveys and censuses, and most importantly, collects data to monitor the quality of its operations, like statistics on crimes and violations. Given the coronavirus-related shortage of staff, it could not keep up with usual data collection performances, and the long-term impact of that cannot yet be fully grasped. *To a small extent, they managed to employ drones for environmental data, but research capacity was compromise*d.

The pandemic finally made explicit that international-arrival oriented tourism models are unsustainable, because excessively dependent on global, uncontrollable factors. *The loss of arrivals that Enduimet experienced due to the pandemic was dramatic, and numbers have not recovered to pre-pandemic levels*, as was said to me by all WMA officers interviewed. However, I was told by Enduimet's tourism officer that the future tourism strategy of Enduimet will be focusing on domestic demand. They are indeed getting in networks with schools, to raise environmental awareness but also to nurture a tourism-oriented curiosity of pupils in visiting the attractions of their country. Enduimet is also more and more present at tourism events such as the Kili Fair in Arusha, where both domestic and international tourism stakeholders gather in a very big and very important event for the city of Arusha, where local and regional tourism destinations are promoted to the local, fast-growing, middle class.

The budget drop and village revenues drop were more than dramatic. WMA operations were almost totally interrupted due to a lack of resources and the impossibility of holding widely participated meetings. Meetings dropped in number and capacity, and the long-term consequences that these two years had on the participatory system still have to be fully understood. Enduimet left many of its rangers on unpaid leaves. Many of them never got their jobs back. This means that wildlife attacks rose, as well as crimes such as poaching and smuggling. Minor

violations, among which tree cutting or charcoal making, grew but to a very low rate, compared to proper crimes. Villagers bear the worst consequences. *Rangers' units were few and they had to cover way too vast land. Rescue and assistance became almost impossible. WMA-funded scholarships got interrupted, but the drop in village revenues is more than dramatic. Villagers said that in good years, the WMA was redistributing to an individual village something around 9 million Tsh. After the pandemic, it dropped to less than* 1.

The consequences that the pandemic has on the WMA as well as on the tourism sector and villagers will have to be investigated in the future, to understand how this unprecedented event impacted the local community and CBC scheme, for now, its most concerning consequences are those on the meetings structure, that hindered villagers' participation, as well as the consequences in terms of wildlife attacks and revenues drop.

However, few practices of WMA officers were identified as respectful of the local identity, culture, and traditional knowledge. Therefore, these practices need to be valorized from the perspective of self-determination. This leads us to the next theme.

Theme 18: WMA worsens rather the tourism and development gap between central and peripheral villages, as well as negatively affects land dynamics in the disadvantaged villages.

The comparison between the two villages investigated turned out to be informative about Enduimet and the life of villagers. It was shown that the two villagers investigated have very different characteristics, in terms of natural and touristic resources, and access to basic services, but also in terms of how they are affected by the structure of Enduimet. Tinga Tinga appears to have a more privileged position: it is in a more advanced stage of tourism development and its proximity to WMA gates is an additional advantage in terms of participation in decisions, easier dialogue with WMA, and greater chances to benefit directly from tourists' presence. Irkaswaa is remote and isolated, it is difficult to have WMA tourists so far from Enduimet gates, it has no tourism facility to attract tourists, and it has problems in terms of basic service provision and infrastructures that exacerbate its remoteness. It is affected by land scarcity dynamics and land

conflicts with bordering Kilimanjaro NP, whose presence exacerbates the consequences of the land scarcity dynamics occurring in The meaning of this theme is to address a preliminary comparative analysis between the two villages selected. In addition, the two villages were purposely selected because of the different land dynamics, and because one is in the center (Tinga Tinga) and the other is located in the periphery (Ikraswaa) of the WMA. This theme gathers the evidence that corroborates the initial hypothesis that led to the selection of these two villages.

Tinga Tinga, the central village, has multiple advantages. Firstly, it is advantaged in terms of land vastity, it *is endowed with good* access to basic services such as water and power infrastructures, and rich in touristic resources, such as the presence of the tarmac road nearby which makes it easier to access compared to Irkaswaa, a hotel, and a Maasai culture museum and village. Furthermore, *Tinga Tinga is located near the entrance gates and the HQ of Enduimet. Multiple times in the interviews, villagers refer to the gates and the office.* They are aware of the tourism material at the gates, and it is common for them to see (and benefit directly from) tourists in their villages. *As it was explained to me by Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village staff, it is very common that Enduimet visitors go and pay a visit to the Maasai Museum, and vice versa.* Furthermore, during my stay, I had the chance to observe that an NGO provided the village with trash bins, and another NGO provided water taps in the village office. Lastly, another possible advantage of the vicinity of Enduimet HQ is that on the village notice board, I found multiple tenders, where Enduimet was requiring villagers for services or temporary jobs. I did not find that in Irkaswaa

Irkaswaa village, on the other hand, suffers from an impactful dynamic land scarcity from the perspective of villagers, recently exacerbated by the 2015 expansion of the National Park. Evidence of that is the fact all the references about land scarcity and issues associated with it in the interviews, were from Irkaswaa villagers exclusively. Another downside experienced by Irkaswaa and not Tinga Tinga is the heavy deforestation that characterized Irkaswaa land in the last decades. *In addition, Irkaswaa villagers revealed the absence of power infrastructures. Those who can afford it, rely on solar panels, but still, electricity provision is not reliable.* An unexpected consequence of it, as revealed by a villager, is that this contributes to further remoteness of *Irkaswaa village because villagers*

cannot watch TV and hear the news whenever they need to. *Geographical remoteness hinders also villagers' and village leaders' communication with the District Council, located in Longido town*, which is around 70 km away from Irkaswaa. Irkaswaa, despite being located on the same ring road that runs around Kilimanjaro Mountain, is located in a position where this road is not tarmac, It is very steep, and in very bad condition. I drove myself on that road, and it can be very dangerous for regular cars.

In addition, despite Irkaswaa providing a key ecological asset to Enduimet, i.e. the land where Kitendeni Ecological Corridor lies, that connects Amboseli NP (in Kenya) to Kilimanjaro NP and Enduimet, it has no tourism facilities whatsoever. Enduimet gates and lodges are concentrated very far from Irkaswaa, and from my tourism experience of Enduimet, is not common for visitors to go and explore the northern area of Enduimet unless explicitly requested (there is indeed a trial in Kitendeni Corridor, but the area is very remote, a few hours away by car from Enduimet gates). It is more common to drive in the center area of Enduimet, near Tinga Tinga and Sinya villages, where the wild animals and the cultural bomas are concentrated in a small area. *Consequently, Irkaswaa villagers seldom interact with tourists, and when they see them, they just pass by, they do not have any services (restaurants, hotels) or specific attractions (except for the most majestic view of Mount Kilimanjaro peak I have ever seen) that lead them to stop in Irkaswaa. Moreover, no tourism investor is present in Irkaswaa, nor have I found visible signs of NGOS projects, except for one that ended years ago*. It was an agroforestry project supported by the government of the Netherlands.

To conclude, unfortunately, I found evidence to corroborate my initial hypothesis. Not only Ikraswaa is located at the periphery of Enduimet, but it is also affected by a generalized remoteness that further hinders Ikraswaa's chances to benefit from and participate in tourism. In addition, it has to face a conflict against Kilimanjaro National Park, in which Enduimet is offering no support nor advocacy. Tinga Tinga, on the other hand, covers a whole different position. It is more advanced in terms of tourism development and ultimately seems in a better position to benefit from the touristic process occurring on its land.

Theme 19: To a small extent the WMA valorized local culture and traditional knowledge

Observing the relationship between the CBC scheme and the local identity and culture, it was observed that Enduimet has developed practices that recognize the value of some cultural and identitarian characteristics of the local community (traditional knowledge and vernacular language), such as the reliance on Maa language during interventions or village meetings, the fact that majority of Enduimet staff comes from the local villages and is familiar with local culture. In addition, villagers and rangers co-participate in patrolling, taking advantage of villagers' knowledge and expertise. Such practices represent the opportunity for Enduimet to be truly community-centered. Thanks to village-based tour guides, Enduimet has the opportunity to reduce cultural banalization during tourism activities. These practices need to be valorized and diffused more than what they currently are. Total codes: 16; total references: 68

Breaking down to the "identity and culture" macro thematic segment, turns out that to some extent, the actors' of Enduimet manage to engage with villagers through important identitarian elements such as traditional knowledge and language, which represent the most unique characteristics of the local community. It has also been conveyed a sense of pride and a strong determination to maintain the local culture, distinctive of local groups, such as Maasai people, despite threats to it have also been identified by respondents. Possibly in reaction to such threats, traditional knowledge systems ongoingly evolve and adapt to the changing context. This can be interpreted positively, in the sense that "traditional" does not necessarily mean "backward", at least from the perspective of respondents.. As stated by one of the ladies who work for Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum:

"Our ancestors know we are teaching our kids they are not going to lose the culture; we are teaching our kids how to keep it alive. Even if the tradition is changing quickly, we see a lot of people come from far abroad to visit us, we feel proud, and I think we should maintain culture if people come from so far to learn about it" – Olpopongi Cook

On the other hand, Enduimet can be a tool to valorize and preserve local practice embedded in the alternative identitarian system of knowledge. One way is

through participatory patrolling because, through patrolling, villagers are actively involved and bear responsibility for their protection, mainly through the employment of their deep knowledge of the area, and of animal and human behaviors:

"We usually participate in patrolling, with Askari. In case something dangerous occurs, it is the community that will see it first. We must inform the WMA so that they join with the villagers and take action" – Irkaswaa pastoralist

"In case we spot an animal near the home places, we report to WMA, or we report those who want to enter WMA with panga to cut down trees. We would also report issues with injured animals, or in case of a fire outbreak on Mount Kilimanjaro!" -Irkaswaa pastoralist

Furthermore, remarkable was an interview extract that showed how the WMA is a place where the exchange between traditional and scientific knowledge can occur also the other way round: not only villagers are holders of traditional knowledge, while graduated rangers are holders of scientific one, but it can occur the exact opposite: a college graduated villager exchange his knowledge with professionally trained Village Game Scouts, which are WMA enforcers that attended a short training but not a degree:

"I helped out WMA rangers once, with something they were not familiar with. I was trained as a professional by conservation NGOs, but this is not always the case with Village Game Scouts. Anyway, on that occasion, rangers were not familiar with elephants' habits, they did not know which elephants were the most dangerous, which were the young females and males. People tend to think adults are more dangerous, but they are not, young elephants are deadly" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

Moreover, it was extremely interesting to ask one of the WMA rangers of Maasai origin, how his wildlife and biodiversity degree at Pasiasi College intertwined with the knowledge that his Maasai ancestors passed on through generations, helping the ranger in the concrete application of scientific notions to his everyday field activities:

"I valued my traditional knowledge very much during my college experience. While I was there, I learned about different types of vegetation and shrubs, I learned how to recognize whether some alien plants are growing in the protected area. So, I coupled that previous knowledge with the scientific one. For instance,

here grows the mango tree, which is one of the indigenous species… I started reasoning about how alien and indigenous species move from one place to another. For instance, you find a plant in the middle of nowhere, then you ask yourself a lot of questions about how it happened, and you understand whether it is the wind or animal droppings. This way I combine both traditional and school knowledge. You know I am a Maasai. For instance, if one has an injury- or we did not have an adequate amount of water, I could survive in the bush, because I know everything about this place". – EWMA Ranger

Not only villagers are at the forefront of animals' protection in Enduimet, and patrolling is one of the few activities that sees villagers engaging and bearing direct responsibility, but their traditional knowledge is what is deemed of particular importance and valued, both WMA rangers interviewed agreed on that. The exception has to be made for those villagers whose participation has been undermined by excessive use of force or those scared by rangers' and authorities' attitude when an animal is found dead or injured on villagers' lands, which means that both conditions coexist: to some extent, villagers are stigmatized as irresponsible, unaware of wildlife value and incapable of their protection; to some other extent, villagers are depositary of immaterial and invaluable assets for the CBC scheme, and this becomes particularly evident if we look at WMA patrolling:

"Traditional knowledge [of villagers] helped the WMA, and it is particularly helpful to tour guides and rangers. Both receive help from the community, and most of those figures were selected among villagers! They need to come from here because they need to know the area…we helped askari [rangers] to identify some poachers for instance, we knew where they were hiding. We also know where animals are... this way, we can protect animals too, we know where they are and how to protect them." -Irkaswaa pastoralist

The respondent mentioned tour guides are villagers themselves, which is a key feature of how tourism activities, especially cultural activities, are handled by the WMA (see Theme 15 about the risk of banalization of local culture on behalf of external guides). As in the words of this ranger, about the importance of members of the local community engaging in the WMA as tour guides:

"You know I am a Maasai., I know almost every corner of the protected area, I know all the roads, I know all the bomas, I know the area so well I could guide tourists during visits, and I would be able to show them everything they would be

interested to see. I can speak in English, so if a foreigner wants to understand anything about the lion, or the life of the boma straight from the source, I could translate directly from Maa language, because of that knowledge, which is so useful" – EWMA Ranger

"Youths are the most interested in tour guiding because they know the environment; they know they bring their value, they will show tourists the best routes according to the type of animals they want to see because they are familiar with the environment they are used to it" – EWMA Ranger

Regarding villagers' knowledge, one of the WMA rangers said exchange moments where the WMA to learn from their fellow villagers, should be increased and that resources and budget should be envisioned for that.

"Traditional knowledge is helpful to the Rangers, because villagers are familiar with this area, and sometimes, the problem happens inside the village area. Villagers always know what happens, and where it happened, and they know how to overcome that problem...so operative cooperation between villagers and rangers is very important. It is important to hold the traditional knowledge of villagers valuable, and at the same time, it is important also to have the budget for knowledge exchange meetings where the community can speak with the rangers and rangers can learn from villagers, where to foster education and awareness " - EWMA Ranger

In the WMA most of the staff comes from the member villages (see theme 14): as pointed out by a villager, traditional knowledge is transversal to all WMA members. This element represents the kind of unique feature that a CBC/CBT scheme holds, compared to fortress conservation-inspired protection schemes. Talking about whether villagers would help rangers in the identification and collection of useful plants, such as medicinal plants, the villager replied:

"I think Enduimet rangers would not ask us, because ENduimet employers are also Maasai themselves. They hold the same Maasai knowledge we hold. [It rather works the other way round] A Maasai from the village would meet an Enduimet ranger and say " Please, I don't have the time to pass, but I need the branches from that medicinal tree" and the people from Enduimet can bring to us because they are the ones who hold our same knowledge" - Tinga Tinga woman

However, I registered negative answers regarding more direct employment of villagers' knowledge in WMA matters. *For instance, about the cultural tourism experiences, both rangers confessed they do not think that non-Maasai rangers ask Maasai villagers for help and clarification when they speak, as outsiders, about Maasai lifestyle and livelihoods.* I already mentioned the importance of the presence of a person who can speak both Maa and English in the cultural bomas of Enduimet (Theme 15), and the same was stressed by the Maasai WMA ranger in the previous extract: the chance of indigenous culture banalization during WMA cultural visits at the bomas, is lower when the guide is not an outsider of Enduimet, and even more so if of Maasai origin. I *also asked directly to villagers directly whether WMA staff ever directly demanded villagers' knowledge in support. Other than in patrolling, the majority of answers were negative.*

In a nutshell, despite being considered highly valuable and despite direct villagers' engagement in patrolling, villagers do not feel they entirely are valued for that:

"We have never seen WMA [staff] coming here and asking villagers to exchange ideas, So the people who are conserving the environment, they are doing it because they are paid like a job." – Irkaswaa farmer

In addition, this villager pointed out how this missed link with villagers depersonalizes conservation and patrolling actions, that are carried out of duty, compared to the direct engagement of villagers, who patrol their area because they know it and they want to protect it.

the main vernacular language to be still extensively used in the area under investigation is MAA. It often occurs, that Maasai elders -especially, although not exclusively- still employ Maa as their only language and they cannot read nor write Kiswahili. Due to low literacy rates, it is common for elders and few residents to only speak Maa. This is *why I asked to what extent the Maa language is used in WMA operations. Turns out that village meetings always have translators to Maa. This is valid also for village meetings about WMA dispositions, so that WMA dispositions can be understood, and the discussions can be participated in. Other than during village meetings, it is common to use maa during rangers' interventions in the villages, for example after an animal or a person is injured.* It was remarkable how this turned out to be a very important and necessary feature for villagers, more than I initially thought: previously it was mentioned the importance of language

accessibility (of WMA sign, of Enduimet constitution, and promotional material) that are often produced in a language that cannot be easily understood by the whole village. Therefore, outside the village, it is difficult to maintain language accessible for everyone, also on behalf of the WMA (that produces promotional material and more importantly the Constitution, in English), inside the village, residents and village authorities maintain the communication and the dialogue feasible and accessible to everyone.

"Yes, traditional language is used, especially when the accident happened in the village, or near it. Many villagers do not speak Kiswahili, so rangers always have to translate for those who do not understand. We also usually use traditional names of plants and areas in our work." – EWMA Ranger

Further evidence of the centrality of vernacular language is the fact that outside the WMA, villagers call Enduimet rangers for interventions: Longido GCA borders with Enduimet WMA, but it is not an enforced protected area, it is just an area for hunting, which has a small staff at his disposal, mainly from the National Authority of Wildlife Management - TAWA. However, since Enduimet started its operations, villagers from non-WMA villages have called WMA rangers for security interventions. As one of the WMA rangers told me, the main reason why villagers keep on calling WMA rather than TAWA staff is exactly because of the language that WMA rangers speak. Local villagers appreciate that Enduimet staff can speak Maa, able to solve matters directly with the members of the community, even in case they do not speak Kiswahili, something that could not happen with TAWA staff members.

"You know, 90% of residents in Longido District are Maasai people, who can only speak Maa or who want someone they can talk to, in their same language and who has their same custom… it is easy to understand each other. When they see that a Maasai [ranger] is trying to protect the elephant, they think 'this person belongs to our tribe, we can understand each other'". EWMA Ranger

Maa language, furthermore, is everywhere in Enduimet toponyms. All the areas still preserve their Maa name. Some of these names identify the morphological characteristics of the place, such as hills, or the purpose that place was used, such as the commercial and trade area of a village. Furthermore, Maa has an alternative vocabulary for animals and plants. Some respondents told me that during village meetings, the Maa words from plants and animals are preserved.

Others told me that those are not necessarily employed by WMA officers, but one of the rangers confirmed traditional maa names of plants and animals are maintained when rangers speak to Maa-speaking villagers.

Language is a primary identification mark for any group. The fact that, at least to some or small extent, the Maa language is maintained and preserved is of paramount importance if the WMA wants to improve its relationship with villagers. And what occurs in Longido CGA is evidence of how important is, for villagers, to be able to identify themselves with the enforcers of conservation measures and with those who are supposed to be there, to patrol the area for villagers' sake.

Along with language, the valorization, although not yet fully materialized, of local knowledge is key to truly centering WMA action on the understanding of the community, to build the Enduimet's community around a shared understanding of local culture, that villagers (especially Maasai pastoralists) felt was not understood by WMA (see interview extract on the sacrifice asked to the Moran to not kill the lion, in theme 14). This misunderstanding marked the beginning of Enduimet with challenges between the conservation scheme and the local community.

Multiple challenges from inside and outside the protected area are threatening the survival of local culture, and this makes it even more compelling for the WMA to become an institution that protects villagers and fights the discrimination of their identities and livelihoods alongside them. This allows us to move on to the next theme.

Theme 20: The WMA is an additional factor of cultural and identitarian loss experienced by the community, while government and conservation institutions are causes of discrimination against the pastoral community.

Nonetheless, the identity and culture of the Enduimet community are under threat and discriminated against, as reported by villagers It has been observed that the CBC scheme directly and largely contributes to it. Examples are the prohibition of the Maasai ritual hunt of the predator who attacked the livestock, the relocation of "unnecessary" boma, the prohibition of collecting medicinal plants, the loss of land due to the expansion of protected areas, and the associated loss of bond with ancestors. Environmental and Institutional factors threaten local identity tied to pastoralism and farming. In general, not only the livelihoods but also the identity

and the traditions of villagers are under threat and subjected to discrimination on behalf of central and local government and behalf of conservation institutions, among which Enduimet and Kilimanjaro NP.

This theme further addresses how livelihoods, practices, and customs are perceived as under threat by villagers, by several local and global factors. The threat occurs at various levels, and scales: global (such as the threats to livelihoods and biodiversity due to climate change, already introduced in Theme 1) and local (loss of ritual practices as the result of conservation measures). This theme is intertwined with Theme 1, and it can be considered a further expansion of Theme 1. Theme 1 addressed how the resource base useful for local livelihoods (small farming and pastoralists) is shrinking, posing a risk in terms of resource access and livelihood survival. Not only the local livelihoods are threatened by the current environmental condition, but the practices and traditions that are tied to such livelihoods are threatened as well. In this theme, culture loss and biodiversity loss become intertwined, because both interfere with the perpetuation of traditional pastoralism practices and traditional medical practices. Observing these elements and their role in the WMA; can help understand the extent to which the foundational components of local identity are in jeopardy. Unfortunately, villagers speak of ethnicity-based discrimination on behalf of the government and its institutions at the local and national levels.

I would like to start with the Maasai ritual practice of revenge on the livestock that has been predated by lions. In Nvivo, I coded interview extracts about this topic with the label "the sacrifice of Moran ritual". In previous themes, extracts were reported where villagers addressed the fact that the WMA did not understand the local culture, because its first disposition was to forbid this ritual practice; alternatively, villagers expressed feeling sad and weak against this disposition, which is out of their control.

"Even if the Moran [Maasai soldier] is physically there, with his spear, watching the lion killing his cattle, he will do nothing against the animal, because of Enduimet. People feel unhappy [wanyonge, weak, and sad in Kiswahili] about the situation going on in the Enduimet area, but even though people feel bad about it, what can they do about laws and regulations from the government? We feel sorrow, and powerless… when your goat is killed before your eyes, but you can do nothing." Tinga Tinga woman

Villagers and WMA officers highlighted that the disposition was accepted by the Maasai community since compensation/consolation was promised. Indeed, the Maasai community accepted and adapted their behaviors, and the majority of the Maasai community of Enduimet gave up this ritual, according to the EWMA manager and rangers' interviews. On the other side, neither the WMA nor the central government have been accountable for maintaining the promised compensation. Nonetheless, the community widely decided to give up the practice for environmental reasons.

"[Masai revenge on the lion] is reducing since people are paid compensation. Compensation is a good deal to them, and they accept not to revenge on the predators who predated their livestock, so in this sense awareness on how to protect wild animals is working" – EWMA Ranger

I identified this compliance with a form of uncompensated and unfair sacrifice, after a few considerations. Despite at first glance, this restriction makes a lot of sense for a wildlife conservation institution, I started thinking about two things: first, that lions' predation is not a very common form of wildlife attack according to villagers. As reported in theme 14, I was told that villagers are way more scared of the damage to elephants, buffalos, and hyenas than what concerns predation of livestock. Surely, this needs further investigations but if lions are a minor cause of livestock predation, it also means that killing lions (or other predators) is a residual, minoritarian practice. Therefore, it could have been taken into consideration by the WMA to allow Maasai Moran to kill a strictly regulated number of lions, at least at the beginning of the Enduimet institution process. This would have shown to the pastoralist community that the WMA was sensitive to their needs and was understanding their culture, without adopting a double standard, whereas instead, they reported that the Maasia community was not understood by Enduime in the beginning, it seems the WMA was against the Maasai community and its practices.

In the perception of villagers, a double standard is in place because ritual or subsistence hunting is forbidden, while tourism hunting is welcomed (this is valid for Enduimet, for WMAs in general, and for Tanzania as a whole). It is a double standard because the WMA appears extremely concerned with the survival of the predators' population when it comes to an extraordinary, minoritarian ritual practice, but not as concerned when it comes to allowing wealthy international tourists to hunt in the WMA. Most of the villagers I interviewed are heavily against tourism

402

hunting, and they suffer that their traditional hunting is not allowed. Respondents from the two villages all agreed they would forbid hunting completely inside the WMA, and many of them think hunters are sketchy individuals, who corrupt rangers and police officers and always get away with it.

"I know there is an area for hunting in Enduimet. We do not feel good about it because some are allowed, and others are not allowed. We feel bad. But since it's a government disposition, we will not do anything against it. I usually see Wazungu [white people] or Arabs coming here for hunting, setting their camps. If it was for me, I would forbid hunting completely. It would be better to have one law to forbid all hunting. Hunting destroys the environment. I prefer when tourists come here only to take pictures, that way, the animals stay on the land. I do not trust hunters, I heard that hunters [that unlawfully killed an animal outside the hunting blocks] would carry and transfer the bodies from one place to another [to avoid punishment]. Hunters are hiding things" – Tinga Tinga farmer

Detractors will claim that hunting can be an activity consistent with the purpose of wildlife conservation because it is strictly regulated: rangers make sure the tourist is going to kill only specimens that are either old, or sick, or that would not comprise the reproductive capacity of the group. Poaching, on the other hand, is a highly criminalized practice because poachers end up killing whatever, posing a greater risk, compared to hunting, to the survival of the species. The fact is that no regulating effort was in place to avoid the elimination of an important ritual on behalf of the Maasai people. Maasai kills the lion in a fair fight. They only have their spear, and they spend weeks in the bush waiting for the lion. It is not an easy or frivolous practice. It is a practice of revenge, that is needed to show to the rest of the community that: a) the young man is now an adult or b) that the man can take care of the weakest in the group. Furthermore, this practice is not mandatory as a rite of passage to adulthood, since today the most diffused is circumcision. This is another common misconception about Maasai culture that persists among outsiders, as it was explained to me during my visit to Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village, which makes predator killing an even more residual practice among Maasai.

"As a Maasai, I feel like isolated here…Maasai cannot receive support or anything" – Tinga Tinga Woman

I asked WMA rangers, and they told me that hunters if caught hunting outside what is prescribed in their license, are fined, but no prison is envisioned. On the contrary, poachers (members of the local community) are sent straight to jail. The reason this is not considered a double standard, in the view of the WMA ranger, is that a hunter will cause minor damage compared to the poacher because it is very difficult for hunters to corrupt the officers and overkill (hunting tourists are always accompanied by rangers and police officers), while poachers can cause greater damage. In this sense, the WMA reiterates double standards that require the sacrifice of cultural practices, and it does not compensate it as promised. That sacrifice could have been spared if predator killing had been carefully planned with the WMA, maybe sacrificing a few hunting quotas. On the corruption of the hunting sector of Tanzania, we report a piece of news, according to which in January 2019, the Head of the Anti-poaching Unit of the Wildlife Division KDU (the Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources entitled of Wildlife Management) was relieved of his duties due to corruption: he allegedly tipped poachers' cartels about the Units' missions to reduce hunting-related crimes in the area so that they could get away with it.[87]

Moving on, it was previously mentioned how the construction of a semi-temporary Maasai settlement, the *boma*, is highly discouraged by the WMA and if the boma is considered unnecessary, it is destroyed and the people living there relocated. This is another example of how conservation measures are used to justify that cultural rituals/practices are forbidden. Since wood collection material is already regulated in Enduimet (dead wood only), possibly, through a regulative effort, it could have been granted to the pastoralist community to maintain bomas in open pasturelands, since those could improve pastoralists' livelihood (and pride), by allowing them to graze in further, better preserved, pastures, that would turn into fatter cattle. As it was said in Theme 1, the current persistent drought is causing a loss of livelihoods. One of the manifestations is skinny, starving cattle, and, as it was explained to me, starving cattle is a shame to a Maasai. In this perspective, WMA dispositions undermine the identity and the pride of pastoralists.

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[87] Edward Qorro (2019) Tanzania: Fresh Details Emerge On Suspended Antipoaching Head. 31th January, 2019. Tanzania Daily News, Arusha. Retrieved at: https://allafrica.com/stories/201901310801.html. Accessed last time: November 2023.

"Now the indigenous species will disappear because to increase meat production we are breeding our cows with this new breed of bull from Kenya " Tinga Tinga farmer

Because of extreme drought, traditional varieties are more and more difficult to grow and therefore they generate lower income. To save the harvest, farmers are shifting to improved varieties, such as short-term variates, that allow maturation to occur in shorter times, with less need for water.

"The recent innovation is to use short short-term varieties of maize. We like it because we cannot go up against environmental conditions, but this way we can still get something before drought destroys the whole harvest" – Tinga Tinga farmer

Despite modernization should be welcomed when this means more successful harvests and greater income for food producers, these changes must be done out of a choice, not out of an externally imposed necessity. Otherwise, food producers are not free to pursue alternative productive practices they wish to maintain:

"Sometimes I want to grow old, traditional varieties, but I can't because of the change of climate conditions. For example, if you want to grow a banana, but you cannot because it will dry out soon. We fear that we are going to lose our harvest, so we shift to other varieties." – Irkaswaa farmer

An elder stressed he is reticent to farming innovations partly due to his age and old-school mentality, but he also shows how the cultivation of market-demanded varieties means he has to shift production towards crops that are not used as food by the same producers, towards which he feels uncomfortable. This can potentially undermine food security, since self-consumption is a very common (although not necessary) practice for farmers in the area, to cope with productive shocks that do not allow them to gain the usual income from farming:

"I love old-fashioned farming because the old farming was about food crops: maize, beans…but the cultivation of this modern avocado... I hate this type of agriculture and is difficult for me to practice it. Innovation for me is difficult and I do not eat any avocado "– Irkaswaa farmer

Traditional practices are important identitarian traits of typical livelihoods of the community. They are important not only because these practices characterize and differentiate the local agricultural productive system from the highly

standardized, global one; they are important also because they are underpinned by traditional knowledge of varieties and weather patterns, which allow local farmers to exercise great control over the productive system.

Unfortunately, drought is pushing farmers towards the abandonment of traditional varieties and traditional farming practices. This poses a threat to the survival of the local farming system, and a threat to the direct control that farmers can exercise on it, as well as a threat to the identity of local farmers that finds expression in traditional knowledge and the farming system.

"Climate change is the reason why farmers are changing their farming style. It prompted farmers to deal with short-term crops like tomatoes, Irish potatoes, and green peas, while our fathers would only grow maize and beans. But today, we cannot keep our old varieties and our traditions anymore. Maize used to grow very well here but now we need to shift towards modern varieties. We prefer them because of rain shortage." – Irkaswaa farmer

When I asked if the seeds of these new varieties were problematic to find, respondents told me that they are available in every Agrovet shop, although, these new seeds are very expensive, and these hinder many local farmers from being able to purchase them. Autonomous seed production is a key component that farmers should preserve according to food sovereignty, because this way small farmers can have direct control not only on the production but also on farming input, allowing farmers to be able to access farming input even when these are very expensive on the market. Furthermore, farmers' practices of seed production are the last resort to preserve indigenous species since their seeds cannot be purchased on the market. Farmers usually do that, but they are increasingly shifting to improved varieties of seeds that they purchase from Agrovet shops.

Furthermore, respondents pointed out the disappearance of medicinal or ritual or indigenous varieties, in particular the Msernefu (*Croton megalocarpus*) and the Mponda (*Commiphora Africana*).

"I am worried about the loss of some tree species… for instance, a medicinal tree called Mponda in Kiswahili, but in Maa is called Ogili Shili. It is disappearing because is among the favorite foods of elephants, but for us is a very useful tree to heal wounds. Unfortunately, replanting this tree is difficult, there was no organization supporting that, you know this tree replants itself spontaneously when

the fruit drops down after the rainy season, is not like you can find these seeds in the shops. But for us is an important tree that we use as wound medicine " – Tinga Tinga farmer

"There are big trees that are found in the forest, that we cannot just grow at home. It is also difficult to find their seeds. [One of those being Croton metacarpus, or Msernefu in Kiswahili, Olorieni in Maa language. Indigenous tree with multiple domestic, building, ornamental and medical uses]." – Irkaswaa pastoralist

Alternatively, these plants are preserved thanks to the WMA, but this way they became inaccessible for collection, and a respondent highlights that a village forest reserve will be helpful in that, but the village does not have one because all the forest land was given to Enduimet:

"You know inside WMA it's not easy for you to go there and cut the trees, even for the plants or shrubs that we use as a medicine; we are not allowed to go there and take those plants. So, we can only collect dead plants…" – Irkaswaa pastoralists

"You know inside WMA we are not allowed to take those plants. So, we could collect these plants in a communal village forest, but there is no communal forest in Irkaswaa, all the area covered in forest that we had, was given to WMA" – Irkaswaa village councilor

This measure goes against the culture of the local people. This element is associated with the loss of traditional practices of medication and quite neutral sentiments were expressed in this regard, even if this was accepted by villagers out of resignation and submission, as clearly expressed by this participant:

"Since there is this limitation to collecting those medicinal herbs, we decided to go to the hospital to get some treatment, instead of collecting them. I do not feel bad about that, because if that is the provision and we are not allowed…what can we do? We must adapt and go to the hospital"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

"No person is allowed to enter WMA to collect herbs and plants. We think that useful species [medical plants] are still there [are not disappearing] because of protection from WMA. However, rangers would catch you if you are found collecting any of those, but you can plant those herbs that you need in your home." -Irkaswaa village councilor

These testimonies allow us to understand how WMA dispositions are directly affecting villagers' access to traditional medicinal plants. In Theme 3 we addressed this topic but here, we are observing the consequences of WMA restrictions not much in terms of restricted access to natural resources, but rather in terms of loss of identarian practices. In this regard, I asked the WMA ranger what his opinion was about the relationship between WMA and cultural rituals:

"I think they are not going to lose [the chance to perform rituals and access ritual areas inside the WMA], but villagers fear they may lose all that. I think because all of us, rangers included, are afraid that Enduimet may become a national park…if that occurs, you will need permission to perform a specific ritual in the protected area…you'd be allowed, but it will become more difficult…I think that it will be difficult [for rangers and conservation institutions] to understand you that you're going to perform a ritual, so I think they are going to lose that"- EWMA Ranger

More broadly, the loss of identitarian and culturally meaningful practices is associated with the loss of land. This occurs due to the expansion of conservation areas, such as the WMA and Kilimanjaro NP, and weak (if nonexistent) enforcement and respect of customary rights of the local community:

"As Maasai, we feel like we are non-valuable humans. We feel bad because this is the land where we were born, where our ancestors were born, and this land belongs to us. But [given the expansion of Kilimanjaro NP borders] we cannot access that land anymore, it makes us feel very, very bad. the areas that were given by Julius Nyerere, with the documents and everything; but we still wonder how KINAPA managed to take that land. We blame KINAPA because it took our land. So we feel discriminated against by KINAPA, district council and all the institutions together" - Irkaswaa pastoralist

Not only villagers are losing land, and with that, the link with their ancestors, and the foundational bricks of their culture and identity, but villagers also believe that this is occurring because they are non-valuable humans, which let us introduce the last topic of this Theme 20, which is ethnic-based discrimination. *This is particularly felt among Maasai individuals, who are discriminated against for their livelihood and because they have to rely on customary rights to protect access to vast pasturelands*. Interviews suggest that this same scenario here their heir customary land rights are in jeopardy and discriminated against has its roots in the

institutions, also conservation institutions, who appear completely deaf to the threat Maasai people (and pastoralists in general) are exposed to:

"We are squeezed between the [WMA ecological] corridor, Kenyan border, and Kilimanjaro Np. When we go towards the border, Kenyan authorities push us back here. In the other directions, WMA and KINAPA rangers do the same. Please, bringing our request to WMA: we need some land to graze and collect firewood very much. Everywhere we have guards or rangers beating us and sending us away. We are discriminated against as livestock keepers. Please, if you go to the WMA, ask them to offer some relief to this situation." Irkaswaa pastoralist

"When we walk around Kilimanjaro, we can see other people allowed to build houses near the mountain or farm there… like the Chagga group for example, they live and farm on the mountain... I am afraid what I am trying to say is that as Maasai people, we see the discrimination against us, we see our lives are not valued on behalf of any kind of institutions, the WMA, KINAPA, and their ranger, and the district...." – Irkaswaa pastoralist

Another participant associates mixed feelings with the expansion of the national park at the expense of the pastoralists' community. Nonetheless, this testimony expresses a high level of clarity and awareness of the current scenario: despite discrimination and violent enforcement of the rules of the national park, pastoralists keep on claiming their pasturelands, and at the same time, they agree with the cause of conservation:

"We can see the environment, the forest [in the national park] is protected. Because of that, we feel good, and we feel pain at the same time. We are glad that the forest is protected, and we are hurt that we are not allowed to graze our livestock there. We don't have enough land where to bring livestock. We are not feeling good, especially when we see our children caught by rangers, and sent to the police station because we claim our grazing areas"- Ikraswaa pastoralist

Villagers also move on commenting as discriminatory what is happening to Maasai groups who are now forcibly relocated away from their ancestral lands in Ngorongoro Conservation Area:

"What's happening in Ngorongoro is so painful…You have heard about the relocation of people, I suppose. The thing is that historically, people were living in Ngorongoro long before [it became a protected area]. But now people are

discriminated against by the laws. I am worried I may lose my land; it is good to have something to protect your rights" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

Participants identify the central government as a possible source of discrimination. The scenario pictured by different participants regarding ethnic-based discrimination is consistent and very clear. Conservation institutions, but governmental institutions in general, are at the forefront of discrimination against pastoralists' livelihoods.

Theme 21: The local community is highly self-aware, is proud, and their livelihoods are resilient, it retrieves agency and reclaims the capacity to transform their surroundings by capitalizing on internal resources.

Against the detrimental and even discriminatory backdrop, villagers would not trade their traditional livelihoods and identity for something else, regardless of the discrimination and the effects of climate change. Villagers successfully and resiliently balance traditions and innovation, by embedding external knowledge into their traditional one. They proactively approached the focus group discussions and the topics discussed, and they cherished information and reflections deployed during interviews to engage with AA representatives more carefully and consciously, in the future. Villagers also revealed that to protect their rights inside and outside the WMA, they need higher education and legal expertise, which can be autonomously sourced both internally (higher level of education reached by younger generations) and externally (through the support of advocacy organizations). This ultimately leads to the expansion of the trans-local networks that villagers can connect with to advocate for their rights. In this perspective, villagers claim autonomy in their decisional life, practicing and reclaiming self-determination and sovereignty, the inspirational values necessary to elevate themselves from an Ecotourism system that locally and globally tends not to acknowledge (and even repress) the agency of local communities and indigenous people.

This last theme highlights how farmers and pastoralists of Enduimet have the resources and capacity to make effective and autonomous choices, quite revolutionizing the tradition/innovation dichotomy. Only apparently, innovation does not belong to IPLCs, but on the contrary, villagers can improve their conditions, and

at the same time maintain what is important to their customs and traditions and make efficient and fruitful decisions to improve their conditions, even in a detrimental scenario of discrimination and lack of institutional interlocutors.

If Theme 1 depicts the resiliency of traditional practices from a resources/food security and income point of view, this theme wants to stress the cultural and identity components that Enduement villagers have at their disposal to cope with harsh times. The preservation of autonomous knowledge systems and traditional livelihood practices are part and parcel of the concept of self-determination of IPLCs, indeed according to this vision, these practices are key for the well-being of the community, As highlighted in Theme 1, institutional support is difficult to get by villagers, therefore it is important to have a set of strategies and practices villagers can count on and autonomously activate.

Testimonies show that villagers are proud of their identity, and they would not trade it for something else, even if from the outside their lifestyle is disregarded, and even if is more and more difficult to maintain traditional livelihoods due to climate change. *Moreover, villagers claim autonomy and capacity to orient their choices and to be the owners of their future. They show how they can improve their livelihoods thanks to modernization, without compromising their traditions. They can embed modern knowledge in their traditional practices*, which results in an unexpected form of innovation. *They recognize that their traditional knowledge and practices make their livelihoods resilient to external shock, and, at the same time, they appreciate modernization. Villagers are highly aware of their rights and of the capacity and resources needed to see them enforced and respected, and they hold high* hopes for the future, even if it may not appear like so to an external observer.

The local community of Enduimet has the power to transform its reality, to be an active protagonist and not just a passive, powerless actor in the system of tourism and conservation, despite most of the literature tends to picture local communities this way. The meaning of this theme is to revolutionize the narrative, the rhetoric that sees local communities as helpless, shedding on them a new light. By focusing on the strengths, the capacity, and the resources that Enduimet villagers have at their disposal, a new, constructive perspective is offered.

Despite being in jeopardy (see Theme 19), *villagers showed great pride in their traditions and livelihoods, which they would never give up*, even if these are

disregarded by institutions or are difficult to maintain because of climate change. I identified this pride as a source of huge strength.

"Maasai people are the real pastoralists. Our livestock is our bank, and we like what we have. We do not put our money in the bank, we invest in cows or goats. The things that we like, and the things we need are many cows and a big land to feed them. Our issue now is climate change, which makes it very difficult [less rewarding] for us to keep on investing in livestock. That's our biggest challenge. And if others think we should do something else..., livestock [keeping] and farming is what we are used to" - Irkaswaa pastoralist

"We would never stay without traditional activities such as collecting firewood or grazing" – Tinga Tinga woman

When I talked with participants about the many WMA/NGOS projects that try to introduce innovative practices to improve livelihoods, I asked them if they were scared that the new practices were not suitable for them. One answer impressed me, pushing me to reconsider entirely my vision of the community I was investigating. When I heard this answer, I realized I misconceived the community as a static unit of "tradition", that did not have the tools to approach "innovation", nor to discern what's good for them, in the plethora of workshops, training, projects, and the demo plots. Instead:

"Of all the innovations introduced, we would only welcome those that are effective to us, and we would never welcome any innovation that is not useful to us or that would destroy our cultural tradition. We pay attention and select only those that meet our needs and standards" - Tinga Tinga farmer

For instance, thanks to the WMAs, many donors and NGOS introduced different projects to improve farming practices, and many of these innovations were cherished by villagers, because allowed them to save water, and land or just make their activities more efficient:

"We appreciated modern practices, compared to traditional ways. For example, we were introduced to seed spacing in maze planting. Before, we would just sow maize randomly, but now we're using spacing: you have to keep a specific distance between rows and holes when planting the seeds. It is improving our harvest very much" – Tinga Tinga farmer

"I appreciate the innovations in irrigation: we received some training about terraces, and I liked it. Terraces preserve water because they help the soil to retain water. They also help reduce soil erosion from water run-off...so it is very helpful to avoid water loss. We liked this innovation" – Tinga Tinga farmer

Villagers not only carefully select the innovations that are most suitable to them, but they embed the external knowledge within their practices so that they can maintain these innovative practices, even after the projects have ended:

"The training was based on the knowledge of the trainers from the NGOS, however, after the NGO was gone, we were able to continue applying their best practices." - Irkaswaa pastoralist

In a nutshell, villagers can make autonomous and effective choices on innovations and alternative practices that rely on external knowledge, to improve their livelihoods which in turn become even more resilient. Local livelihoods are indeed resilient, and they should not be overlooked as backward. What has been observed, is that already resilient and resource-efficient traditional livelihoods can be improved by the careful decisions of farmers and pastoralists.

Indeed, respondents highlight that to cope with climate change and drought, traditional mechanisms of pastureland management resulted in effective and resilient:

"[to cope with drought] we usually use traditional knowledge, we did not receive that kind of support [from Enduement of NGOS]. Especially for pasture management, we delimit fallow and grazing areas so pastures can regenerate: every six months, pastoralists will move to another area to keep fallow, so that the one just used can regenerate and we usually put askari in those areas where grazing is not allowed. Sometimes it is difficult to play along with other villages, villagers from outside come and graze where we meant to keep fallow, this is why we put askari there. In case of violation, there is a fine of 500.000 Tsh or a payment in kind. This is valid for communal pasturelands in the village." Tinga Tinga village councilor

More specifically, this participant identifies the combination of land planning and traditional land pasture management as a best practice to cope with drying

pasturelands, and for that, the land committee in the village council is a useful resource:

"Through careful [land] planning we can see when problems with land arise, and in that case, we tell our village land committee to solve it. Land use planning is very useful for that, this way we plan pasture management. We decide if there is an area that has to be closed to cattle because we have to wait for the grass to grow back. We enclose the area for some months, we issue some village by-laws to limit the villagers' access to graze in those areas… This way, we manage to conserve the land and to protect the environment" – Tinga Tinga village councilor

In general, pastoralism is a highly sustainable livelihood in terms of the use of resources, especially because is very careful towards pasture regeneration capacity. They prove resilience and great adaptation capacity of the identity of indigenous people that can easily (and wrongly) be deemed reluctant to progress:

"Maasai tradition is all about livestock, but now, climate change and the population [growth], are making Maasai change their lifestyle: the common attitude is to have fewer cattle, which we can afford to feed." – Irkaswaa pastoralist

In this regard, villagers are aware of their land rights as pastoralists, which they know how to protect, except from presidential powers, which remain unbalanced. Moreover, they have clear in mind which are the fights that need to be fought in the future:

"My fellow villager and I believe that the bylaws, but also the village land title are strong weapons to protect our rights. On the other hand, we know very well that the power of the President is on top of all laws. The title deeds and the village land title are good protection, except from the president. In this sense, we need the government law to be changed so that the President cannot take our land. " – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

And in this fight for rights, many resources can be activated by villagers, both internal and external to the community:

"Now our children are educated, taking law school degrees…so if the WMA or anybody else will ask us to leave our land to protect animals, our children will stand against the laws to protect the parents' land" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"Hearing what we are discussing in this interview with my fellow councilors, [I reckon it would be] important to have an organization that is standing by our side, for our land rights in general. You mentioned the organization for pastoralists' rights PINGOS forum, and we are very interested, we will get in contact with them"- Irkaswaa village councilor.

Villagers have shown pride, strength, capability, and determination, and lastly, the curiosity and awareness necessary to fight their own battle to become protagonists of tourism and conservation. I found an example of that when, at the end of the focus group discussion discussions, villagers showed appreciation for the day, thanking me and saying:

"Now, after this interview, I know much more about Enduimet and I know better what to ask in the next WMA meetings, while until now, I didn't know. Also, I used to be an AA representative, but I did not know about the tourism material and activities that you showed us today and about how to involve villagers more…this is why I thank you!" -Irkaswaa farmer

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The deeper meaning of the last theme is that despite not being directly involved in movements or fights like it is happening in other protected areas like Ngorongoro, villagers from Tinga Tinga and Irkaswaa have shown to be aware of how to advance instances, and how becoming more active in claiming the respect of their rights; elevating themselves in a position that is not far from the one hold by communities organized in social movements or participating in political fights: an empowered position that drags them out from the detrimental context of the Ecoturism and conservation system which is affected by villagers' subjection, discrimination, by recentralization mechanisms, dispossession for accumulation, and lack of participation that otherwise characterize the system of tourism and conservation of which Enduimet is part and parcel.

9. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Discussion Overview

In the forthcoming Discussion section, the achievement of study objectives will be thoroughly examined. This examination will involve a revisit to the research objectives outlined in Paragraph 9.1 of the "Overview" section, followed by a comprehensive summary and interpretation of findings as expounded in Paragraph 9.2 under "Summary and Interpretation of Findings." Here, the perspectives established in the research will be revisited to offer commentary, explanation, comparison, and connection of results, while also considering my positionality in the research process. Moreover, the Discussion will entail a presentation of connections drawn with the existing literature review, effectively scrutinizing and refining the conceptual framework in light of empirical evidence and research objectives, as delineated in Paragraph 9.3 titled "Discussion of theoretical framework and findings." These deliberations will pave the way for the formulation of conclusive remarks in the subsequent Conclusions section.

The study aims to investigate the role of the hosting community in the Tanzania Northern Circuit tourism region, observing a case study of CBC, Enduimet WMA. Focusing on the tension between recentralization mechanisms and the outcomes of participation-oriented reforms in conservation and ecotourism, the study investigates the reforms that were introduced in the 1990s to address overly centralized systems that marginalized local communities in resource management, which ultimately led to the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) like Enduimet. The study also examines the tension between subjection and self-determination regarding communities involved in conservation and ecotourism, drawing on concepts from Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities' movements. The investigation additionally tests the assumption that community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), including WMAs, may facilitate capitalist expansion through resource dispossession, known as green grabbing. Despite the emphasis on local participation in these reforms, the study finds that such participation is often weak and easily manipulated by powerful actors seeking to protect their interests. The study advocates for amplifying the voices of trans-local movements advocating for the reversal of power dynamics in

ecotourism and conservation, ultimately aiming for transformative change to end dispossession and accumulation dynamics globally.

The role of the local community within the local system of Ecotourism of Enduimet is determined by its position along the axes (*continuums*) of the theoretical framework. The framework is represented by two axes: the *participation/re-centralization continuum*; and the *self-determination/subjection continuum*. What "moves" the community in a specific position is the sum of actions and perceptions of different social actors at different scales, observed around tourism and conservation issues of Enduimet WMA
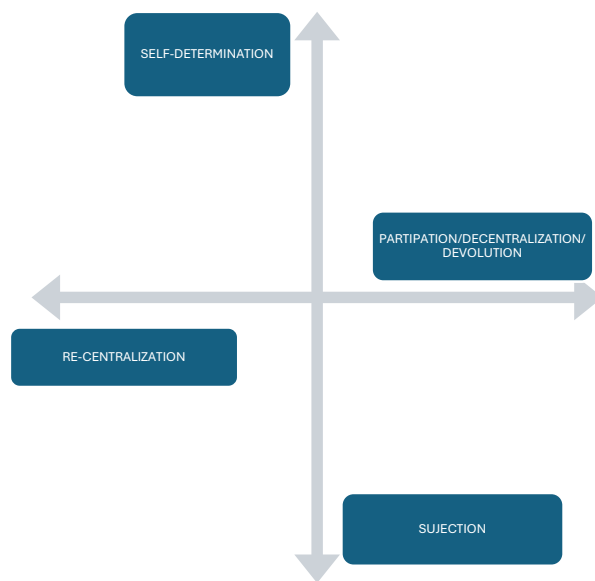
9.2 Summary and Interpretation of Findings

The results, the themes identified, revolve around the three macro-topics of land, governance, and identity and culture. Interviews and focus group tracks were built around these macro-topics, although the conversation covered unexpected topics, such as the effects of the pandemic and challenges related to coexistence with wildlife. The empirical evidence suggests that a complex and multi-faceted role is assumed by the local community in the protection and tourism scheme Enduimet WMA.

9.2.1 Interpretation based on findings on land and access to resources

Villagers of Enduimet seem to cope with a very detrimental scenario, for what concern *land and resources*.

Villagers in the area are facing significant challenges to their livelihoods, including food insecurity and land shortages. They attribute these issues primarily to drought and the expansion of conservation areas onto their lands. For instance, the establishment of Enduimet in 2007 and the sudden extension of Kilimanjaro National Park's perimeter in 2015 have severely impacted local communities. Villagers from Irkaswaa village, bordering Kilimanjaro NP, claim they were dispossessed of pasturelands granted by President Nyerere in the '70s. When they attempted to reclaim some of this land for a school, they found the park authority had moved its boundary beacon, rendering the pasturelands inaccessible. This move was seen as a deliberate response to the villagers' demands, indicating an institutional overreaction by the park authority to maintain control over the land. Despite the formal agreement signed by President Nyerere, villagers felt powerless against the authority's actions and perceived it as a display of dominance by the central government institution.

Furthermore, Enduement plans to further deny access rights to pastoralists, by introducing all-year-round no grazing areas. Enduimet is largely reducing the resources accessible to villagers: no-grazing dispositions also affect all the areas near the tourism facilities. Other WMA dispositions interfere with villagers' livelihoods, and culturally related needs of resources (hindered collection of building material, use of metallic fences, forbidden construction of additional bomas in pasturelands). The long-term consequences of this transformation in husbandry and grazing practices deserve careful investigation: how will pastoralists' grazing routes be affected, if they are no longer able to build temporary bomas throughout the vast Enduimet pasturelands? And if a more sedentary style of livestock keeping is encouraged (less sparse bomas, replaced by irremovable and metallic fences) how is this going to affect coexistence with wildlife and the practice of pastoralism itself? The investigation suggests that these are valid questions in the upcoming future of Enduimet. It is fair to say that the progressive concentration of pasture and livestock units must be reflected upon, especially in terms of how (and where) such concentration should occur, and how this will interfere with wildlife. In addition,

Maasai respondents complained that the new metallic fences are not suitable for them because they need to enlarge the fence during calving season. Lack of space may undermine animals' health, and Maasai respondents expressed concern about it (and the WMA is not in a position to financially provide metallic fences for all villages, while villagers claim access to naturally available building material). The investigation suggests that livestock enclosures into metallic fences, supposedly better protected from wildlife predation and their concentration near village areas are not an option in the immediate future. This poses the challenge of how to imagine the future of practices of grazing in general, and husbandry specifically. How to implement practices at the WMA level that reduce conflicts with wildlife, without creating conflicts with the local pastoral community is still an open question in Enduimet.

To advocate in favor of sourcing natural building materials (a very limited practice in Enduimet due to conservation concerns that are pushing for the introduction of metallic fences), and to advocate that it could be compatible with sustainability concerns, we report about the Eco-sensitive architecture movement that recently developed among African and international architects Among its leaders is found internationally famous architect from Burkina Faso, Francis Kèrè. The movement advocates for the use of natural materials for housing and the preservation of the knowledge behind traditional housing. It is important, according to architects like Kéré, to retrieve nature-based housing traditions to keep housing affordable and more sustainable. This way, traditional housing is no longer backward but transformed into a more energy-efficient, and more affordable style of housing. What is important about this movement is that it is inspired by the principle of self-determination. The goal of architects like Kèrè is to improve the reputation of traditional architecture, preserve the knowledge behind it, but most importantly:

> *"they're trying to assume ownership of some of the solutions, even as world powers struggle to take meaningful action. These architects suggest homegrown, nature-based traditions could be every bit as important as foreign technology and expertise.".* [88]

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[88] Retrieve online at: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/article/why-these-west-african-architects-choose-mud-over-concrete (Accessed December 2023)

Ownership of the solution and the *importance of nature-based traditions* are the keywords. It is in this fashion that I suggest analyzing Enduimet's dispositions on access to natural building materials. Such dispositions result insensitive to villagers' concerns and needs, rather than adopted as a consequence of consultation with villagers. Despite the question on the future of grazing and husbandry practices in Enduimet remaining unanswered, the study suggests that the process to identify which are the best practices must be a process *based on consultation* with the local community, obtained out of a struggle over power to the consultation to be able to produce *actual prescriptions*, and the solution should be *based on community ownership*.

Ownership of the solution made a difference also regarding the tree nursery project, conceived and developed by the villagers of Irkaswaa. The visit to the tree nursery that followed the focus group gave me the chance to speak with the Chairman of the Environmental Committee (leader of the tree-nursey-replantation project). He told me two things that need to be reported: *how important for the success of these projects to be spontaneous, self-managed, and self-regulated.* Usually, they are fostered by external NGOs. He acknowledged instead that Irkaswaa's project was different and more successful because villagers knew best what they needed to overcome their challenges. He never underestimated the support that NGOs and KINAPA provided to the project. With simple words, he highlighted an important, although not granted information: that *for the success of local projects, villagers should be put in the condition of elaborating their solutions and being in charge of developing them, with the much-welcomed support of NGOs or government agencies*. Unfortunately, it occurred in other villages, that reforestation projects t brought in by NGOs were not as successful as the one of Irkaswaa, I was told by the Environmental Chairman. He also told me that in the past, Irkawsaa ended up with a bad reputation in the area because its environment was dry and degraded, it looked almost like a desert. This is why villagers decided to act, to retrieve the pride of Irkaswaa village. What I did not expect, what I still find hard to figure out, is to have a bad reputation among neighboring villages, for having a degraded environment. From where I come from, the culture where I belong, this is not something we would be embarrassed for, not collectively at least,

which ultimately prompts much fewer people in my community to act. Possibly because of this gap, I noticed Irkaswaa villagers' spontaneous action and deemed it highly valuable because it produced benefits for those directly engaged and the rest of the community.

I think what I am trying to say is that in the community where I come from, it would be much harder to find the same degree of environmental sensitivity I encountered in Irkaswaa village. Probably, the difference can be explained by a difference in the meaning we attribute to the environment, which differs between my culture, and Irakswaa villagers' culture. Irkaswaa *villagers* suffered a bad reputation because Irkaswaa's *environment* was bad. I think this occurs because Irkaswaa villagers identify with their environment, to an extent that is not the same as what I experience, which makes it more difficult for me to understand.

. Moving on with the exploration of the thematic area "Land and resources", given the fact that it is an extraordinary arrangement that Enduimet granted access rights to pastoralists[89], and given the fact that it has been announced that Enduimet wants to establish all-year-round no-grazing areas, it is reasonable to expect that Enduimet will slowly adapt to the average WMA, gradually denying pastoralists access for grazing in WMA lands, unless the community stand unite against this drift. Nonetheless, questions arise on the capacity of the WMA to implement these no-grazing areas (and advance land planning in general), given its systematic shortcomings in WMA land planning activities. Enduimet still working on the extraordinary extension for 2024 of the 2017-2022 RZMP, but it should soon gather greater resources to produce its first integrative planning tool, the GMP. Since 2006 nonetheless, Enduimet has not managed to find the budget for the proper GMP. In addition, relying on external consultants for land planning activities may be a weakness and a factor that impacts transparency and full communitarian participation in the process, since the WMA relies on an external actor for one of the very central passages that assure legitimacy to the transfer of land. Likewise, shortcomings detected in the village council's capacity to undertake planning and the need to rely on one external actor (the District PLUM Team) is a weakness, it contributes to reducing village governments' capacity to autonomously manage

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[89] while commonly WMA does not do so (see Sulle et al., 2011)

land planning, which helps in conflict resolution and represents a key legitimacy mechanism for transparent land transfer to the WMA.

The villages lack a communal forest reserve, crucial for accessing natural resources during environmental crises like droughts and for wildlife protection. However, these areas were allocated to the Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), restricting villagers' access to resources. It raises questions about why the government didn't expand village forest reserves instead of introducing WMAs. Guidelines for Village Land Use Planning Systems (VLUPS) indicate that village forests can also protect wildlife, suggesting an alternative approach where wildlife management rights are given to village governments, ensuring similar goals while maintaining direct control. Villagers highlight increasing competition for land between them and wildlife, leading to conflicts. These conflicts reveal systemic issues in land governance, including unclear borders, unequal distribution of mapping resources, and weak customary rights. Villagers feel abandoned by institutions during land disputes, indicating the need for institutional support before implementing any community-based land intervention. Without addressing these issues, interventions cannot truly involve communities, as villagers feel powerless in resolving land conflicts due to the distribution of land rights between the village and central government.

Governance of land is also characterized by overlapping offices and mandates between various government agencies at different levels as a result of ill-conceived regulations; poor outcomes of conflict resolution efforts of public officers; and excessive, all-encompassing presidential or ministerial powers over land and resources. Regarding overlapping land claims, we highlight the conflict that Enduimet has to solve with TAWA; because the latter allocated land to a hunting investor, even though that land belongs to the Enduimet hunting block, which has authority over the WMA hunting block. Another conflicting disposition that may pave the way to future conflict, is the disposition in the Wildlife Conservation Act (2022[90], revised), Cap 191 (5), whereby the "Minister shall ensure that no land falling under the village land is included in the game-controlled areas".

However, if we visit the Longido District Council website[91], we find out that 95% of Longido DC land is occupied by Longido CGA, which necessarily means that the GCA indeed overlaps with village lands. The same claims come from villagers and activists from villages within Longido GCA, who have been denouncing multiple times land grabs in favor of hunting investors since Longido CGA was founded within legally recognized villages. Notwithstanding the legislator's attempts to avoid overlapping land claims and protect Village Lands from Ministerial interventions on their land, in practice the Ministry retains power to intervene in the GCA, thus on village lands. This can be interpreted as the reticence of the central government to *de-facto* devolve power over land and wildlife intervention, and conceptually as a tension, between devolution outcomes of the wildlife legislation undermined by the recentralization mechanism locally in place. Against this backdrop, Villagers fear they could lose their land for good when the WMA is going to be replaced by a National Park, which they all feel is a very concrete possibility. In other words, they are aware that the central government has the power to grab their lands and dispossess them. Even the WMA manager acknowledged that this is not conducive to a participatory scheme, conceived to engage the population in conservation within the incentive of tourism revenues. This re-centralization of power over and undermines the efforts of the WMA reform. Coupled with detected land governance shortcomings (poor planning, poor demarcation, overlapping claims, unevenly distributed know-how and resources) the case study suggests that decentralization and grassroots participation are jeopardized by dynamics of recentralization and aimed at dispossession. In additional support of this argument, we highlight that villagers reported how they agreed to the institution of Enduimet WMA on their lands, in a way that they do not consider free, and unconditioned. On the contrary, the WMA is perceived as imposed on the community, accepted out of fear of losing the land for good in case they did not agree to the governmental project of the WMA.

Villagers express concern over the possibility of losing their land permanently if the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) is replaced by a National Park, indicating a fear of governmental land grabbing. This undermines the

participatory nature of the WMA scheme, designed to engage communities in conservation for tourism revenue. Coupled with identified land governance issues, such as poor planning and poor border demarcation, this suggests that decentralization and grassroots participation are undermined by recentralization dynamics aimed at dispossession. Additionally, villagers perceive the establishment of Enduimet WMA on their lands as imposed rather than freely accepted, driven by fear of losing land if they did not comply with the governmental project.

A discussion around power and land security following the 1999 Land Reform

The analysis delved into the outcomes of land reform on the WMA, focusing on the Land Reform of 1999 and the detected impacts it has on the Enduimet WMA community, particularly pastoralists and farmers. Several key points emerge:

- Land Tenure Insecurity: in general, the condition of villagers regarding land and access to resources is a condition of insecurity, of land tenure insecurity, directly associated with the expansion of protected areas at the expense of villages' lands. The vision embedded in the ranger's statement about abandoning any resistance towards the projects of the central government appears embedded in villagers' minds too. Villagers expressed resignation when speaking about land insecurity: there is no chance to contrast the power of the environmental and land agenda of the central government - therefore villagers feel already dispossessed of their lands.

- Limitations of Devolution: despite the theoretical aim of devolution, practical implementation reveals mechanisms by the central government to retain control. Processes such as transferring village land to general or reserved categories can be easily manipulated by the central government, undermining local community rights. Given the high stakes in conservation and tourism, these mechanisms are simply more concerning in the case of Enduimet, their presence legitimizes villagers' concerns about land dispossession.

- Challenges in Implementation: the reform's implementation suffers from insufficient funding and capacity both at the village and WMA level, hindering effective land formalization, border demarcation, and land use planning.

- Land Formalization Concerns: villagers report delays in individual plot registration when they apply. On the other hand, they express concerns about the compatibility of formalized land ownership with pastoralist needs.

- Neoliberal Agenda: the reform reflects a neoliberal approach, prioritizing investments over traditional livelihoods. Land dispossession is justified by the narrative of productivity and environmental conservation, benefiting private investors at the expense of local communities.

- Power Dynamics: Despite legal provisions for community empowerment, power over land and resources remains concentrated at higher government levels, with local communities facing limited control and influence.

- Weaknesses of WMAs: Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) are perceived as intermediary measures that fail to devolve real power to communities, serving conservation objectives while potentially leading to further land dispossession.

- Community-Based Solutions: Villagers highlight the importance of village-based solutions and internal resources in addressing land-related challenges, emphasizing the need for grassroots participation and ownership.

In summary, the analysis underscores the gap between theoretical aspirations of land reform and its practical implementation, highlighting ongoing challenges in ensuring land (and livelihoods) security for the local community. However, participants also noted some positive practices within Enduimet that aid villagers in accessing resources despite challenging circumstances. These include the flexible enforcement of the Limit of Acceptable Uses, the lack of written authorization required for grazing (unlike for wood collection), and the careful resource surveying approach of the Enduimet Resource Zoning and Management Plan (RZMP), aiming to balance conservation with villagers' needs. This highlights the influence of self-regulated social practices at the micro-level, where flexibility and empathy play a significant role in accommodating villagers' resource needs, particularly during fluctuating seasons. Despite acknowledging slower environmental degradation with the presence of Enduimet, villagers mostly rely on traditional grazing rotation and ecological knowledge to cope with drought and resource depletion caused by climate change. However, enforcing rotational grazing can be challenging when neighboring villages have conflicting practices, although villagers generally find it easier to resolve agreements locally. Villagers

also emphasized the effectiveness of participatory conflict resolution mechanisms within village institutions, allowing for the peaceful resolution of minor conflicts. This direct ownership of conflict resolution processes is seen as advantageous by villagers, promoting the active inclusion of all community members.

9.2.2 Interpretation of findings on the governance of the WMA and the tourism process

Regarding governance, assessing the Enduimet community's role sheds light on the effectiveness of the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) reform. This reform aimed to decentralize authority, increase grassroots participation, and distribute benefits. However, several challenges and weaknesses have been identified:

- Structural budget constraints hinder WMA operations which may indicate a central government focus on extracting value from WMAs without reinvesting in their operations; and budget constraints for participatory processes. Villagers feel excluded from decision-making due to lack of consultation.

- Lack of transparency within the WMA process leaves villagers uninformed about its functioning and the role of the manager. Some representatives, especially women, are perceived as passive, reflecting top-down imposed gender balance norms, rather than genuine empowerment.

- Shortcomings in the AA selection process, including ineffective member retention, unclear regulations, and lack of associated political programs, demotivate villagers from participating and may lead to poor performance.

- Uncertainty surrounds the process of withdrawing from Enduimet, highlighting a lack of transparency in how villagers and their representatives influence crucial decisions, such as investor agreements and WMA withdrawal.

- Further evidence of transparency issues is the presentation of important documents requiring village leaders' approval in English, which may hinder understanding among community members and

WMA management. Additionally, the English acronym WMA is not easily comprehensible to all, and the removal of a self-explanatory picture left many elders or illiterate individuals unable to grasp basic WMA instructions. These communication barriers undermine the community's ability to participate in an informed and aware manner.

- Institutional accountability issues, particularly regarding wildlife damage compensation, were raised by villagers. They perceive a lack of dialogue with institutions, with the belief that these entities, including the Wildlife Management Area (WMA), the district, and the central government protect each other's backs and manage to avoid accountability issues. Compensation, the primary mechanism for reimbursing villagers for wildlife damage, played a significant role in their acceptance of the WMA on their lands. The local Maasai community, in particular, was persuaded to forego traditional predator hunting in exchange for monetary compensation from the WMA or government. However, the timely payment of compensation is crucial for maintaining the foundational agreement between the WMA and villagers, although institutional compensation is not guaranteed.

- Compensation failure and increased wildlife pressure raise violence risk. Nonetheless, Villagers, especially Maasai, accept behavior change (no Moran revenge hunting) for compensation. Rangers use firearms to deter violent retaliation, prompted by wildlife attacks on villagers. The high risk of violence escalation characterizes the case study.

- Moreover, budget constraints affect patrolling capacity, diminishing security, which is another key aspect of the agreement between Enduimet and villagers.

- Lack of legitimacy: Villagers expressed a desire to reclaim land under village governments, viewing the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) as irrelevant to village life.

- Unmet expectations: Villagers reported that the WMA has failed to meet their expectations, indicating shortcomings in the

implementation of Enduimet from their perspective. Key aspects of the WMA-village compromise, such as tourism revenue, are diminishing. However, villagers still associate benefits with the WMA, including revenue for village governments, scholarship programs, tender and employment opportunities, and protection from wildlife. Yet, references to governance shortcomings outweigh overall perceptions of the benefits of Enduimet.

- Recentralization of WMA revenues: Since 2020, WMA revenues have been recentralized in the Treasury, causing significant delays in expenditure and undermining operations in Enduimet and its associated villages. This has strained the relationship between the WMA and the villages.

- District approval requirement: The requirement for district approval and signature on WMA revenue expenditure by village governments is another form of recentralization, transferring authority over revenues away from local communities. This raises questions about the legitimacy and necessity of such measures, which may be based on preconceived notions rather than evidence of corruption or mismanagement at the village level.

- Direct use of violence against villagers, and fear characterize the enforcement and compliance style of Enduimet. Villagers reported being beaten, and humiliated by WMA rangers, and that they gave up violations to conservation measures out of fear of the punishment, not only out of the consciousness of the impact of these practices., which ultimately means that even if community-based in its design, Enduimet WMA is a process forcefully imposed on villagers, who, in turn, have accepted it. The behaviors that villagers associated with conservation institutions, WMA and Kinapa in particular, represent violations of basic rights. Unfortunately, activists in the global south (Dawson and Longo, 2023, The Oakland Institute, 2022) report how difficult it is to hold conservation enforcers accountable for brutality, and violations of human rights, it is of paramount importance to give villagers more chances to report and condemn such episodes and

bring these discussions into the local and global public debate

- Transparency at the village level: Villagers associate transparency, trust, and good communication with village-level governance, particularly with AA representatives and village councilors. Village meetings discussing WMA issues are highly participated, and there are clear answers regarding WMA revenues without mention of misuse by village leaders.

To answer research questions, the evidence gathered under the macro-topic of governance is very important. The implementation of the reform of the WMA is affected by a lack of transparency, accountability, and to some extent even legitimacy, and consequently, villagers pose greater trust in the village government and AA representatives, rather than the WMA, which has acted shady on multiple occasions. This has an overall negative impact on the extent to which the community under investigation can truly participate in the WMA. The community's expectations have not been met *tout-court*, even if the structure of the WMA is based on democratic representation through AA, and mechanisms to benefit the community should be in place (revenues and rangers' protection from wildlife and the compensation of wildlife damages.).

Furthermore, another tension is brought to the foreground in the interpretation of findings: not only villagers are enduring an oppressive, militarily enforced system, that endangers them exceedingly, but villagers are also strongly committed to engaging in conservation and changing their behaviors and rationality about land, resources, and wild animals. They show great fluidity in negotiating their livelihood and even cultural practices. Thanks to that, they become resilient and flexible in an ever-changing context. The same degree of flexibility, resiliency, and adaptability does not characterize the WMA, which is still struggling to recover tourism revenue losses associated with the pandemic. Corona exposed the shortcomings of a tourism model that is excessively dependent on international arrivals, even if long-term consequences on how this drastic reduction in WMA operation affects WMA-villages relations will need further investigations.

Furthermore, it has been also reported that touristic activities of the WMA are not participated in by the community (both in terms of benefits and decisions):

villagers nor AA representatives can influence investors' conditions (the negotiations avoid community consultation that the investor may interpret as instability[92]. The AA can only advise on agreement conditions, but they cannot discuss them with villagers first). Employment opportunities in the hospitality facilities of the WMA are not available to villagers because it requires levels of specialization not diffused among them. Villagers do not participate in the planning of the visits or the itineraries and they are unaware of the activities conducted there (unless they are employed as Village Game Scouts or they find themselves in the bomas that receive tourists). Villagers from Tinga Tinga requested WMA tourist materials at Enduimet gates to be translated into Kiswahili for their understanding, but their request was ignored. Despite this, both Tinga Tinga and Irkaswaa villagers expressed a desire for more direct involvement in tourism, such as creating itineraries within the WMA. They believe their intimate knowledge of local wildlife and conservation efforts could enhance the tourist experience.

Villagers face restrictions on cultural practices and economic opportunities due to limitations imposed by WMA lodges. The lack of tourism facilities and associated lack of opportunities particularly impact Irkaswaa compared to Tinga Tinga. Barriers exist between villagers, WMA, and investors, with efforts to maintain the landscape "idle and wild" at the expense of community engagement (dancing and selling curios, and grazing are all forbidden activities near WMA lodges). Access to the WMA for locals contrasts with facilitated access for tourists, highlighting the alienation of the community from their own space. However, Enduimet Tourism officers and villagers agree that the best opportunities for villagers to gain small profits directly from tourists are when tourists engage directly with villagers, This can occur when they visit Enduimet cultural bomas (exclusively located in Sinya village) or when they visit the Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village. This way they can directly pay villagers for their performances, selling arts and crafts, or tipping their activity as tour guides. Nonetheless, the common tourist image associated with Enduimet (and the one of the Northern Circuit in general) is still one where the community struggles to

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[92] The WMA Manager and tourist officer confirmed that it is specific WMA intention to refrain from letting the WMA investors to speak with the population, because this is interpreted as a sign of instability for investors. Indeed, the AA function is only consultive, this way WMA management is the only body with whom the investor is demanded to relate to.

become an important part, and participants confirm that The prevailing expectation for Enduimet's landscape is one of minimal human presence, catering primarily to wildlife tourism. Tourists primarily seek wildlife encounters rather than engaging with the local culture, which is often reduced to stereotypical images of Maasai traditional clothing. This cultural banalization reflects colonial and racist attitudes. Furthermore, the tourism model heavily relies on external tour operators and lodges, sidelining WMA staff and threatening their income as tourists arrange visits directly with external staff. Not surprisingly, villagers prefer village-based tourism ventures rather than WMA-based ones, when present. Villagers prefer ownership and direct control of the tourism venture, even when it generates smaller revenues compared to WMA revenues. Village-based tourism ventures also constitute a better employment opportunity for villagers.

The tourism process in the investigated villages lacks genuine participation from both villagers and tourists. Villagers and their representatives have minimal influence over tourism decisions in the WMA, leading to a tourism model that excludes villagers from employment opportunities and decision-making. This undermines grassroots participation and reinforces the importance of village-based tourism ventures, where villagers can exercise direct control and benefit from tourism. This highlights the significance of sovereignty and ownership in the tourism model, prioritizing these values over tourism revenues.

9.2.3 Interpretation of findings on power relations and narrative

The analysis of power relations suggests how decisions are made, meaning, how the decisional power is distributed among different actors.

Observing power relations within the system of conservation and tourism, from the point of view of Enduimet WMA, these appear highly unbalanced, and unfavorable to villagers. The central government still holds all or most of the power in all the spheres of competence of the WMA (land, hunting and tourism fees, tourism investors conditions), which shows the reticence of the central government in devolving tourism benefits and powers.

Central government's all-encompassing power is shown by a villager in their testimonies when they reveal they accepted the WMA out of the hope that

WMA is just better than National Parks (land alienation-wise), rather than because they felt the project was suitable for them. In this same feeling of resignation and lack of clout, a respondent framed the fights of Maasai villagers in Ngorongoro-Loliondo as useless. All these testimonies align in a consistent scenario where villagers see themselves as hopeless against the all-encompassing power of the central government (in tourism, in conservation, in land). Villagers' choice to implement a WMA on their lands cannot be considered informed and free from another point of view. When I asked villagers if they were informed about the environmental impacts of tourism, they said they were unaware and that they never received such information during environmental awareness campaigns that preceded the creation of the WMA. Clear information would have guided the choice of the community on the preferred model of development to assume. Instead, a biased and partial presentation of tourism development as the only model to be possibly associated with conservation was given to them. Associated with that, is that environmental awareness training convinced villagers to opt for conservation, based on the conveyed stigma regarding the environmental impact of local livelihoods,

Unfortunately, tourism has a huge environmental impact, especially in an area where there is no proper system of waste collection, nor sewage, water, and electricity infrastructures (that are created almost from scratch), where lodges and hotels necessarily are built at the expense of shrubs and trees. Interestingly, there is no sustainability strategy for tourism and hospitality infrastructures, in Enduimet.

In addition, the WMA arrangement was expected to distribute tourism development opportunities more equally among villages, but this was not the case. Tinga benefits from tourism due to its proximity to roads and Enduimet gates, while Irkaswaa lacks tourism investors and facilities, leading to unequal development.

Enduimet did not successfully implement a community-based decisional process, where the community is participating in a free and informed way. Villagers are not able to influence decisions, rather their participation is based on manipulated information about the environmental impact of their livelihoods and tourism. Another twisted outcome can be observed in villagers' and rangers' discourse: investors and wild animals appear as the most valuable resources for

the success of Enduimet, rather than the community: Investors have been addressed as the "rulers" of the WMA in one interview, and how they are the primary concern for rangers because investors' security depends on them. Villagers' security depends on them as well, but analyzing the rangers' discourse, some sort of overriding priority emerged. In the daily experience of villagers, animals of the WMA are the priority, compared to them. When a conflict with an animal arises in the village (a man or an animal being hurt, or properties being destroyed), the ranger said that it is prioritized to save the animal, even when a person is injured, because villagers may want to hurt the animal for revenge.

Villagers may act desperate, and this may legitimate the use of rangers' force against them, even if the rage of villagers is completely understandable since compensation for damages never materializes, and animal attacks are more and more common every day since Kilimanjaro NP and Enduimet WMA extend up to villages' borders, leaving no buffer zone. villagers may have become tired of bearing this whole situation unsupported. Villagers have witnessed that when an animal dies in the WMA or NP there is a great institutional mobilization; District councilors, police officers, and even the MP come to the village; they start questioning villagers, with a blaming attitude. Whereas, when a person dies, institutions disappear. They do not follow up, and they do not accomplish consolation practices. Villagers have told me multiple times that for the government, animals are more important than people.

Unfortunately, it gets more dysfunctional than that: villagers are discouraged from injuring animals, even if it is necessary for self-defense. From where I come from it is difficult to understand that animal life would be a priority, over human ones. In the results chapter, indeed, I reported a recent piece of news, from the Trentino Region (Italy), where the killing of o bear who attacked a jogger was immediately ordered after the attack, regardless of decades of conservation efforts to recover the wild bear population in the Alps. Whereas in Enduimet, villagers feel their lives are valued less than animals' lives, up to the point they are discouraged from using any force against the animal, even when this constitutes a direct danger because they will be required to answer for their actions against the animal on a court of law.

In summary, villagers face stigma and reluctance to report wildlife incidents

due to institutional intervention only after animal deaths; they face exacerbating food insecurity as crops are destroyed by wildlife, leading to poor harvests and low income. This highlights how conservation objectives prioritize biodiversity over local well-being, with Enduimet failing to address the community's needs. This reflects a colonial mindset, where conservation benefits the dominant group at the expense of those with weaker rights and interests.

The testimonies I gathered describe a system where value allocation is completely reversed, where the conservation and tourism resource (wildlife) become more important than the community that was identified as the beneficiary of the implementation of a touristic scheme such as the WMA. Unfortunately, this shows how conservation and tourism interests lie at the heart of the WMA process, rather than the local community. The excessive value institutions acknowledge to animals, if paired with the condition of land and food insecurity and land loss in favor of the WMA, show how the dynamics of accumulation by dispossession and capitalistic expansion work: for the central government, investors, and tourists the truly valuable element is wildlife. Wildlife is what attracts tourists, and it is the reason why lands, such as Enduimet land, can generate profits in a modernized way (for investors, conservationists, tourists, for the government), against local productive systems that are deemed non-productive and backward. In this sense, land legislation and its implementation are weak in defending villagers' land rights and sovereignty, to catch (accumulate) the value that the tourism and conservation system generates from animals.

In summary, the costs of conservation in Enduimet WMA outweigh the benefits of tourism, according to both the WMA manager and villagers who find tourism revenues negligible. External actors, like tourism investors, often provide development projects instead of direct revenues, leading to a privatization of the development agenda and undermining public village institutions. This fosters a narrative of helplessness among villages, necessitating external interventions, which should ideally be the responsibility of the state and public institutions. The reality of Enduimet underscores a concerning discrepancy between rhetoric and practice in community-based initiatives. The reliance on philanthropic projects instead of direct revenues from investors hampers the long-term empowerment of village institutions. There's a need for a radical shift towards self-determination,

emphasizing internally owned projects over external interventions to prevent dependency on outside actors. Similarly, observing global climate-action-related news, there's an evident double standard at the global level, where African countries bear the brunt of climate action despite contributing the least to emissions, highlighting the unequal distribution of costs and privileges in the sustainability transition. This parallel highlights how both local and global scales allocate necessity and privilege unfairly, with vulnerable communities and vulnerable countries shouldering the burdens without adequate compensation.

Lastly, power and resource dynamics within the tourism and conservation system in Enduimet reflect a pattern of accumulation by dispossession and capitalistic expansion, privileging tourists and international communities at the expense of local villagers. Despite their efforts, villagers face land dispossession, food insecurity, and stigma, with little improvement from WMA or governmental institutions. The anti-community narrative is a strong form of power perpetuated in conservation discourse, which difunctionally legitimizes rights violations and disregards the ecological viability of traditional livelihoods. Despite villagers' commitment to wildlife protection, they are stigmatized and marginalized, highlighting a systemic bias that prioritizes environmental privilege over local rights and well-being.

9.2.4 Interpretation of findings on culture and identity of the local community

The adoption of Indigenous People and Local Communities' studies highlighted a significant challenge: the threat to the identity and culture of IPLCs, and their struggle to influence national and international agendas. The activism of Maasai in Ngorongoro and related media coverage reveal the threat posed by the regional and national conservation and tourism system to pastoralists' identity. Enduimet WMA case study examines the relationship between local culture/identity and conservation, particularly, although not exclusively, focusing on how the survival of traditional livelihoods is linked to the preservation of ethnic identity. Traditional knowledge, vernacular language, and the impact of modernization on identity are observed elements. The ethnicity of villagers is a crucial criterion for participation in the study, as local livelihoods and ethnicity intertwine, with small-scale farming and pastoralism being Enduimet's primary

livelihoods. Despite Enduimet's recognition of certain cultural and identity characteristics, villagers feel their culture is under threat and discriminated against by conservation and tourism institutions. Nonetheless, the community remains proud and resilient, viewing pride in ethnic identity and traditional livelihoods as crucial. Enduimet offers opportunities for community participation beyond mere benefits, such as villagers' expertise in patrolling, vital for effective conservation efforts. However, ongoing stigmatization, blaming, and punishment of villagers undermine their willingness to contribute to conservation efforts, despite their invaluable local knowledge.

One notable positive aspect is the use of vernacular languages like Maa by rangers, facilitating communication with villagers who may not speak Kiswahili. Translators ensure non-Kiswahili speakers can engage in village meetings about WMA issues. However, this linguistic inclusivity primarily stems from villagers and village institutions, rather than from the WMA administration. The use of Maa extends to Enduimet's toponyms, preserving the original Maa names for areas, though this sometimes confuses the designated zones for land use, which borrows the same toponyms locally employed. Moreover, Maa includes specific terms for flora and fauna, which are maintained during interactions between rangers and Maa-speaking villagers. Furthermore, the nearly exclusive employment of residents from member villages in Enduimet's management and patrolling staff has several positive implications for community-based tourism and conservation. Villagers preferentially call upon Enduimet rangers for assistance within the Longido Game Controlled Area due to shared language and community ties, contrasting with reliance on non-local staff in other areas. This underscores the importance of villagers identifying with the staff during critical situations such as property damage or wildlife encounters. The predominantly local composition of WMA staff facilitates the exchange of both traditional and scientific knowledge between villagers and WMA personnel. This inclusivity ensures that staff members understand villagers' vernacular language, culture, and traditions, allowing for effective collaboration. However, the reliance on external tour guides during most Enduimet visits increases the risk of trivializing local culture. While initiatives like Olpopongi aim to counter-cultural misrepresentations in Maasai tourism, Enduimet misses an opportunity to offer an authentic cultural experience by allowing external guides from tour operators and lodges to lead visits.

The loss of indigenous crop varieties and cattle breeds, exacerbated by drought and productivity demands, reflects a broader erosion of culturally significant farming and pastoral practices tied to land. Expansion of conservation areas like WMAs and national parks, coupled with weak enforcement of customary rights, has led to land loss for local communities, severing ancestral ties and cultural identity. Villagers perceive this as ethnic-based discrimination by government and conservation institutions, including Enduimet. Particularly marginalized are Maasai villagers, who fear a fate akin to Ngorongoro's discrimination. The conservation agenda, prioritized for economic gain and national development, perpetuates colonial dynamics that undermine community participation and rights. This underscores the need for policies ensuring both participation and respect for basic community rights, notably self-determination. In contrast, local social movements and activists are actively challenging the harsh realities imposed by conservation efforts in the Northern Circuit, emphasizing the vital role of resistance in reclaiming community pride and agency. These activists advocate for the recognition of Indigenous People and Local Communities' rights and their meaningful inclusion in political decision-making. My research in Enduimet underscores the significance of communal resources, proximity bonds, and cultural practices as a response to the adverse conditions faced by the community. This aligns with the research assumption, as villagers express pride in their identity despite external disregard for their lifestyle. Despite challenges like climate change, wildlife presence, and land encroachment for conservation, villagers remain steadfast in preserving their traditional livelihoods and cultural heritage.

9.3 Discussion of theoretical framework and findings

9.3.1 WMAs as case studies: insights about participatory and democratic representation practices

Literature on WMAs highlights issues of elite capture, mismanagement of revenues, and lack of transparency (Nelson, 2004; Moyo et al, 2017; Bryceson and Benjaminsen 2012; Benjaminsen 2013; Sulle et al, 2011). Contrary to official narratives, villagers express trust in village governance but distrust towards WMA management and government institutions. This distrust is the result of multiple

episodes that lacked transparency in their involvement of villagers and extends to district and national government and conservation bodies, indicating broader systemic issues. In addition, Environmental awareness campaigns offered to Enduiemt villagers stigmatize local livelihoods, coercing communities into WMA agreements, while they partially inform about the impact of tourism as the main sector of development. This is in line with the WMA literature that suggests the untransparent imposition of WMAs on communities, driven by government and conservation organizations, reflects broader power struggles over wildlife resources (Bluwstein, J. 2017; Nelson, 2004; Moyo et al, 2017; Bryceson and Benjaminsen 2012; Benjaminsen et al., 2013). Additionally, Livestock integration within the WMA is crucial for community acceptance, yet threats to grazing rights loom, risking further tensions (in line with Sulle et al., 2011; Moyo et al, 2017). While villagers possess both scientific and traditional knowledge, biases in actors' discourse persist regarding villagers' capacity to manage protected areas and tourism development (in line with; Benjaminsen et al., 2013).

Conflicts over resource access, exacerbated by shrinking lands due to conservation measures, lead to erosion of trust between villagers and conservation authorities affect Burnge WMA (Moyo et al., 2017). Likewise, villagers in Enduimet resort to illicit mechanisms to cope, resulting in confrontations with rangers and criminalization of their behaviors. Informal social norms often supersede WMA regulations, impacting resource access and management, which aligns with Moyo et al. (2017) findings.

The political neutrality of WMA representatives undermines their effectiveness in conflict resolution and decision-making processes. Villagers lack alternative visions during elections, and transparency issues plague the electoral process. The ambiguous authority and lack of transparency over WMA land allocation and withdrawal further exacerbate tensions, contributing to a sense of dispossession among villagers (in line with Kicheleri et al., 2021).

Enduimet's research efforts, particularly in ecological assessments, demonstrate a coordinated approach involving local, national, and international stakeholders However, challenges persist, including a lack of ecological data and transparency issues, (in line with Sulle et al., 2011). Challenges outlined in the EWMA RZMP of 2004 policies (Monduli DC, EWMA, 2005) persist today, including illegal harvesting,

lack of tangible benefits for communities, and conflict. Additionally, disputes over land rights and resource access exacerbate tensions, hindering sustainable conservation efforts.

The selection of Enduimet WMA as a case study was motivated by the conflicts surrounding its establishment, particularly concerning the village of Sinya, which joined the WMA under coercion following a controversial change in village leadership (Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2007; Sulle 2008; Sulle et al., 2011). Despite claims of peace by WMA officers, skepticism remains regarding the reliability of their testimonies, given the history of discontent and coercion. This offers an interesting perspective on future research in Enduimet. In conclusion, Enduimet WMA exemplifies broader systemic issues regarding governance, transparency, and resource management in community-based conservation initiatives. Addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that prioritizes community engagement, transparency, and equitable resource distribution.

9.3.2 Enduimet and the Northern Safari Circuit: destinations where to observe the default of Eco-tourism principles of sustainability

Ecotourism, encompassing cultural, rural, and natural tourism, holds promise for enhancing indigenous land and community livelihoods while conserving natural resources. It emphasizes experiencing natural areas to foster environmental and cultural understanding and conservation (Pasape et al., 2015; Holden, 2016; International Ecotourism Society Website). Community-based tourism, an outgrowth of the policy shift towards local community participation in tourism, emerged during the decentralization era of the 1990s and 2000s (Yüksel, 2005). However, not all ecotourism experiences labeled as community-based are truly community-sensitive or beneficial. Despite the potential of tourism for economic development, there remains a need to develop strategies ensuring sustainability and positive outcomes for destination communities (Pasape et al., 2013; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). Debates around enhancing ecotourism sustainability have led to the identification of key components, including sustainable resource use, waste reduction, diversity maintenance, integration into local planning, community involvement, stakeholder consultation, and responsible marketing (Mwamwaja, 2006; Holden, 2016; Corbisiero, 2021).

The analysis of community-based tourism in Enduimet reveals shortcomings in sustainability practices and integration with the local community. The tourism infrastructure lacks sustainability strategies, leading to environmental pollution and exacerbating disparities between tourist facilities and local communities (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). National promotion efforts fail to address local perceptions, with WMAs receiving minimal promotion from the Tanzania Tourism Board, hindering community-based tourism marketing and policy integration (Pasape et al, 2013). Involvement of local communities and stakeholders is lacking, particularly in negotiations between investors and WMA management, perpetuating a lodge or tour-operator-centered model that marginalizes villagers. Limited employment opportunities for villagers further underscore the exclusionary nature of the tourism model, contrasting with village-based ventures where villagers enjoy greater control and direct benefits, this scenario resembles the *socio-spatial organization of a tourism enclave* (Nepal and Saarineen, 2016).

Bluwstein (2017) highlights the inherent complexities of ecotourism, urging a critical examination of its impacts. In Enduimet, conflicts arise between biodiversity conservation and community livelihoods, leading to resentment and socio-economic challenges This reflects the broader market-driven transformation of rural and indigenous landscapes into premium tourism sites, displacing traditional livelihoods and exacerbating inequalities (Kicheleri, 2021; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012).

Observing the conflicts faced by the Maasai and other communities in the Northern Circuit, as outlined in various sources (Mittal and Frase, 2018; The Oakland Institute, 2022; Currier and Mittal, 2021; Wickama, 2005), it becomes apparent that similar tensions and trade-offs, as discussed by Bluwstein (2017) and identified in Enduimet, are prevalent throughout the region. This study suggests that Bluwstein's critique of ecotourism, particularly regarding the problematic creation of protected areas, should resonate with institutions across the Northern Circuit, notably TANAPA and the Ministry. Wildlife-based tourism, including both consumptive and non-consumptive forms, is common in Enduimet, with hunting tourism raising particular concerns among villagers who oppose it due to environmental degradation and lack of local benefit. Enduimet's conflict with TAWA over hunting block allocation underscores the central government's reluctance to

decentralize decision-making and benefits, reflecting broader issues in the region beyond Enduimet.

Indigenous and cultural tourism, such as visits to Maasai cultural bomas, are offered in Enduimet, albeit insufficiently benefiting local villagers. Although improving cultural tourism activities is part of Enduimet's management plan, it remains a minor aspect of overall tourism. The tourism officer's discourse regarding tourists' expectations, focusing on colorful traditional clothing, reflects a problematic emphasis on superficial aspects of local cultural heritage. This suggests a trend towards trivializing and stereotyping Indigenous culture, echoing findings in Cole (2006).

Cole (2006) highlights the risk of colonial legacy in tourism definitions, especially regarding indigenous/ethnic tourism, which can lead to the commodification and fetishization of cultures. Enduimet's tourism model potentially perpetuates this by reducing cultural differences to commodities, despite efforts such as Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village in Tinga Tinga to counter banalization. While Enduimet employs Maasai or villagers as tour guides, the risk of banalization persists, particularly when cultural bomas are visited without local staff, and organized solely by lodges or tour operators. In contrast, projects like Olpopongi, with Maasai tour guides and community-donated artifacts, actively combat banalization and fetishization.

The failure of government officials and facilitators to openly discuss tourism's environmental impact with community members during the creation of Enduimet undermines the transparency and legitimacy of the process (Paspae et al., 2015; UNWTO, 2022). Villagers were unaware of the environmental consequences of their traditional livelihoods and the development of tourism, highlighting a lack of transparency. This discrepancy becomes more evident considering the trade-offs between conservation objectives and local livelihoods endured by villagers for the benefit of tourists (Bluwstein, 2017).

Moving on, we found confirmation that the way villagers usually earn directly from tourism is by selling beads, being tipped for pictures, or when they receive visitors at the cultural bomas in the WMA or in Olpopongi. This is in line with Pasape et al. (2013, and Pasape et al., 2015) on how Ecotourism in Tanzania can benefit the local community. Unfortunately, these typical activities can be conducted only in the village-based tourism ventures in Tinga Tinga. On the contrary, the WMA

discourages them, and villagers are not allowed to approach tourists in WMA lodges to try to sell curios or get tipped for pictures and dancing, which resulted in the malcontent of villagers.

More in general, both WMA officers and villagers agreed that tourism is not redistributing enough to communities, in terms of net benefit and revenues. In this sense, the costs for conservation and the expectations of the Enduimet community remain unmet, even if tourism should be the primary tool of the WMA to accomplish that. Compared to other more successful tourism arrangements based on the community (such as those reported in Gardner, 2016; Bluwstein, 2017), Enduimet WMA has not reached a satisfactory standard in villagers' perception. The opportunity for local villages to catch the benefit of tourism development is additionally undermined by the scarcity of services and infrastructure, exacerbated by the lack of government Investment in the area.

Despite mixed evidence of Enduimet's respect for indigenous cultures and traditions, local community members generally support tourism development for its potential for cultural understanding and appreciation. However, Enduimet's tourism model lacks adequate consultation and dialogue with the community, raising doubts about its sustainability according to UNWTO guidelines (2022).

In conclusion, the examination of Enduimet and its position within the Northern Safari Circuit reveals critical shortcomings in the implementation of ecotourism principles. From transparency issues during the establishment process to limited benefits reaching local communities, the reality falls short of the ideals of sustainable and community-centered tourism. While some initiatives, like Olpopongi Maasai Museum and Village, strive to counteract the commodification of culture, they remain exceptions rather than the norm. Moreover, the disparity between the economic gains enjoyed by tourism operators and the marginalization of local villagers underscores systemic issues that need urgent address. Enduimet's experience serves as a stark reminder of the complexities and challenges inherent in achieving genuine ecotourism, urging a reevaluation of strategies to ensure the equitable distribution of benefits and the preservation of cultural and environmental integrity within tourism development.

9.3.3 Good governance of Participation: insights from literature and the implications for Enduimet WMA

Governance encompasses the mechanisms by which power is exercised and decisions are made in a society or organization, aiming to ensure the realization of the public good while respecting human rights (Pasape et al., 2015; World Bank, 2010). It involves transparent, accountable, and equitable management of resources and affairs, with responsiveness to the needs of citizens and groups (Pasape et al., 2013). Good governance is crucial for sound development management (World Bank Website) and is considered a prerequisite for upholding human rights by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Website). Participation, essential for good governance, involves the engagement of communities, stakeholders, and civil society in decision-making processes. This active involvement is central to decentralized governance systems promoted in many developing nations. Participation may take various forms, including direct engagement or representation through legitimate intermediaries (Yüksel et al., 2005; De Marchi and Ravetz, 2001). Pasape et al. (2015) succinctly define participation as the inclusion of men, women, and marginalized groups in the governance process. Nonetheless, the debate around "community participation" needs to start from "participation" as a nuanced concept, not inherently good (just like for ecotourism), but good (namely, beneficial for communities) only if realized in a specific way. De Marchi and Ravtz (2001) write about the need to define participation according to the context, and that "participation" by itself is not prescriptive enough. Against this backdrop, Arnstein (1969) comes in handy, because he defines citizenry participation as a ladder. On the bottom rung, you have the participation of manipulated individuals. This can still be called participation, but the extent of "participation" is subjected to "the education" of the community, which is considered unable to contribute, unless "educated". On the top rung, citizens are real participants, with the power not only to gather and express their instances but also with the power to exercise control over decisions affecting them. Participation, transparency, and accountability, integral to good governance, were examined in the context of Enduimet WMA, aligning with the framework just outlined.

Unfortunately, several shortcomings hinder effective governance and participation within the WMA. Structural issues such as insufficient budget allocation and lack of transparency in procedures pose significant challenges. For instance, unclear withdrawal procedures and demands for English approval of agreements and land title deeds without adequate explanation raise doubts among villagers about the WMA management's intentions. This lack of transparency breeds mistrust, particularly towards WMA investors involved in hunting tourism. In contrast, transparency and trust are more commonly associated with village government and AA representatives. Accountability issues are evident at multiple levels, with both the central government and the WMA facing criticism for their lack of compensation and accountability measures. Villagers feel powerless to hold either entity accountable as they often protect each other's interests. Consequently, villagers' expectations of the WMA remain unmet, leading to doubts about its legitimacy and overall effectiveness. Despite these challenges, there remains a possibility for trust-based relationships between villagers and the WMA, with potential for direct benefits to the community. Efforts to capitalize on positive aspects at the village level may help improve the situation for villagers.

The participatory process of Enduimet is scarcely funded, and general meetings are difficult to maintain, and it happened they are reduced in number or audience. Villagers indeed do not perceive the WMA as able to undertake a participatory process for the decisions, decisions are reported to villagers after taken. The observation of power relations and the allocation of decisional power in the WMA revealed that the extent of villagers' participation achieved is either weak or bland, thus revealing that De Marchi and Ravtz (2001) were right about the necessity of less vaguely defined participation, otherwise it can be easily deceived by other mechanisms, as the case of Enduimet showed. The authors also warn that participatory design must be highly sensitive to the social, economic, and political context, and the evidence gathered around female representatives being inactive during meetings, indicates a certain extent of unreflexively imposition of the measure of inclusivity, and that the participatory process was not adapted to the local context, which indeed results in a façade, whereby women "participate", but they stay silent.

Regrettably, the position of the Enduimet community within the WMA hierarchy appears marginalized, with villagers relegated to the role of being

educated rather than actively engaged in decision-making. This educational process has been marred by manipulation, as villagers receive biased information regarding the impacts of tourism and environmental conservation efforts. Traditional livelihoods and practices are stigmatized as harmful, disregarding the valuable knowledge and sustainable practices already in place within the community. Despite some positive contributions from the WMA and its tourism initiatives, governance constraints, and power dynamics hinder meaningful community participation. Transparency and democracy are compromised, casting doubt on the legitimacy of the decision-making process within the WMA.

9.3.4 (Failing) reforms of decentralization in land, resources, and conservation (CBNRM- CBC): tension between theoretical models and empirical reality.

Ribot et al. (2006) distinguish between deconcentration and political decentralization in governance, where the former entails devolution of power to local appointees, and the latter involves downward accountability to locally elected representatives. Effective decentralization hinges on empowering local actors who are answerable to their communities, a process facilitated by mechanisms such as elections. Additionally, CBNRM initiatives aim to empower local communities in natural resource management by leveraging their traditional knowledge and practices. However, the implementation of CBNRM in Enduimet falls short of this ideal due to various challenges, including flaws in land reforms and governance structures. These challenges, outlined by Nelson and Agrawal (2008), stem from rent-seeking behaviors, lack of downward accountability, and state patronage interests. Access theory further elucidates how powerful interests in tourism and conservation often overshadow community rights, leading to accumulation by dispossession, where resources become concentrated among a privileged few at the expense of marginalized communities (Harvey, 2005; Kicheleri et al., 2021; Moyo et al., 2016; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). In addition, Pedersen (2016) underscores the communal nature of land ownership in Africa, contrasting it with the individualized ownership systems prevalent in the West. In this communal context, land rights are subject to constant renegotiations, reflecting the fluid and dynamic nature of land rights and institutions, which are not fully controlled by the state.

Villagers' testimonies echo this sentiment, highlighting the challenges of protecting communal lands such as forests or pasturelands from state expropriation due to their perceived status as "nobody's land." Maasai respondents express wariness towards individual title deeds, as they may disrupt the necessary fluidity of norms regulating land access.

The dominance of tourism interests over community empowerment was evident in the power dynamics observed within the WMA. This imbalance jeopardizes current and future community access to resources: grazing areas are being converted into no-grazing zones to cater to tourism and conservation needs, while villagers face restricted access to WMA lodges and even complete denial of entry by rangers. WMA officers openly acknowledge that tourism investors' interests often supersede those of the communities, particularly in land conflicts and resource allocation. Moreover, the recent centralization of WMA revenues by the central government signals a regression in decentralization efforts in Ribot et al (2006). Not only WMA revenues have been centralized in the treasury, and they take too long to be re-distributed back to the local level, but also District council signature is also required before villages can spend WMA revenues.

Moreover, the use of violence against communities further underscores the prioritization of environmental preservation over community rights, aligning with the concept of accumulation by dispossession. On a more symbolic but very impactful level, an anti-community narrative prevails in the discourse and actions of Enduimet actors *("villagers do not know", "villagers need to be educated")*, diverging from the community-centered approach advocated by CBNRM models. In Enduimet, wildlife protection takes precedence over community development, contradicting CBNRM principles. Local livelihoods are stigmatized as detrimental to the environment, leading to their restriction and even violence against them. Despite nominal allowances for alternative activities within the WMA, such as beekeeping, farming is prohibited, and awareness of other permitted activities is low. This anti-community sentiment extends beyond Enduimet to national conservation efforts, as seen in government plans for increased conservation measures in other regions, which prioritize environmental concerns over community well-being.

Reflecting on Land Acts number 4 and 5 of 1999 (URT, 1999ab), the recentralization of power over land by the central government undermines the intended decentralization, exacerbating land insecurity. This undermines the

community's role in the WMA, indicating that the CBC scheme in Enduimet lacks true community participation, particularly in decision-making over land and resources. Communities like Enduimet and those across the broader Northern Safari Circuit are subjected to disempowerment, with centralized government control over land and resources overshadowing customary rights. The tie between land reform and WMA reform highlights persistent shortcomings: presidential powers can dissolve WMAs at will, leaving villagers insecure about land rights, and decision-making power is merely symbolic. The WMA reform falls short of decentralizing resources due to the precedent land reform's failures. Consequently, governance in Enduimet is marked by tension between decentralization efforts and recentralization mechanisms, fostering issues of downward accountability and mistrust among local actors. This scenario is exacerbated by the ambiguity surrounding land allocation to the WMA in Enduimet, undermining the legitimacy of the conservation intervention. Villagers lack clarity regarding ultimate authority over the allocated land and the possibility of land retrieval after withdrawal. Village governments anticipate reclaiming the land post-dismantlement, while WMA officers assert it as WMA territory. This uncertainty is compounded by discrepancies in regulation identified by Kichileri et al, (2021): village land authority governed by the Village Land Act n° 5 contrasts with WMA regulations dictating wildlife management. Consequently, WMAs assume control over land without altering its legal classification, leading to a subtle erosion of village authority. This lack of transparency perpetuates villagers' unawareness, reinforcing the dispossession hypothesis within the community-based scheme. Viewed through the lens of access theory (Nelson and Agrawal, 2008), the participatory decision-making process regulating resource access reveals a disparity in power dynamics and transparency within the community. Restrictions on grazing within lodge and campsite areas, alongside plans for year-round no-grazing zones, prioritize tourism and conservation interests over the community's livelihood needs. Villagers face spatial challenges accessing the WMA while tourists enjoy unhindered access, highlighting a perception of villagers as disruptive elements rather than valued contributors to the landscape. This imbalance underscores the prioritization of tourism-centric interests over community welfare within the WMA's operational framework.

However, amidst this dynamic landscape of land rights, local land management initiatives and participatory conflict resolution mechanisms at the village level offer potential solutions. Participatory Village Land Use Plans, coupled with inter-village collaboration, emerge as tools capable of regulating land and resource access while accommodating the diverse needs of local communities and ethnic groups. Despite ongoing struggles to formalize land ownership through state-led reforms, effective land governance sensitive to local needs finds realization through decentralized land management practices at the village level.

In a nutshell, empirical corroboration was found that in the CBC scheme Enduimet WMA, the decentralization of power is more in the rhetoric, than in the practice (see Ribot, et al, 2006 or Moyo et al, 2016 Indeed,) indeed the customary right of communities remains secondary and easy to deceive by allocating village land to WMAs. The same WMA can be dismantled by government decisions at any time. Therefore, we argue that the CBC scheme investigated is unable to address community issues in Enduimet WMA (poverty, lack of power, lack of rights, unheard instances), whereas it serves very well the purposes of market-based, capitalistic solutions for sustainability, but these characteristics affect WMA policy design and regulations, rather than the case-study implementation, hence suggesting that Moyo et al, (2016) were right to pose the question "Failure by Design"? about Taznania CBC scheme.

In conclusion, the findings of this study underscore the stark reality that theoretical models of decentralization, such as CBNRM and CBC, often fail to align with empirical observations on the ground. The tension between the ideals of community empowerment and the actual power dynamics within the WMA reveals significant discrepancies. Despite participatory frameworks purportedly in place, the limited influence of the AA and the community's perceived powerlessness highlight the shortcomings of current decentralization efforts. Moving forward, it is imperative to bridge the gap between theory and practice by acknowledging the inherently political nature of WMA decision-making processes. Villagers must be empowered with a deeper understanding of their role and agency within the WMA, transcending simplistic views of civil society action. Only through meaningful inclusion and empowerment can decentralization reforms truly fulfill their promise of community-driven conservation and resource management. This study reinforces the notion that without genuine community involvement and

empowerment, the rhetoric of CBC schemes remains a facade, failing to catalyze meaningful change and empowerment for local communities (Nelson and Agrawal 2008; Ribot et al., 2006; Butterbury and Fernando, 2006; Moyo et al., 2016, 2017).

9.3.5 Land tenure security and land grabbing: theoretical markers of coloniality and the implications for the findings

To delve into the complexities of land governance and the challenges posed by customary rights, the concept of land security, also known as land tenure security, is pivotal (FAO, 2002; Robinson et al., 2018; Yuta et al., 2020). This notion serves to elucidate the dichotomy between de jure aspects of land tenure, such as legal titling, and de facto aspects, including customary rights, which may lack legal recognition but hold sway through community norms (FAO, 2002). Furthermore, tenure security underscores the intricate relationship between an individual's decision-making authority and the extent and nature of their land rights, emphasizing the role of both formal and informal institutions (Robinson et al., 2018).

Crucially, tenure security hinges on the confidence, whether real or perceived, that rights will be respected and upheld by society and its institutions (Yuta et al., 2020). Within societies, rules of tenure delineate the distribution of property rights in land, along with associated obligations and limitations (FAO, 2002). This framework acknowledges the coexistence of multiple tenure systems, encompassing both formal legal frameworks outlined in statutes and regulations, as well as customary systems governed by local practices (Yuta et al., 2020).

However, when these tenure systems clash or fail to ensure equitable access to land, land insecurity ensues, resulting in various adverse outcomes such as landlessness, food insecurity, loss of resource sovereignty, and environmental degradation (Razzano, 2020; Razzano, 2023; Salami et al., 2010; Chitonge & Ntsebeza, 2012; Langan, 2017; Moyo et al., 2017). This underscores the imperative of addressing tenure insecurity to safeguard the well-being and rights of individuals and communities reliant on land resources.

Indeed, focusing on villagers' experiences and perceptions, the concept of land tenure security seemed appropriate to highlight the more intimate concerns

of participants. The intuition turned out successful: the feelings that villagers associated with the security of rights and land tenure were negative, villagers either expressed their fear of dispossession on behalf of the central government, or they already left in their resignation that the land they work is sooner or later going to be taken away from them, to make a National Park or extend existing ones. The uncertainty of tenure of the village land allocated to the WMA, the recurring disputes over the borders of the WMA, and the access conflicts (especially for the villagers that saw entrance in Enduimet denied, those who had their bomas relocated, or the pastoralists chased away when they graze near WMA lodges) are all factors that should ultimately be interpreted as evidence that the community-based scheme is itself an additional source of land insecurity and that contributes to worsening local tenure system of land, by adding another layer of unclear authority and dispositions in conflicts with social norms that regulate access to land. Another concern expressed by villagers about land security is the competition with wildlife. Villagers fear that the areas where they usually farm or graze will be occupied by animals, or dispossessed to be given to animals and tourists. Such concern is relevant to the extent that villagers in Tinga Tinga refused the construction of a water pond in the bush because the increased competition over the water source would have made it impossible for the cattle to access water in that area if that became a water point for wild animals.

In addition, the study found that insecurity of land rights disproportionately affects women, exacerbating food insecurity compared to men, as women are typically the primary household food providers (FAO, 2002b; Chu, 2011; Robinson, 2018). The precariousness of land tenure jeopardizes the food security of entire families, eliciting profound concern among women respondents. While women may access land through familial or marital channels, their tenure remains tenuous, compelling them to demonstrate their capacity to steward the land to avoid dispossession. These findings echo existing gender studies on land issues, underscoring the urgent need to address gender disparities in land tenure to ensure the well-being of women and their households(FAO, 2002b; Chu, 2011; Robinson, 2018).

In conclusion, the exploration of land tenure security and land grabbing reveals the intricate interplay between theoretical markers of coloniality and their implications for empirical findings. Through the lens of capitalistic spatial

reorganization, land grabbing emerges as a manifestation of cyclical phases of accumulation and crises of overaccumulation, perpetuated by global actors seeking to exploit resources in developing countries. The phenomenon extends beyond mere commercial acquisitions, encompassing nuanced forms such as green grabbing, where national environmental policies become vehicles for dispossession (Harvey, 2003; 2005; Benjaminsen e and Bryceson 2012; Fairhead, 2012). This analysis underscores the urgent need to adopt frameworks of neoliberal conservation (Fletcher, 2020) of food sovereignty (La Via Campesina, 2021), and self-determination (Castellino, 2003; Dawson and Longo, 2023) to unpack the imperialistic and exploitative dimensions of land grabbing, as already suggested by Razzano (2020). By reframing land grabbing as a matter of expansionist imperialism and exploitation of marginalized communities, we unveil the inherent injustices and dispossession embedded within neoliberal conservation paradigms, which in turn hinders the chances for the Enduimet community to self-determinate supported by Enduimet WMA. The case study and the secondary data offered on protected areas and conservation schemes in Tanzania's Northern Circuit serve as poignant reminders of the dire consequences of unchecked land grabbing, from forced evictions to violent conflicts, perpetuating cycles of dispossession and marginalization, which ultimately affects communities quite everywhere in the global south (see Nepal and Saarinen, 2016) In conclusion, addressing the systemic injustices of land grabbing requires a concerted effort to empower local communities, uphold human and indigenous rights, and challenge the hegemony of global capitalism over land and resources. Only through a holistic approach that prioritizes community agency, transparency, and equitable resource distribution can we mitigate the deleterious impacts of land grabbing and pave the way for sustainable and just *convivial alternatives* (Büscher and Fletcher, R. 2019; Dawson and Longo, 2023; Reyes-García et al, 2022)

9.3.6 Imposed meanings, imposed spatial control: lessons about power relations from the ontology of nature to land dispossessions

In Western discourse, the conceptualization of nature as separate from human influence has long prevailed, with terms like "environmental conservation" and "wilderness" shaping policies and practices (Brockington and Igoe, 2006;

West et al., 2006). However, critical scrutiny reveals these concepts as socially and politically constructed rather than factual (Brockington and Igoe, 2006; West et al., 2006), underscoring the hegemonic power dynamics at play (Nepèal and Saarinen, 2016). This hegemony extends to global initiatives like the UN Sustainability Goals, often reflecting Eurocentric perspectives and marginalizing Indigenous and minority voices (Virtanen et al., 2020).

Environmental conservation efforts serve as a lens through which to examine the imposition of these constructed meanings. Protected areas, for instance, embody divergent interpretations: communities view them as integral to livelihoods and cultural practices, while conservationists perceive them as untamed wilderness to be preserved (Dansero et al., 2013). The establishment of national parks, rooted in colonial legacies, epitomizes this dichotomy, regulating space and aesthetic landscapes according to Western ideals (Neumann, 1998, 2003).

This imposition of meaning is perpetuated through conservation policies, often neglecting local land uses and exacerbating conflicts (Gardner, 2016). Universal values like "participation" can obscure oppressive agendas, legitimizing colonial interventions (Katz, 1998). Reflexive and critical engagement is therefore essential to unveil and challenge these embedded power dynamics, ensuring that conservation initiatives prioritize equity and inclusivity (Gardner, 2016).

It is within such a theoretical perspective, that we can observe how Enduimet contributes to the imposition of an externally conceived idea of what the space should look like. Tourists have consistent access, while villagers do not, indicating a new regime of control prioritizing external enjoyment. Moreover, tourists primarily seek wildlife experiences, not engagement with local culture, contrary to the ideals of community-based tourism. This underscores the disconnect between tourist expectations and the lived reality of the community. These observations suggest that tourism demand in Enduimet is influenced by a colonial narrative, evident in ecotourism guidebooks and documentaries. This narrative idealizes the region as devoid of human presence, perpetuating colonial preconceptions. Expectations for traditional clothing from the local community further reinforce this narrative, overlooking the dynamic nature of indigenous identity. The restriction on pastoralist grazing near lodges signifies the

transformation of village lands into tourist spaces, devoid of human activity. This imposed wilderness facilitates conservation efforts but at the expense of local communities, perpetuating colonial dynamics where ecological integrity is maintained at their expense for the benefit of privileged tourists.

I had direct experience of this tendency among my peers in Italy, when I submitted a brief questionnaire to my followers on Instagram, and followers could not recognize the picture of the savannah landscape (of Tarang ire National Park) during the rainy season, because it looked like any other grassland, rather than like the dry landscape represented in documentaries. Indeed, everybody guessed that it was the "savannah" of "Africa" in the picture portraying the Park in the dry season.

On the contrary, the spaces of conservation are not empty, idle spaces. But to notice it, we have to adopt a more critical and radical lens on this matter, possibly one inspired by the instances of local activists IPLC literature. If we do, we will see that villagers are the ones directly and actively engaging in wildlife conservation, paying the highest price for climate action, while contributing to it the least, while, conservationists tend to forget that, they have directly contributed to these very landscapes and the centuries-long preservation of astonishing biodiversity in *their* lands. Indeed, villagers, on the one hand, reclaim to be a friend of conservation, to be the first allies of conservation, because this is inherent to their culture, especially (although not exclusively), this was reminded to me by Maasai participants. In addition, the Enduimet community has shown a high degree of adaptation, resiliency, and flexibility, to change behaviors and even rituals and cultural norms (from healing practices to ritual hunting to livelihoods and material sourcing practices), and violations to conservation violations have witnessed a steady decline. This is proof that despite impositions, the local community has adapted and shifted to the required behavior, even though villagers have also elaborated interesting strategies (based on traditional knowledge, proximity bonds, and even illegal behaviors) to cope with local changes produced by global dynamics. The community-based scheme Enduimet, on the other hand, results imposed on the community first and foremost thanks to the adoption of a certain narrative (and ontology) of nature-human relations, based on the exclusion of the community and the pursuit of a "wild and idle"

landscape. This imposition underscores the need for a critical examination of power relations in Enduimet, particularly in addressing issues of land dispossession hinged on the very legislative regulation of WMA, as well as Enduimet's untransparent implementation (as suggested in Kicheleri et al, 2021)[93]

The imposition of Western hegemonic narratives regarding human-nature relations generates imbalances both globally and locally. At the global level, climate action in developed countries often involves displacing environmental and climate externalities to Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities (IPLCs) in the Global South, without bearing the direct costs (Harvey, 2003; 2005; Nelson and Agrawal, 2008; Kicheleri et al., 2021; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Fairhead et al., 2012; Survival International Italia, 2022).

Similarly, at the local level, initiatives like Enduimet WMA reflect neoliberal environmentalist rationality, offering economic incentives (tourism revenues) to communities to accept protected areas. However, these incentives often fail to cover the direct and indirect costs incurred by communities, threatening their food security, employment, and services (Fletcher, 2010). Despite the rhetoric of shared responsibility, the burden of wildlife protection falls disproportionately on Enduimet villagers, undermining the sustainability of the WMA and exacerbating existing inequalities (Sulle et al., 2011).

Both globally and locally, the current model of climate action and conservation perpetuates colonial dynamics, with developed countries and conservation authorities benefiting at the expense of Indigenous and local communities. Addressing these imbalances requires reimagining climate and conservation policies to prioritize equity, meaningful participation, and fair distribution of costs and benefits

9.3.7 The identity of IPLCs, their instances, and the power of collective action: a chance to transform the position of the community within the system of ecotourism

Western cultural and capitalist views often dominate discussions on key topics like development, nature, and democracy, especially when studying non-

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[93] Authors (Kicheleri et al, 2021) suggest that lack of transparency in implementing a conservation scheme can suggest a dynamic of dispossession.

dominant groups such as indigenous peoples and local communities (IPLCs) (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). These concepts are socially and politically constructed, with certain viewpoints encouraged while others are suppressed, reflecting power dynamics (Chabal, 2009; Gerber, 1997; Neumann, 1998; Brockington and Igoe, 2006; West et al., 2006). Adopting an interpretative approach, this study aims to highlight alternative perspectives held by marginalized groups like IPLCs (Geertz, 1973; Chabal, 2009; Corbetta, 2014). Their role can be understood only by looking at broader social, cultural, and political contexts (Braun and Clarke, 2019; Jaspal, 2020; Nepal and Saarinen, 2016), and by doing so, it is possible to unmask power dynamics that impose west-dominated, hegemonic paradigms on foundational categories on Africana and Global South countries. Contrary to the narrative of African pessimism that emerges if keep conducting *as usual, non-critic* social and political analysis of the African context (Chabal, 2009), local communities exhibit resilience and agency despite facing challenges like corruption lack of democracy, and disenfranchisement. When I shifted my approach as an observer, towards a more critical and interpretative one, I managed to find evidence of what is argued by Chabal (2009) in this regard. This shift in the observation point underscores the importance of acknowledging and empowering local communities in conservation and tourism initiatives, and the importance of complexity-oriented, interpretative analysis to reach such a conclusion. Given this analytical framework, identity plays a crucial role in understanding the dynamics of conservation and tourism (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016). It determines who benefits or suffers from such initiatives, as seen in conflicts like those in Ngorongoro, where pastoralists face displacement. Emphasizing the value of IPLCs' identity and culture, especially following CBNRM rationality, this study explores how communities actively engage in shaping their futures, rather than being helpless actors. The case study of Enduimet demonstrates that despite challenges, communities are reclaiming their agency in conservation and tourism processes, challenging narratives that depict them as passive or helpless.

First and foremost, farmers and pastoralists investigated in the study resonate with Cunningham and Stanley's (2003) depiction of indigenous people, experiencing social, political, and economic marginalization, as well as threats to their livelihoods and culture (Persoon and Minter, 2020; Iocca and Fidelis, 2022; Amaodu, 2012; Townsend, 2020). Enduimet residents (as well as the other

communities of farmers and pastoralists in the Northern Circuit, see IWGIA, 2016 and paragraph 2.8) face institutional neglect, political under-representation, economic marginalization, and discrimination, resulting in loss of land and traditions. They express feelings of exclusion from government institutions and struggle to engage in productive dialogue to address their concerns. Land conflicts and institutional marginalization undermine their ability to preserve their cultural heritage for future generations, echoing experiences of discrimination in other communities in the Northern Circuit (Mittal and Fraser, 2018; Currier and Mittal, 2021; The Oakland Institute, 2022). Nonetheless, the Tanna Government does not recognize the presence of Indigenous People on its land, only of a multitude of ethnic groups (IWGIA Website), but the resonance found between literature characterization of Indigenous people and the condition of the community in Enduimet and Northern Circuit support and legitimize the use of such literature and such characterization, regardless national government's one.

To cope with discrimination and oppression Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities (IPLCs), collectively gave momentum to a trans-local movement for their rights, participated by Tanzania's pastoralists and hunters and gathers community. The visibility of the movement inside and outside Tanzania was favored by technological advancements and internal reflection within each local movement. This collective effort transformed erstwhile local disputes into international campaigns, advocating for the recognition of rights and self-determination. Survival International's "Decolonize Conservation" campaign has been instrumental in partnering with Tanzanian activists, shedding light on discriminatory conservation practices and amplifying local voices globally. They've denounced instances of discrimination and forced relocations, particularly in areas like Loliondo and Ngorongoro, shedding light on broader issues of coloniality within environmental conservation practices (Craig, 2023; McQue et al., 2022; Dawson, Longo, and SI, 2023).

The IPLCS social movement in Northern Tanzania encountered hurdles in fostering unity and shaping common development objectives (Hodgosn, 2002; 2011). Rather than proactively shaping policies, the movement often reacted to perceived harmful practices, exacerbated by shifts towards economic-focused project approaches before addressing rights recognition. Despite facing challenges

in adapting to economic instances, the movement's strong unity around political and land rights issues is seen as a virtue, emphasizing the fundamental importance of rights over economic agendas. This underscores the critical role of the IPLCS movement in exposing dynamics that perpetuate community exclusion and advocating for community rights amidst evolving policy landscapes, particularly as conservation policies embraced neoliberal principles (Fletcher, 2010; Kicheleri et al., 2021). The chronological shift from rights-based to economic-focused policies underscores the significance of the movement's persistence in prioritizing rights as foundational, even amid changing policy priorities.

However, the reformist wave of the end of the 20th century produced colonial conservation models that continue to persist, exemplified in places like Enduimet, where communities grapple with threats to their land rights and limited participation in decision-making processes. Despite government assurances of community involvement, instances of free and informed consent are often lacking, perpetuating a cycle of marginalization and dispossession of indigenous lands. This echoes broader struggles across Tanzania's Northern Circuit, where Maasai populations face ongoing challenges to their rights within protected areas, underscoring the urgent need for systemic reform and recognition of IPLC rights (Kicheleri et al., 2021; Mittal and Fraser, 2018; Currier and Mittal, 2021; The Oakland Institute, 2022).

In our investigation aligned with IPLC literature, we've uncovered widespread challenges to Enduimet livelihoods stemming from climate change, particularly through prolonged and severe droughts. Participants affirmed the heavy toll climate change, notably drought and desertification, takes on their livelihood resources. Villagers engaged in farming and pastoralism express deep concerns about climate change due to its adverse effects, including food insecurity and income loss. These impacts are felt acutely due to the close ties between their livelihoods and the ecological balance of their surroundings, in line with the IPLCs literature analyzed (Persoon and Minter, 2020; Iocca and Fidelis, 2022; Amaodu, 2012; Townsend, 2020). Studies in Tanzania and Cameroon (Amaodu, 2012) revealed cattle deaths and hunger among families due to drought-induced loss of capital, a situation echoed by respondents in our study. Villagers attributed income losses to unprofitable farming and livestock keeping

amid drought conditions. Furthermore, Maasai participants emphasized the shame of skinny cows due to lack of grass—a reflection of how drought affects self-perception and pastoralist success.

Global threats to IPLCs' livelihoods and culture are compounded in Enduimet. Examples from WMA regulations clash with community practices like mobility, traditional medicine, and Maasai hunting traditions. Farmers face land scarcity due to expanding protected areas, hindering traditional farming methods, pushing farmers out of their lands, closer and closer to wild animals, and increasing wildlife attacks on crops and water sources. Pastoralists perceive Enduimet, conservation, and government institutions as sources of ethnic and livelihood discrimination, alongside significant land loss. The expansion of protected areas not only directly threatens their land and livelihoods but also endangers their cultural heritage and ancestral ties, impeding their right to self-determination as outlined in Matinda (2018) and Castellino (2003), and most importantly the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UN, 2007), according to which IPLCS "are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, by their cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems". (Castellino and Gilbert, 2003:168). Combined with the poor outcomes of the 1999 Land Reform, this provides an additional argument for the fact that in the system of tourism and conservation of Enduimet, the community cannot enjoy full respect of their land rights, nor sovereignty over land, given the excessively centralized, all-encompassing powers of the central government, which are exacerbated and blurred by the WMA Regulation, fostering lack of transparency and possibly land dispossessions. This local condition ultimately resonates with what is being experienced by Maasai in Ngorongoro Conservation Aera (Craig, 2023; Currier and Mittal, 2021), and with what occurred to all the other communities living in or next to the National Parks of the Northern Circuit, when they were created based on the American model (IWGIA, 2016, Spence, 1999, and paragraph 2.8).

In other words, despite often espousing values such as democratic participation and sustainability, tourism and conservation sectors exhibit similarities with the agricultural sector in finding public goods legitimization for

alienating communities from their land. This trend aligns with observations in the Northern Circuit, where tourism and conservation efforts dispossess communities of their land and livelihoods (Mittal and Fraser, 2018; Currier and Mittal, 2021; The Oakland Institute, 2022; Moyo et al., 2016; 2017; Kicheleri et al., 2021). These practices hinder communities' ability to preserve the diversity of their productive systems and achieve food sovereignty. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that both fortress conservation and CBC as implemented in Tanzania Northern Circuit are models that to no extent favor community self-determination, rather they represent important tools to exercise the authority of the central government.

Breaking down to specific findings, it is possible to discuss climate change impacts in terms of the communal actions they prompted. In Irkaswaa village, concerns over deforestation arose from neighboring villages' negative perceptions, highlighting the link between environmental degradation, agency, collective action, and community reputation. These are assets that both the WMA and Irkaswaa community should capitalize on to create a truly participated and self-determined future, in the vision hinged on the self-determination of IPLCSs and the food sovereignty of local producers. There's significant awareness among Enduimet farmers and pastoralists regarding changing weather patterns, aligning with a global trend observed by Amadaou (2012) where indigenous communities adapt to climate changes. Notably, they attribute their resilience primarily to traditional knowledge and practices, such as pastureland rotation, rather than external support from conservationists or development practitioners. They also employ local resource management mechanisms and communal networks, like the self-managed tree plantation in Irkaswaa village, echoing Amadou's emphasis on the value of village-level traditional knowledge in building resilience against environmental shocks. Similarly, studies by Razzano et al. (2020) and Razzano, Mura, and Borrelli highlight the role of traditional farming practices in Northern Tanzania in aiding communities in adapting to climate change. Moreover, Reyes-García (2022b) advocates for biodiversity conservation policies grounded in respecting Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities (IPLC) rights and agency, including the recognition of Indigenous and Local Knowledge (ILK) in environmental governance, which is currently overlooked or neglected. While the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) acknowledges the value of villagers' knowledge in effective patrolling, conservation measures are often not aligned

with community knowledge, leading to discrepancies in understanding local ecological dynamics. Although efforts have been made to incorporate traditional ecological knowledge alongside Western conservation knowledge, such as involving local traditional leaders (Laigwanan) in setting land zonation and access, challenges remain in terms of community participation due to governance shortcomings and lack of transparency in communication and enforcement of dispositions.

Enduimet exhibits positive practices of community participation within the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) based on cultural respect. Local villagers serving as WMA rangers foster a sense of identification and trust among community members in the Longido District. Villagers prefer Enduimet rangers for rescue and security operations due to shared language and proximity. The preservation of traditional Maa names for flora and fauna during WMA meetings reflects a commitment to cultural heritage. Moreover, the use of vernacular language facilitates community participation in public life and WMA activities. Despite these efforts, challenges persist. Villagers' fear of participating in patrolling activities following incidents of arrest undermines cooperation between Enduimet and the community. However, the concept of "sense of ownership" offers a framework for understanding community empowerment within tourism and conservation initiatives. Trust and empowerment are essential components of community involvement in decision-making processes, ultimately shaping the ownership of the tourism development process (Lachapelle, 2008; Cole, 2006), but interviews and focus groups suggest that trust and open dialogue among actors is difficult to occur and systematic governance challenges hinder trust and transparency in the dialogue among WMA actors. Aligned with this scenario, are the findings related to the Tinga Tinga community project, Olpopongi Maasai Village and Museum, entirely owned and administrated by Massai villagers from Tinga Tinga. It is considered by villagers more empowering than the WMA, even if it generates smaller revenues because it is under the direct control of the village; it is more beneficial in terms of employment opportunities for women and youths, and it contributes to school fees of families in need, without all the bottlenecks that characterize Enduimet flow of revenues. It was also remarked that it required a negligible amount of land, compared to Enduimet. Community involvement in tourism projects like Enduimet and Olpopongi is crucial for empowerment and

ownership. Factors such as confidence and external contacts enhance empowerment, while limitations in knowledge and skills hinder it. Despite efforts to foster participation, Enduimet villagers feel excluded due to restrictions on involvement and lack of transparency. In contrast, Olpopongi offers direct employment, leading to a deeper sense of ownership and empowerment among villagers. Constraints on local participation stem from a lack of resources and skills, particularly in accessing high-end tourism opportunities. However, Olpopongi provides avenues for skill development and participation, contributing to community empowerment in the tourism sector.

Despite the above-mentioned efforts, Enduimet demonstrates limited success in preserving local culture. Ongoing challenges highlight the poor extent to which the WMA can protect livelihoods diversity, in the spirit of CBNRM. Is possible to observe that, looking at how the replacement of indigenous grass species with invasive grasses, prompts changes in traditional livelihood practices among farmers and pastoralists interviewed: they transition towards more productive crop and cattle varieties while preserving traditional practices, striking a balance between productivity and ecological sustainability. In this light, the villagers' discourse highlights significant autonomy, capacity, and knowledge in making crucial decisions, adapting to changes, synthesizing traditional and modern knowledge, showing resilience and flexibility in adapting traditions to environmental changes, and effectively embracing modernization.

Under the lens of capitalist expansion, this shift towards more productive varieties can be interpreted as a response to the infiltration of market logic into rural economies: specific practices are not only being abandoned to increase productivity in the face of climate change but are also being sacrificed to meet the demands of tourism and conservation (resulting in less land available for local livelihoods and challenges posed by wildlife raid and predation). These dynamics reflect the concerns of the movement for food sovereignty: the pervasive free-market ideology threatens traditional productive practices, exacerbated by climate change and the loss of indigenous crop varieties (La Via Campesina, 2021). An additional concern of food sovereignty is autonomous seed production: the cultivation of traditional varieties and their preservation through seed production contributes to maintaining local biodiversity (while globalized, large-scale

461

agricultural production is notorious for reducing biodiversity on the farm and on the plate); secondly, if the control over factors of production (farming input) is maintained in the hands of local producers, this means they will have an important tool to resiliently cope with shocks, such as drought or global markets crisis. Unfortunately, villagers also highlighted a dynamic of loss of seeds of indigenous varieties, that they are no longer producing because their demand for those crops is reducing. To answer market demand, local producers are missing an important chance to acquire greater sovereignty over farming inputs while maintaining local biodiversity.

The results suggest an intriguing tension: while Enduimet farmers and pastoralists are devising strategies based on their knowledge and capacity to synthesize tradition and modernization to adapt to rapid changes caused by conservation and climate change, they also recognize pressure factors compelling them to change and shift. Concerns about the productivity and profitability of their livelihoods, stemming from the effects of climate change and the allocation of land to conservation, are eroding their sources of income. Villagers identify how external market dynamics, exacerbated by climate change, push them to increase productivity, with membership in a protected area exacerbating these pressures. Unfortunately, the WMA is failing to fulfill one of its objectives as CBC/CBNRM: protecting local livelihood practices and the local diversity of productive systems and landscapes. In this sense, the WMA does not contribute to enhancing the sovereignty of productive systems (La Via Campesina, 2021) of Enduimet farmers and pastoralists, who are not spared from the detrimental consequences of market expansion in their lands and lives.

Moving on, there's notable awareness among farmers and pastoralists about changing weather patterns, reflecting a trend observed globally by Amadaou (2012) where indigenous communities monitor and adapt to climate changes. Interestingly, Enduimet residents attribute their resilience primarily to traditional knowledge and practices, like pastureland rotation, rather than external support (of conservationists/development practitioners). They also utilize local resource management mechanisms and communal networks, such as the self-managed tree plantation in Irkaswaa village, echoing Amadou's emphasis on the value of village-level traditional knowledge in resilience-building against

environmental shocks. Similarly, studies by Razzano et al. (2020) and Razzano, Mura, and Borrelli highlight how traditional farming practices in Northern Tanzania aid communities in adapting to climate change. Moreover, Reyes-García (2022b) argues that current biodiversity conservation policies should be grounded on respecting IPLC rights and agency. First and foremost, this would occur including the recognition of Indigenous and local knowledge (ILK) in environmental governance, since currently overlooked or neglected. Only to a very limited extent, ILK is required by the WMA. WMA enforcers treasure villagers' participation in patrolling effectively because guided by their knowledge of the area, animals, and their behaviors. Such knowledge is not equally considered informative on local ecological dynamics, thus conservation measures are not elaborated nor adapted to community knowledge, this is at least the experience of participants. However, an attempt to make traditional ecological knowledge participate with Western knowledge of conservation and sustainability can be found in the choice of involving local traditional leaders (*Laigwanan*) when the WMA sets the RZMP (land zonation and access) disposition. Unfortunately, the process cannot be fully considered as successful in terms of community participation because evidence suggests that the communication of the dispositions and their enforcement are hindered by governance shortcomings and affected by lack of transparency.

The presence of protected areas is detrimental to the Enduimet community, on an additional dimension: villagers associate discrimination and neglect of rights with the presence of protected areas in their lands (associated with dispossession and forced evictions). This condition is hinged on a discriminating narrative - typical of conservation- that neglects local knowledge and expertise in consuming resources sustainably while attributing to local livelihoods and local demographic growth a very negative connotation (SI; 2022, Mbaria & Ogada, 2016)In this perspective, the community has to be *educated* (Arnstein, 1969) because unable to recognize the value of the ecological assets on their lands (SI; 2022, Mbaria & Ogada, 2016). In Enduimet, they are stigmatized for being non-environmentally conscious, and blamed for being the cause of environmental degradation. Even after "education", the t community does not participate with its vision, at the same level as conservationists or policymakers. On the very opposite, the *education* they received is biased, partial, and developed *ad hoc*: villagers have found legitimization for the brutality and dispossession reserved for them, because of

how detrimental for the environment their livelihoods were presented during environmental awareness campaign, led by government partners- such as big conservation NGOs (AWF, Honeyguide, WWF). The examination of Survival International Italia's "Guida per decolonizzare il linguaggio Della conservazione" (2022) revealed pervasive double standards within conservation efforts in Tanzania's Northern Circuit, supporting my previous argument of a manipulated discourse that contributes to conservation success and colonial implementation. Terms like "encroachment" illustrate a disparity, criminalizing local population entry into protected areas while overlooking the root cause of land shortages created by conservation schemes. This terminology, employed by WMA officers, reflects a form of dispossession or alienation imposed on local communities. Meanwhile, the distinction between "hunters" and "poachers" perpetuates colonial legacies, criminalizing local livelihood practices while catering to wealthy foreign tourists. This disparity extends to ritual practices, where local communities are forced to sacrifice cultural traditions for conservation goals, while outsiders are granted privileges such as leisure hunting. Such double standards highlight systemic injustices and underscore the urgent need for community-centered conservation approaches that prioritize local rights and perspectives (SI, 2022). Similarly,

The militarized enforcement approach within protected areas, as highlighted by SI (2022), is deeply problematic and colonial. Rangers, armed with firearms and empowered to use force against local populations, are tasked with enforcing conservation regulations, often resulting in instances of violence against villagers. Despite claims of using force to prevent escalation, reports of beatings and intimidation tactics by rangers undermine this justification. This hypocritical use of force perpetuates systemic injustices and further alienates local communities from conservation efforts.

Social movements and the organizations within their networks, are key actors in improving the well-being of populations in strife, lobbying in institutional arenas for the recognition of IPLCS rights, internationally (like Survival International does with its global campaigns) and locally. In Tanzania, the IPLCS movement was particularly able to gain international visibility and the great support of internal donors, when it inserted itself in the network of the trans-national movement for indigenous people, as we said before (Hodgson, 2002). Many NGOs for indigenous

rights in Tanzania obtained remarkable results in improving access to service provisions, and successfully lobbying for pastoralists' land rights (Hodgson 2002, 2011). This is confirmed by the observation of PINGOS Forum and MVIWATA websites and social media, where the umbrella organizations of pastoralists and the umbrella organization of farmers groups report their success for self-determination and food sovereignty. These organizations work with an approach that combines advocacy for the self-determination of pastoralists and hunters/gathers, food sovereignty of farmers, as well as resource protection, and strengthening capacity and tenure towards sustainable (*de facto*) community-based natural resource management.

In the realm of ecotourism, the collective action of Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities (IPLCs) has emerged as a potent force for advocating rights and self-determination (Hodgson, 2002; 2001; Dawson and Longo, 2023, PINGOS Forum, 2013). Through social movements and networked organizations, IPLCs have gained international visibility and internal donor support, notably enhancing access to services and securing land rights. By leveraging international visibility and internal donor support, organizations like PINGOS Forum and MVIWATA in Tanzania exemplify this, advocating for self-determination, food sovereignty, and sustainable resource management. Despite challenges, the Enduimet community remains resilient, drawing strength from their ethnic identity, traditional knowledge, and communal bonds, as evidenced by initiatives such as the reforestation project in Ikaswaa village. Their agency and capacity to innovate in the face of adversity underscore the importance of incorporating local perspectives in global environmental governance, aligning with calls for IPLCs' participation at decision-making tables.

At the heart of the transformative process called upon conservation and Ecotourism by social movements, and critical scholars like political ecologists, lies the agency of IPLCs, underscored by their unwavering commitment to preserving cultural heritage and traditional livelihoods to create actual *alternatives* of conservation*, aimed at conviviality* (Büscher & Fletcher, 2019). The journey of IPLCs and their movements exemplifies the transformative potential of collective action in reshaping the ecotourism landscape. By organizing around their strengths

and mobilizing community institutions, IPLCs not only overcome adversity but also reclaim agency in decision-making processes.

Despite facing systemic barriers and marginalization, the Enduimet community draws strength from its ethnic identity and communal bonds, driving grassroots initiatives to address challenges and innovate solutions. This bottom-up mobilization challenges prevailing narratives of passivity and victimhood, highlighting the proactive role IPLCs play in shaping their futures. (Reyes-García et al 022ab; Virtaten, 2020),. Rather than passively enduring oppressive structures, IPLCs actively mobilize their resources and community institutions to overcome challenges. This dynamic redefines the conceptual framework, shifting focus from the tensions between decentralization and recentralization to the transformative potential of collective action. By organizing around their strengths and supportive institutions, IPLCs can break free from subjugation and reclaim agency in shaping their futures. Ultimately, their journey highlights the power of community-driven initiatives to transcend systemic barriers and foster inclusive, sustainable development within the ecotourism landscape. This shift in focus from disempowerment to empowerment redefines the narrative of Ecotourism, while emphasizing the importance of centering local perspectives in sustainable development efforts, hence meeting the research objective. Ultimately, the story of IPLCs serves as a beacon of hope, demonstrating the resilience and ingenuity of communities in forging paths toward inclusive, equitable, and sustainable ecotourism practices.

This reinterpreted framework offers a nuanced perspective, shifting away from the conventional discourse centered on decentralization versus recentralization tensions. Instead, it recognizes the transformative potential inherent in actions that bolster local identity and address challenges with innovative approaches. By harnessing these strengths and mobilizing supportive village institutions, communities (like is happening in Enduimet) can transcend the oppressive structures perpetuated by ecotourism and conservation systems. This marks a pivotal shift towards empowerment, enabling villagers to break free from subjugation, discrimination, and marginalization, and reclaim agency in shaping their destinies.

Figure 9.3: New three-dimensional representation of the theoretical framework, resulting from the analysis of the role of the local community in the local conservation and tourism system, and the observation of the Enduimet WMA case study.
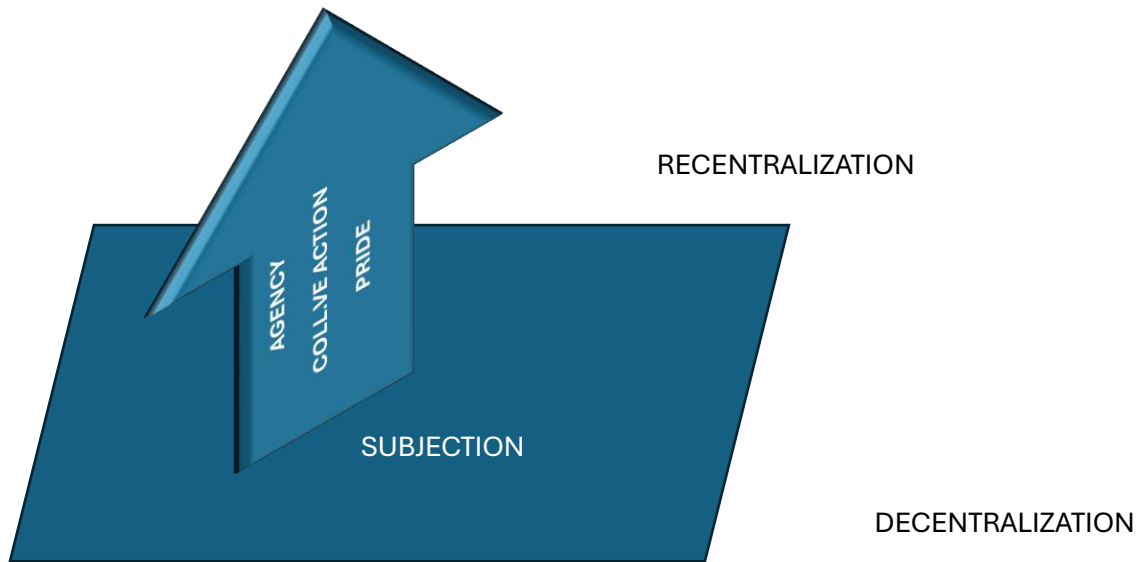

RECENTRALIZATION

AGENCY
COLL.VE ACTION
PRIDE

SUBJECTION

DECENTRALIZATION

Figure 9.3 1

9.4 Recommendations and Study Limitations

Building a radical alternative based on local instances and transformative change

Tourism is becoming more and more important for National Economies, and the 2023 Travel and Tourism Economic Impact by WTTC confirms that the Middle East and African travel and tourism sector produced the biggest increase in the GDP compared dot the previous year (Europe excluded), with +47% and +37.5 % respectively (Infographic on WTTC Website). Hence, tourism demand is more and more targeting wild or extreme environments of the planet. Paired with that, is the 30 by 30 Target set during COP27, in 2022, according to which protected areas must be expanded globally up to 30% of the total earth surface, by 2030. As the International Institute for Sustainable Development points out on its websites, views differ dramatically and how to conserve nature and sustainably use biodiversity in ways that benefit all equitably, particularly for Indigenous Peoples and local communities (IPLCs), because, warns the international organization for Indigenous People Survival International, these objectives are going to be met at the expenses of the lands of IPLCs. These recent trends and international goals set by international sustainability institutions reinforce the usefulness of studies conducted with the approaches and theoretical perspectives adopted here: without taking into account the perspectives and the insights of IPLCS, a touristic and conservation intervention, like Enduimet WMA cannot engage fruitfully and peacefully with the local community. Approaches to conservation, also community-based conservation, need to be transformed to create more *convivial alternatives (*Büscher & Fletcher, 2019), based on a respectful engagement with communities like Enduimet.

In a scenario where lands and resources in the lands of IPLCS become every day more important (i.e. more valuable, and more profitable) because of capitalistic expansion dynamics (market-based production of sustainability through tourism and neoliberal conservation) (Nepal and Saarinen, 2016; Flecher, 2020), power relations are unbalanced and unfavorable to communities: IPLCs do not their customary and basic rights respected, thus they are unable to protect from dispossession their valuable lands. The transformative change that this study hopes to support with the evidence provided and that his study recommends is a

transformation where IPLCs involved in conservation and ecotourism schemes retrieve their role as rulers, sovereignly attributing their values to their lands, and autonomously determining their future development accordingly, in a post-capitalist arrangement. Political ecologists call for such a critical transformation, and indeed they call upon the adoption of a different vision for conservation:

"Convivial conservation is a vision, a politics, and a set of governance principles that realistically respond to the core pressures of our time. Drawing on a variety of perspectives in social theory and movements from around the globe, it proposes a post-capitalist approach to conservation that promotes radical equity, structural transformation, and environmental justice and so contributes to an overarching movement to create a more equal and sustainable world." (Büscher & Fletcher, 2019:283)

Transforming Stakeholder Roles for Sustainable Development

This study advocates for a fundamental shift in the roles of key stakeholders involved in tourism and conservation projects. External actors, including governments and NGOs, must transition from dominant decision-makers to supportive partners, prioritizing the rights of local communities, especially pastoralists, and ending human rights violations. Tanzania and other governments are urged to initiate comprehensive reforms to uphold the land and human rights of local communities. This entails reforms not only at the legislative level but also in implementation, governance, and enforcement, to ensure sustainable and equitable futures. NGOs and donors should evolve into supportive structures that empower local communities by providing financial resources and capacity-building initiatives. This may require temporarily reducing transparency and accountability measures to facilitate direct financial support to grassroots levels, currently agreed upon several rules of eligibility that *defacto* hinder access to greater financial resources. For instance, revenues obtained from WMAs can only be spent with district approval, limiting local control.

Moreover, the trend of tourism investors funding development projects instead of paying direct taxes to village administrations further disempowers communities, perpetuating a concerning trend of privatized service provision. The philanthropic system, dominated by large conservation organizations and

corporations, often diverts funds away from taxation, benefitting billionaires through tax breaks (Dentico, 2020). Such organizations play a pivotal role in global environmental agendas but often overlook the sovereignty of local communities and fail to compensate them for climate-change-induced damages. The 30 by 30 strategy, aiming to conserve 30% of the planet's land and oceans by 2030, risks favoring conservationists and their donors over local communities. To ensure true sustainability and justice, investments should prioritize strengthening local sovereignty over resources and compensating communities for climate-change-induced losses.

Revolutionizing Wildlife Tourism: Unlocking the Potential of WMAs

Enduimet WMA presents a unique opportunity to revolutionize safari and wildlife-based tourism, offering a more immersive and authentic experience. Unlike traditional safaris, visitors to WMAs can engage in activities such as hiking and close encounters with wildlife, fostering unforgettable experiences like assisting in rescuing a baby elephant from a mud pond. To capitalize on this potential and truly participate in sustainable tourism, WMAs must transform wildlife tourism expectations into realistic experiences, actively involving the community in the tourism process. This could include participatory planning of itineraries, greater community involvement as tour guides, performers, artists, and most importantly, knowledge holders. By adopting such an approach, WMAs can distinguish themselves in the tourism market, catering to niche segments such as backpackers, youth travelers, and sustainability enthusiasts. Strengthening institutional and marketing capacities through tourism revenues enables WMAs to carve out their market without competing unfavorably against larger national parks. Tourists, whether visiting Enduimet or the broader Northern Circuit, can contribute by engaging with local communities through cultural experiences. This involves customizing visits with local WMA or TANAPA staff, seeking out cultural villages like Olpopongi, and supporting hospitality services with a direct impact on the community. In this vein, the tour operator/lodge-centered model should be abandoned in favor of coordinated activities led by WMA staff. This not only reduces the risk of cultural commodification but also enhances employment opportunities for the community. However, for these initiatives to succeed, there is a pressing

need for state interventions to develop infrastructure and services in Enduimet. Only with increased public expenditure on local infrastructure can tourism truly flourish in the area.

By embracing these recommendations and investing in community-driven tourism initiatives, Enduimet WMA can unlock its full potential, offering enriching experiences for tourists while fostering sustainable development for the local community.

Empowering Local Communities: A Call to Action

To local leaders and community members, the key recommendation is to assert greater control over their institutions, demand increased autonomy and accountability, and prioritize transparency and inclusivity. Vital to this effort is strengthening women-supportive village-based institutions, and two crucial entities: Village Land Use Plans (VLUPs) and Village Communal Forests.

VLUPs hold significant potential to reduce conflicts and enhance land security, was agreed by all participants (villagers and WMA). By taking ownership of the planning process, villages gain leverage in legal disputes, regardless of their opponent's power. Moreover, VLUP guidelines allow villages to designate land for conservation, rendering Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) redundant unless intended to re-centralize wildlife control. Notably, WMAs should never encroach upon village communal forest reserves, a practice observed in the studied villages, which risks exacerbating future conflicts. Given the reliance on local livelihoods, communities must control resources to balance development and conservation goals autonomously. Villages could explore direct tourism ventures with investors, as witnessed in Tanzania before the WMA introduction, as per community preferences.

Engaging in political advocacy and networking, both nationally and trans-locally, is vital. Uniting struggles across borders strengthens common interests and elevates representation demands. Such representation should shift from civil to political action due to the high stakes involved, including access rights and land allocation. Moreover, fostering collective action through community bonds enhances internal resources, enabling communities to address issues, devise

solutions, and advance strategies independently. These internal resources prove invaluable in elevating community conditions, as evidenced by this study.

By embracing these recommendations, local communities can assert their rights, strengthen institutions, and chart a path toward equitable development and conservation. Empowered communities hold the key to forging a more sustainable and just future for all stakeholders involved.

Future research and journalism investigation recommendations

Given the escalating tensions and human rights violations in the Loliondo-Ngorongoro area, local, national, and international media must maintain coverage. Recent data on tourism growth in the region, coupled with global commitments to expand protected areas, suggest that the Tanzanian government may escalate efforts, possibly resorting to brutality, to advance its interests in conservation and tourism at the expense of local communities, as it is now happening in the area.

The case study of Enduimet has highlighted transparency issues that warrant further investigation. Particularly, conflicts between villagers and tourism investors both within and outside the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) require attention. These conflicts were discussed during focus groups but were not fully analyzed due to conflicting information from villagers, village leaders, and WMA management. The discrepancy in perspectives underscores the need for more evidence. Notably, a conflict between KINAPA and Irkaswaa village, arising from a park expansion in 2015, was consistently reported, indicating the quality of available evidence. However, limitations exist, as some official documents pertinent to villagers' rights were not accessed. The study objective was limited to identifying the presence of conflict, from the villagers' perspective. It was indeed foreseen that demanding clarification on such occurrences to WMA officers would turn out into conflicting and derogatory statements ("WMa officers saying "villagers do not know what they're talking about" when they refer to conflicts with local investors). However, future research recommendations to shed light on specific land conflicts involving investors and conservationists inside and outside the WMA, addressing conflicting perspectives and gathering sufficient evidence.

Moreover, governance transparency within Enduimet, particularly regarding the replacement of Sinya village with three new villages within the WMA, demands scrutiny. The opaque and contentious membership process, which saw Sinya village reluctantly join the WMA due to administrative changes, raises questions about the motives behind the replacement. Investigating whether this change favors the WMA or the community is imperative. Recommendations for Investigation: Explore transparency concerns surrounding governance within Enduimet, specifically regarding the replacement of Sinya village with three new villages within the WMA, to discern the implications for the community and the WMA.

By addressing these transparency issues and conducting rigorous investigations, we can shed light on the complexities of conservation and tourism management in the region, ultimately promoting accountability and equitable outcomes for local communities.

Study limitations

The selection of only two villages represents an inherent limitation of this study, which is acknowledged. However, the rationale behind the choice of these specific villages was meticulously justified and not arbitrary. The adoption of the center-periphery hypothesis, combined with the dynamics of land abundance and scarcity, rendered the selection of these villages exceptionally informative and illustrative. This decision significantly contributed to the originality and credibility of the study. Furthermore, the nature of the fieldwork undertaken was notably time and resource-intensive, a departure from the typical approach among doctoral students in my course. Despite the unique opportunity afforded by my doctoral program to explore a remote area in an African country, the investigation necessitated adaptation to the contextual constraints. Consequently, the selection of two villages out of the eleven comprising the Enduimet WMA was a pragmatic choice aligned with the available resources, aiming to optimize the research outcome. The research design was rigorously justified, underpinning the validity and robustness of the investigation.

Additionally, the employment of the category of "indigenousness" raises concerns regarding coloniality and the meaningfulness of such categorization reflective of individuals' and groups' realities on the ground. While participants were not engaged in a debate regarding their identification as indigenous, it is plausible that many would not self-identify as such. The statement by H.E. Ambassador Ramadhan M Mwinyi elucidates the Tanzanian government's stance on the recognition of indigenous communities, attributing historical baggage to the term "indigenous" and its colonial connotations. However, this governmental perspective overlooks the systemic marginalization and discrimination experienced by pastoralist, hunter-gatherer, and rural communities, prompting their collective mobilization under the banner of indigenous movements. The assertion that policies and regulations should be informed by the rights and struggles of indigenous peoples gains credence in light of these realities. Importantly, the identification of indigenousness was not imposed externally but emerged from internal processes within the social movements, as documented by comprehensive anthropological research. This approach seeks to mitigate allegations of coloniality and underscores the study's commitment to authenticity and reflexivity in engaging with complex socio-political dynamics.

CONCLUSIONS

The outlined conclusive section tries to effectively summarize the key findings and contributions of the dissertation. It highlights the significance of the theoretical framework in addressing the complexities of conservation and ecotourism governance, and it demonstrates how research objectives were met through rigorous analysis and engagement with the Enduimet community in Tanzania. This last section emphasizes the importance of re-centering communities in conservation efforts, moving beyond mere participation toward self-determination, and unmasking the realities of green grabbing. It also underscores the need for a paradigm shift, if not a transformative change in conservation and ecotourism policy, rooted in principles of transparency, accountability, and social justice. Overall, the conclusions provide a compelling synthesis of the dissertation's

main arguments and offer valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities within conservation and ecotourism practice.

The research objective was to understand the role of the local community in the system of Ecotourism and conservation, observing a case study of a community-based tourism scheme, Enduimet WMA. Juxtaposed to the decentralization reforms that affected governance of tourism and conservation in Tanzania and the Global South (which prompted the diffusion of the CBNRM/CBC paradigm), I observed the case study taking into account, on the one hand, the revindications of the social movements committed in the fight trans-locally in the Global South; and on the other hand, the anti-imperialist standpoint of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003; Harvey, 2005), associated to theories of neoliberal conservation (Fletcher, 2020)

To meet research objectives, I attempted to build a reflexive, interpretative, and critical study, to address major investigation concerns. power relations determine whose meanings are legitimized, and whose are discarded, and given the fact that Indigenous people's perspective (especially in land and conservation policies) is often neglected, I shifted the analytical focus on the perspective of the community, and the conceptual focus on the transformative power of collective action, as much as of the agency of individuals and local communities. This was favored by the inclusion of indigenous people and social movements-produced literature and the inclusion of deeply critical literature on the Eurocentrism of sustainability and climate action goals, as well as on the limited capacity of universally prescribed concepts used by political and social sciences to understand non-European contexts. Game-changing literature adopted was also political ecology literature on tourism and conservation issues, which helps to pose a criticism of ecotourism and community-based conservation, framing them as tools for the expansion of neoliberal capitalism, that results (in Global South context) in dispossession, forced evictions, discrimination, impoverishment, identity-based discrimination and cultural loss. The adoption of such a theoretical prescription and research approach promoted and justified the employment of qualitative methods of investigation (observation, interviews, and focus groups). I believe this literature, the theoretical framework adopted, and the chosen methodologies have helped the understanding of the complexity of the political and social realm investigated.

In light of the research results derived from the Enduimet case study, several critical themes emerged, each shedding light on the intricate dynamics between conservation, community empowerment, and socio-economic well-being. Firstly, the pervasive issue of food insecurity, stemming from wildlife damage and land loss induced by Protected Areas (PAs), underscores the urgent need to address the imbalances in resource allocation and management. This aligns with the imperative for a paradigm shift towards equitable conservation policies, as advocated in the concluding remarks. Furthermore, the perception that wildlife is more valuable than humans, as observed among villagers and their leaders, reflects a fundamental disconnect in conservation efforts. It highlights the necessity to challenge dominant narratives that prioritize wildlife preservation over human livelihoods, thus emphasizing the importance of redefining conservation paradigms to prioritize community well-being. The re-centralization of Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) revenues, leading to systematic resource shortages within the WMAs, underscores the criticality of transparency and accountability in resource allocation. Addressing the lack of transparency associated with WMA management, as perceived by villagers, becomes paramount in fostering trust and empowering local communities to actively participate in decision-making processes regarding conservation and tourism initiatives. Simultaneously, the trust and transparency associated with village leaders and representatives underscore the pivotal role of village-level and other local governance structures in promoting community resilience and innovation. Leveraging community pride, resilience, and innovative capacity, as demonstrated in the face of livelihood threats and cultural erosion, becomes integral to fostering sustainable development pathways rooted in local empowerment and self-determination.

However, the research also unveils biased education about tourism and conservation, juxtaposed with a biased narrative against the community, perpetuating misconceptions and hindering meaningful engagement. This highlights the urgent need for inclusive and holistic approaches to education and awareness-building, grounded in diverse perspectives and community-led initiatives. In conclusion, the synthesis of research findings from the Enduimet case study underscores the imperative for transformative change in conservation and ecotourism practices. By centering the voices and agency of local communities, fostering transparency and accountability, and challenging entrenched power

dynamics, we can pave the way for a more just and sustainable future for both people and the planet.

Ultimately, the theoretical framework adopted for this study proved to be a robust lens through which to analyze the complex dynamics within conservation landscapes, particularly in the context of the Tanzania Northern Circuit tourism region. By drawing on concepts of self-determination, sovereignty, and the tension between centralization and decentralization, the framework provided a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by local communities. It effectively addressed the necessity to explore the discrepancy between theoretical aspirations of land reform and practical implementation, shedding light on ongoing struggles for land security and community empowerment. Moreover, the framework aptly suited the empirical results, revealing how policies rooted in community participation often fall short of their intended goals, leading to further marginalization and exploitation of local communities. Through its nuanced examination of power dynamics and resistance movements, the theoretical framework provided valuable insights into the complexities of conservation and ecotourism governance.

The research objectives set out at the outset of this study were effectively met through rigorous analysis and engagement with the Enduimet community in Tanzania. The investigation successfully examined the role of the hosting community in the Northern Circuit tourism region, highlighting tensions between recentralization mechanisms and participation-oriented reforms in conservation and ecotourism. By exploring the concept of self-determination and sovereignty, the study elucidated the challenges faced by local communities in reclaiming agency over their resources and futures. Additionally, the examination of green grabbing in conservation and the journey from marginalization to empowerment provided valuable insights into the realities on the ground. Overall, the research objectives were met through a comprehensive analysis of community dynamics and engagement with theoretical frameworks, contributing to a deeper understanding of conservation policy and practice in Tanzania and beyond. Lastly, conclusive remarks on the study are going to be provided.

Despite the rhetoric of community participation in conservation initiatives like Enduimet, this study reveals a stark reality of re-centralization of power and resources, disempowering the local community and perpetuating a cycle of marginalization. Local communities initially promised empowerment, find themselves marginalized and trapped in a cycle of disenfranchisement. The tension between decentralization and recentralization mechanisms underscores the need for a fundamental shift in conservation paradigms.

Beyond Participation: Towards Self-Determination:

The study illuminates the inadequacy of mere participation as a means of empowering local communities. True transformation demands a shift towards self-determination, where communities reclaim agency over their resources and futures.

Unmasking Green Grabbing in Conservation:

The notion of community-based conservation often serves as a guide for capitalist expansion and resource dispossession, a phenomenon aptly termed green grabbing. This study exposes the inherent contradictions within conservation paradigms, challenging the dominant narrative of benevolence, while providing evidence that Enduimet WMA reiterates dynamics of dispossession (green grabbing). The notion of community-based conservation often disguises capitalist expansion and resource dispossession, termed as green grabbing. By exposing the contradictions within conservation paradigms, this study challenges the dominant narrative of benevolence. It calls for greater scrutiny of conservation initiatives to ensure they truly benefit local communities rather than perpetuate exploitation.

From Marginalization to Empowerment:

The journey of communities within conservation landscapes is fraught with challenges, from land conflicts to loss of livelihoods. Yet, amidst adversity,

communities exhibit resilience, innovation, and a steadfast commitment to reclaiming their rights and identities.

Redefining Conservation Narratives

It is imperative to deconstruct the prevailing narratives of conservation and ecotourism, which often perpetuate stereotypes and biases against local communities. By amplifying the voices of marginalized groups and embracing alternative worldviews, we can pave the way for more inclusive and sustainable conservation practices.

Toward a Paradigm Shift in Conservation Policy:

The findings underscore the urgent need for a paradigm shift in conservation policy, one that prioritizes the rights and aspirations of local communities over profit-driven agendas. Only through genuine collaboration and empowerment can we hope to achieve meaningful conservation outcomes.

Charting a Course for Equitable Conservation:

The path toward equitable conservation must be guided by principles of transparency, accountability, and social justice. This study calls for a reimagining of conservation frameworks, rooted in principles of self-determination, sovereignty, and respect for indigenous knowledge systems.

Beyond Borders: A Global Call to Action:

While this study focuses on the Tanzanian context, its implications extend far beyond national boundaries. The struggles faced by local communities in the Northern Circuit resonate with similar movements across the Global South, highlighting the interconnectedness of conservation challenges and the imperative for collective action.

Towards Transformative Change:

In conclusion, this dissertation serves as a clarion call for transformative change in conservation and ecotourism practices. By centering the voices and agency of local communities, we can forge a more just and sustainable future for both people and the planet.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Participants' Demographics- 9 outline colors identify 9 different discussion groups (correspondnign to 9 focus groups conducted in two villages). In black are the key-informants who participated to interviews.

Participants	Stakeholder Position	Age	Primary Occupation	Secondary Occupation	Tribe	Gender	Village	Income Group (Self-Estimated)	Level Of Education
EWMA Female Ranger	WMA	18-29	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Female	Unassigned	Unassigned	College Diploma Or University Degree
EWMA Male Ranger	WMA	29-40	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned
EWMA Manager	WMA	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned

EWMA Tourism Officer	WMA	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned
Olpopongi Cook	Business Employee	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Olpopongi Owner&Guide	Investor Or Business Owner	29-40	Unassigned	Unassigned	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Olpopongi Performer& Guide	Business Employee	60-79	Unassigned	Unassigned	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Irkaswaa Female Farmer 1	Villager/ Food Producer	18-29	Student	Unassigned	Maasai	Female	Irkaswaa	Parents' Income	College Diploma Or University Degree

Irkaswaa Female Farmer 2	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Mchagga	Female	Irkaswaa	Very Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Farmer 3	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Mchagga	Female	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Farmer 4	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Warusha	Female	Irkaswaa	Very Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Farmer 5	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist	Warusha	Female	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary

				(Self-Employed)						
Irkaswaa Female Pastoralist 1	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Unassigned	Warusha	Female	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Pastoralist 2	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Petty Trade (Business) Self-Employed	Maasai	Female	Irkaswaa	Normal	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Pastoralist 3	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Petty Trade (Business) Self-Employed	Maasai	Female	Irkaswaa	Normal	Primary
Irkaswaa Female Pastoralist 4	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Petty Trade (Business) Self-Employed	Maasai	Female	Irkaswaa	Normal	No Formal Education

Irkaswaa Female Pastoralist 5	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Waged)	Petty Trade (Waged)	Warusha	Female	Irkaswaa	Normal	Primary
Irkaswaa Land Comm. Repr.	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	Unassigned
Irkaswaa Pastoralists Comm. Secret.	Village Government	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	Unassigned
Irkaswaa VEO	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	Unassigned

Irkaswaa Chairman	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	Unassigned
Irkaswaa Enviroment Comm. Chairman.	Village Government	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	Unassigned
Irkaswaa Male Farmer 1	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Mpare	Male	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Male Farmer 2	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Warusha	Male	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary

Irkaswaa Male Farmer 3	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Male Farmer 4	Villager/Food Producer	Over 80	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Mchagga	Male	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Male Farmer 5	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Irkaswaa	Poor	Primary
Irkaswaa Male	Villager/Food Producer	18-29	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Irkaswaa	Normal	Secondary

Pastoralist 1			(Self-Employed)						
Irkaswaa Male Pastoralist 2	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Warusha	Male	Irkaswaa	Normal	Primary
Irkaswaa Male Pastoralist 3	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Irkaswaa	Normal	Primary
Irkaswaa Male Pastoralist 4	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Irkaswaa	Unassigned	No Formal Education

Tinga Tinga Female1	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Normal	No Formal Education
Tinga Tinga Female2	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Normal	No Formal Education
Tinga Tinga Female3	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga Tinga Female4	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Petty Trade (Business)	Maasai	Female	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary

				Self-Employed					
Tinga Tinga Female5	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Petty Trade (Self-Employed)	Unassigned	Warusha	Female	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Secondary
Tinga Tinga Male Farmer 1	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga Tinga Male Farmer 2	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga Tinga Male Farmer 3	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Post Secondary Vocational

			(Self-Employed)						Or Techincal Education And Training
Tinga Tinga Male Farmer 4	Villager/ Food Producer	Over 80	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Poor	No Formal Education
Tinga Tinga Male Farmer 5	Villager/Food Producer	60-79	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Livestock Keeper Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga Tinga Male Pastoralist 1	Villager/Food Producer	29-40	Livestock Keeper orPastoralis	Farmer (Self-Employed)	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary

			t (Self-Employed)						
Tinga Tinga Male Pastoralist 2	Villager/Food Producer	Unassigned	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Petty Trade (Business) Self-Employed	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga Tinga Male Pastoralist 3	Villager/Food Producer	41-59	Livestock Keeper or Pastoralist (Self-Employed)	Training Teacher	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	Primary
Tinga tinga Male Pastoralist 4	Villager/Food Producer	Over 80	Livestock Keeper orPastoralist (Self-Employed)	Unassigned	Maasai	Male	Tinga Tinga	Normal	No Formal Education

Tinga Tinga Chairman	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Tinga Tinga Environmental Committee Member	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Female	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Tinga Tinga Pastoralist Committee Chairman	Village Government	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Tinga Tinga Land Committee Chairman	Village Government	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned
Tinga Tinga Veo	Village Government	41-59	Unassigned	Unassigned	Unassigned	Male	Tinga Tinga	Unassigned	Unassigned

Additional extracts of interviews are deemed relevant for the identification of themes and the restitution of findings. Although, they may contribute to bulkiness of the restitution. Categorized by theme, here are the additional extracts of interviews[94].

Theme 1:

"Because of the dimensions of village land, all the areas have been already planned for some activity: service, settlement, etc. Recently, the village council informed us that they are going to add a few classrooms to the school building."- Irkaswaa Farmer

Theme 2:

"We know the people who poach animals here. They usually live in Matadi [a nearby village, in Siha District], but they are not Maasai, they are Safwa. They are originally from the Mbeya region, and they are very dangerous to wild animals. They even poach cattle sometimes. They are not livestock keepers, but they engage in the [illegal] trade of game meat"- Tinga Tinga village councilor

"If you catch someone doing something bad, it does not matter how, you want to knock him down, maybe beat him, to make sure to stop him. We don't give them the tough [beating], but just a little bit to make them stop, because you can even find people with pangas, and you have to find a way to stop them. When you are caught with charcoal, you have to pay a fine, how much depending on the amount [of charcoal] she or he will make. In case they do not pay the fine, we take the perpetrator to the police station for more procedures. Regarding poachers, we take them to police stations directly. The fine depends on the animal, but for instance, the giraffe has no fine amount, there is a 20-year jail sentence straight away because the giraffe is the national animal. Or if you have built your boma [in the WMA] you will be charged 1.5 million Tsh. There is a big sign that warns you it is forbidden."- EWMA ranger

Theme 5:

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[94] Upon request, the whole transcriptions are avaialble

""We receive refunds when we participate in WMA general meeting [held in WMA HQ building 60 km from Irkaswaa villlage] but it only covers the fuel"- Irkaswaa village councilor"

"I am scared that maybe there is something hidden [behind the removal of the picture]. Maybe Enduimet is trying to confuse the villagers" – Tinga Tinga farmer

Theme 6:

"We don't know where they can go to tell about that."- Irkaswaa farmer

Theme 11:

"It seems like ENduimet is not providing what we expected, for example in the protection from animals" – Tinga Tinga farmer

"Villagers complain [about the WMA] because of land. They say, "If the revenues always delay, why don't we take our land and cultivate it?" People do not know why this is happening [the delay of revenues]. Some people are thinking about asking the land [back] for farming"- Irkaswaa village councilor

"In the past, the WMA was very good to us, they supported villagers by paying the children's school fees; but now…the revenues we are receiving are very low, compared to what we received in the beginning. – Irkaswaa farmer"

"[at the] time [of WMA institution] we agreed to the WMA because it was such a good thing, the WMA was bringing revenues to the village. But now, we do not see nothing, I cannot even say if WMA is bad or good" – Irkaswaa farmer

"Revenues collected here are sent to TAWA [Wildlife Authority of the central government], and then to central government bank… it is too lengthy, especially because the revenue collected here should be divided between TAWA, Enduimet and then the villages… this is a big challenge" – EWMA ranger

Theme 14:

"WMA is not like before when WMA used to have many scouts and the patrol was good; they had many cars, and they could take good care of the environment. But nowadays, there are fewer cars, fewer Askaris. That makes us feel not good like our expectations from WMA were disappointing" – Irkaswaa pastoralist

"Enduimet is good, but to mention a problem, is crop damage and animals' attacks." – Tinga Tinga farmer

Theme 16:

"Both [WMA-based and village-based tourism ventures] have benefits, but I prefer Olpopongi because there is no issue with revenues: revenues come straight to the village account, the system of Olpopongi is open, everyone knows, unlike Enduimet, where the money must go through a long system from the government before they arrive to the village. So, it's better Olpopongi because the money comes directly. I prefer the agreement which is under village control also because I know how important it is to know, discuss and decide the details of the agreement of investors, so I prefer the agreement which is passing through village council" – Tinga Tinga farmer

"Anita is very important and necessary to Tinga Tinga village. Anita is like me, she's part of our community. We have nothing to say about Anita, except for the great thing she does for our community: she employs us, gives us food..." – Tinga Tinga woman

"If someone comes to invest in the village, they must be introduced by someone which know the investor well, to gain villagers' trust. After some time, the investor will come to discuss the business in the village meeting. For support, the District council oversees the process and advises us, but at the end of the day the village is in control of the agreement with the investor" - Tinga Tinga woman

"What is good about Olpopngi is that the owners usually come to the village office and sit down to discuss what is going on in the Maasai Village. We are lucky to have it, to have a place to attract the tourists. Often after their visits, tourists want to visit the school and maybe donate something."- Tinga Tinga village councilor

"Olpopongi is the biggest employment opportunity for our villagers because all people who are running and working in Olpopongi are from our village" - Tinga Tinga village councilor

Theme 20:

"I do not feel too bad, I can use what I have in my garden: I have ginger, lemon. I can solve my flu issue with them"- Irkaswaa pastoralist

"Those trees are important to us, especially after giving birth. We would boil the bark of the Laurien tree and we give it to the baby before we start breastfeeding." – Irkaswaa pastoralist

"Since we are not allowed to cut trees anymore, the forest and the useful plants have recovered. But we are not allowed to collect them, except when they are already dead on the ground" – Irkaswaa village councilor

"In my opinion, discrimination [against Maasai] is coming from the current president Samia, she is the one who introduced Maasai relocations. I do not worry too much, because the next president may be different than her. Magufuli for instance [Tanzania president until 2020] was better to the Maasai people, but after Mama Samia became president, Maasai started having troubles" – Tinga Tinga pastoralist

Theme 21:

"Modern practices of beekeeping are very useful, compared to traditional ones. In the past, we would smoke to get the bees out, and then start to collect the honey. Now it is easier. We were given tools and knowledge that helped us reduce injuries when collecting the honey and to speed up honey production," – Irkaswaa pastoralist

"We will manage to continue with this activity. We received extensive information; we have what we need to continue. This training improved our techniques, with some modern innovations that we appreciated very much! - Tinga Tinga farmer

"They were able to manage these innovations, even after the NGO moved on because they had the necessary knowledge." - Irkaswaa village councilor

"Our traditional methods of regulating access to pasture help us during this emergency time" Tinga Tinga pastoralist

"I want to thank you because you opened our minds. In the next village meetings, we will start with many questions about WMA, so thank you!" – Irkaswaa farmer

I wanted to tell you these questions were very important for us. I learned something from this interview" -Tinga Tinga farmer