

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood: Evidence from Tanzania

*Huruma L. Sigalla **

Abstract

This article discusses sociological and anthropological factors which either support or undermine conservation endeavor in Tanzania. It is based on a study that was conducted in Saadani and Ruaha National Parks. The overall objective of the study was to understand local people's awareness of resources and conservation of wildlife and identify sociological and anthropological issues related to trade-offs between conservation and development. The findings show that, generally, local people perceive conservation positively and are therefore willing to conserve. However, this is different to local communities surrounding protected areas who seem to be not only critical but also negative with the way in which the conservation process is implemented. The reason behind this negative attitude is brought about by the unbalanced trade-offs between conservation benefits and their means of livelihood. As a result, conservation activities are perceived as being more prescriptive and restrictive than integrative and supportive. Based on the findings, this article concludes that local people understand the importance of conservation and would support it had there been a balance of the trade-offs between conservation and their livelihood, and if they could anticipate some benefits now and in the near future.

Introduction

Development is an elusive concept. For centuries, scholars, policy makers and planners have been attempting to debate and suggest ways, which would facilitate "growth and development". Unfortunately, one of the challenges many development endeavors have been facing is the fact that growth and development are related concepts but not the same. They refer to different things. Thus, lack of a clear conceptualization particularly sociological and anthropological understanding has among other things,

*Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Dar es Salaam, E-mail: sigalla@udsm.ac.tz

H. L. Sigalla

hindered many development strategies. Within the debate of development, concepts like “sustainable development” emerged as a result of this endeavor. In the same context, over the last decades, the need to care and protect our natural resources has been more apparent. This has led to the need to focus on “conservation” as one of prerequisites of the “sustainable development”. Development is not simply about some statistical quantified data, but rather a process, which among other things includes people’s attitudes, needs, priorities and behavior. Ironically enough, conservation paradigms have tended to focus more on natural resources and bypassed the people who depend on these and are subject to the same. Challenges of conservation today particularly for poor people who directly depend on the natural resources is that, people have been treated as objects of conservation and not the subject of it. They have been regarded as destructive rather than being major stakeholders. This is basically a function of the fact that many conservation endeavors lack some sociological and anthropological inputs from communities and understanding of areas in which they are being implemented. They are often pro- environment while bypassing people’s needs, knowledge and local realities. This oversight has often generated conflicts between local people and conservation needs, and ultimately, led misunderstanding. Under the ongoing wave of neo-liberalization in the name of globalization, conservation programs are implemented for the benefits of others and at the expense of indigenous people (Neumann, 1998). Therefore, there has been a need to address and analyze the issue of conservation and development in a dialectical manner in the sense of identifying trade-offs between conservation and development. It is difficult to see what objection anyone would have to conservation. In view of this question, this paper attempts to discuss sociological and anthropological qualitative findings, which undermine or support conservation endeavors in Saadani and Ruaha National Parks in Tanzania. The objectives of the study were fourfold:

- (i) To understand the way people define the environment culturally and the way this definition complements or contradicts the current conservation efforts;
- (ii) To identify the traditional governance structures and assess their role in enhancing or undermining conservation efforts and people’s perceptions and attitudes towards the current conservation practices;
- (iii) To identify local people’s priorities over resources and the way these priorities influence the trade-offs; and

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

- (iv) To identify the local knowledge and practices enhancing or undermining the resource use and conservation.

Conceptual Framework

Gaining a better understanding of how society depends on and, affects the fragile environmental conditions and limited resources is of a great scientific challenge of our time. There is no simple formula to adequately describe these interdependencies (Lutz *et al.*, 2000). Whether a given ecosystem can support a certain human population is not simply a question of the population size-as is the case with the carrying capacity of animal population. Behavior, the stage of economic development, the technology, and even the culture (norms and values) and social institutions of the specific population under consideration also matter. Equally important to note is the fact that the effect of human population on environment through deforestation, water, air pollution, destruction of wildlife and marine ecosystem and many others, depends not only on the number of people, but also on production and consumption patterns, on their available alternatives of the means of livelihood, as well as the link between perceived future benefits and the challenges they anticipate from their present actions.

Stieglitz (2002) defines development as a transformation of a society. This transformation encompasses social, economic, political, technological and ecological aspects. In view of this, conservation is part and parcel of societal transformation in the sense that as people and their communities transform from one stage to another, they change not only their physical environment but also their minds, attitudes and behavior towards their environment. As a result, the value of their environment and resources changes or get transformed. Western societies think about ecological and biodiversity as a result of such transformation and the realization of the importance to maintain our environment together with anticipated consequence of environmental destruction and depletion of our natural resources. Thus, development and conservation influence each other in a dialectal way. It is however, worthwhile noting that, conservation cannot, and will not be achieved if it is addressed independently to development (means of livelihood). All societies, ancient and current, have had mechanism to conserve their environment, whether traditional, informal and modern law. Every culture also has local knowledge and practices on conservation. Paying attention to cultural values as long they do not degrade the habitats and deplete the resources-may provide a powerful link between the communities and government conservation agencies and, therefore, minimize the

H. L. Sigalla

prevailing conflict over resources use for the benefit of conservation. Furthermore, unlike economic incentives, the cultural incentives are more affordable, reliable and sustainable since they do not rely on external funding¹. Even from a theological point of view, conservation is not a new term and phenomenon. God not only allowed human being (Adam and Eva) to use resources but he also gave them responsibility to protect and maintain them. Thus, from this point of view, conservation is a religious obligation. In this context, it means destroying the environment is a sin. Scholars such as Barrett and Arcese (1995), Gibson and Marks (1995) and Songorwa (1999) have criticized the practice of emphasizing on economic incentives in the promotion of sustainable behaviors towards natural resources, socio-cultural while spiritual values have been taken as secondary factors and sometimes neglected. Apparently, it is increasingly acknowledged that socio-cultural factors are emerging as critical incentives and that they have potentials in complementing the economic incentive in promoting conservation and sustainable use of local resources (Colding and Folke, 2001; Infield, 2001).

One of the problems of trade-offs between conservation and development, is the fact that human being generate their livelihood from the environment. Thus, our survival depends on our interaction with the environment. The problems has always been the balance of trade-offs between conservation and development. Experiences from some communities where government conservation endeavors are underway indicate that communities are expected to jeopardize their needs more than what conservation can provide to them to meet their daily basic needs. Another problem is that some conservation programs are not designed to accommodate the needs of local people and social realities. We want to conserve natural resources, which in most cases are scarce and are non-renewable. The fact that they are natural means they are God given, for instance, for those who were born close to a river, ocean, forest or mountain or an area with wild animals such as game reserve and national park, it is their luck to live close to these resources. This is a simple logic. When these people are called upon to stop using these resources for the benefit of the community, a country or the world, it raises the question of how they are going to be compensated for the reduction of income they will experience as a result of not using the natural resource under conservation. Similarly, the fact that most of communities living close to such natural resources, the need to conserve depend directly on those resources as their means of livelihood, there are other vital uses of these resources for their survival such as herbs (traditional medicine), spiritual needs (prayers, "*matambiko*", graves) and socio-cultural functions such as

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

initiation ceremonies. When modern conservation endeavor restrict them or forbid them to use such resources without giving them adequate alternatives, it means not only interfering with their means of livelihood but also their entire socio-cultural, spiritual and political life. In short, it means taking a vital part of their life, destroying what is today known as “*social capital*”, a force, which glue and hold a community in harmony. From the Structural Functionalist perspectives², one would refer to such a process as creating a state of ‘*anomie*’, a state of community disorientation, which may cause serious development consequences.

Conservation, Development and Local People’s livelihood in Tanzania

One of the problems associated with conservation and development today is the dominant perception that focuses mainly on macro levels while bypassing micro-levels, over-emphasis on national while giving little attention to the local. As a result of neo-liberal ideology through free trade, Foreign Direct Investment has increasingly been perceived inevitable impetus for economic growth and as panacea for poverty alleviation. Many protected areas since 1980s have been established under the umbrella of conservation partly to expand the tourist trade (Igoe, 2006). In fact, Nelson and Makko (2005:130) suggest that as a result of growth of the tourism sector in Tanzania during 1990s, at the end of 1990s most of the then tourists’ destinations in the national parks were overcrowded, hence a need to establish new destinations. For instance, Brockington, Igoe and Schmidt-Soltau (2006:250) point out that protected areas have expanded threefold in recent years, and the stricter category 1-4 protected areas now number some 49,000 and cover 40% of the land surface of the planet. Similarly, Wittemyer et al., (2008)³ argue that since the end of 1970s there has been an increase by 500% of land designated for nature conservation and protected areas in Africa and Latin America. Several scholars such as Nelson and Ole Makko (2005:124) have further argued that, “conservation in areas like Serengeti ecosystem has mainly meant the exclusion of local people from using lands and resources through the establishment of state-protected areas and enforcement of restrictive laws”. Experience of establishing protected areas show that indigenous people have generally been seriously affected⁴ by protected area and conservation (Baird et.al, 2009; Fine, 2008; Brockington et al., 2006: 51; Igoe, 2006). The negative impacts of conservation in most part of Africa in general, and Tanzania in particular is a result of the fact that wildlife conservation is done through establishment of “National park and protected areas”, which according to Fine (ibid:3-9) is based on “European traditions of land use and perception of nature”⁵. However, in recent years,

H. L. Sigalla

practitioners in the field of conservation have realized the importance of local people involvement in the process of planning and implementing conservation endeavors. Local people have currently in some parts in Tanzania been acknowledged and recognized as main actors in the protection of their resources. Efforts to establish Community-Based Conservation⁶ is a response to this development (Fine, 2008; Songorwa, 1999)

Although there is substantial number of studies on conservation and development in Tanzania, however, most of them have mainly focused on the north circuit⁷ and concentrated on pastoralist communities such as the Maasai. There is a scarce and limited studies and literature on the implication of conservation in the southern circuit. Not only international tourists from Europe and America have been concentrated in the northern circuit, but also scholars have also been biased to study issues of Wildlife Conservation in Tanzania by focusing on the northern circuit while bypassing the southern circuit. There is a limited body of evidence-based information of the impact of conservation to local communities surrounding or/and adjacent to protected areas and National parks located in the Southern circuit. Very few scholars such Songorwa (1999) have attempted to address issues related to Community-Based Conservation in communities surrounding Selous National Park. But over the last decades several national parks have been established in this part. Similarly, several scholars have also suggested that the majority of conservation groups are unwilling to assess and discuss trade-offs between conservation and development in a pragmatic manner (Brockington et al. 2006; Songorwa, 1999). Thus, this piece of work aims at addressing these issues.

Study Design

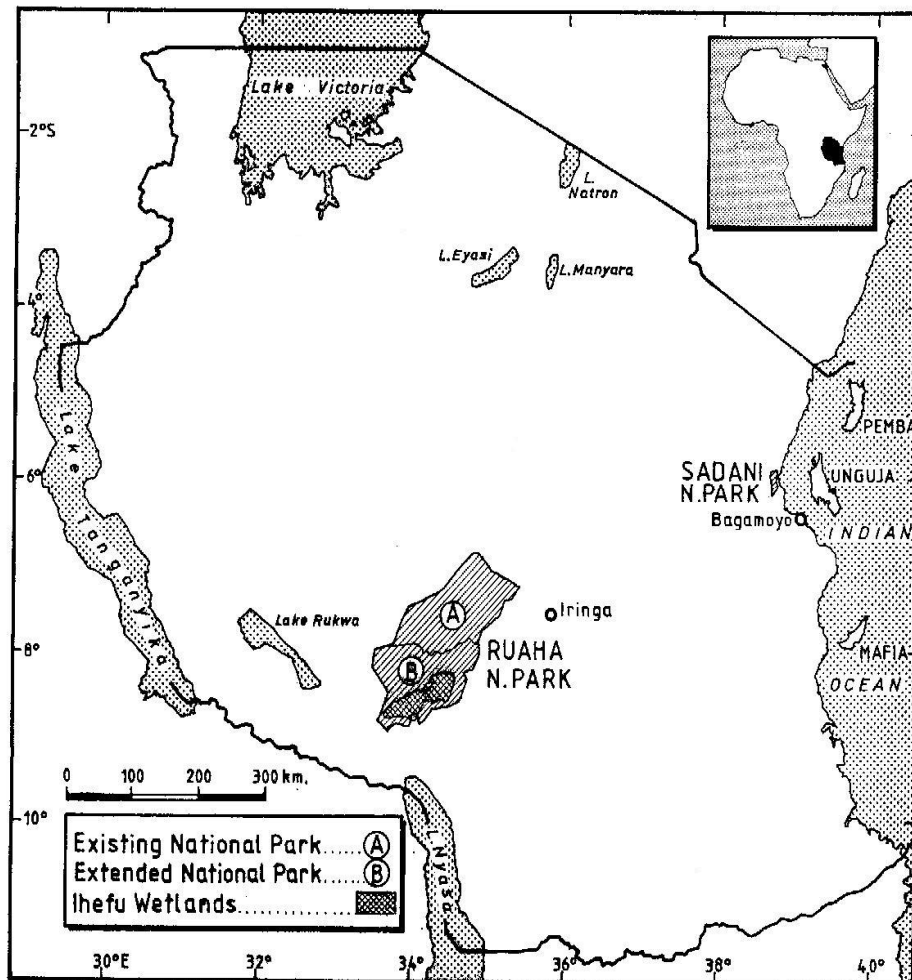
This is an exploratory study and was not guided by any pre-assumption, such as hypotheses but rather used research questions. The study was part of the international research project on “Advancing Conservation in a Social Context: Working in the World of Trade-Offs”. Countries which participated in this research project were Tanzania, Peru and Vietnam. In Tanzania, data was collected in 2008. The project aimed at examining ecological, economic, sociological and anthropological and political factors that determine trade-offs between conservation and development in three selected countries including Tanzania. The study was divided into four themes namely, Economic, Social, Ecological and Political. Data was collected along these themes. The findings of this paper are based on qualitative techniques of data collection. We conducted 7 in-depth interviews with some key

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

informants who are either working with academia or international, national non-governmental organizations dealing with conservation including some influential people from civil societies. We also conducted a total of 9 Focus Group Discussions from both study sites (Saadani and Ihefu/Usangu). Five FGDs were conducted in Saadani and 4 in Ihefu/Usangu⁸. Secondary data were collected by reviewing some government documents at district, regional and national level together with research reports. Non-participant observation was very instrumental in this study. This technique enabled the research team to see some properties, which were destroyed during the eviction process and the socio-economic situation especially basic infrastructure such as shelter, roads, schools, water and sanitation existing in the new destinations⁹. This gave researcher a clear, unbiased and objective understanding of what was happening in the real life.

The following figure is a map of Tanzania indicating the Ihefu Wetland, which is now included to Ruaha National Park and Saadani National Park where the study was conducted.

Figure 1: Map of Study Areas



Source: Sigalla, 2012

Findings

All discussions were conducted in Kiswahili, the only language the majority of people from the study areas speak and understand adequately. The exception was some of key informants from academia, and NGOs who are familiar with the subject and fluent in English. The collected information was recorded during the discussions, then transcribed and interpreted into English. In addition to recording, we took some notes during discussion for

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

some issues, which appeared unique and important. The next subsections present data collected from the field.

Existing local knowledge on environment and development

Our study among other things focused on examining the local knowledge or/and understanding of the concept of environment, its importance and impacts to the livelihoods of our respondents. In general, our findings revealed that local community from the study sites have a broad understanding of the concept of “environment” and the importance of the environment for their survival and livelihood. They defined the concept of environment in a broad sense as encompasses living organism, plants and topological features. To them, “environment” includes animals, plants, rivers and mountains. Focus Group Discussions revealed that environment can be destroyed and it must be protected. From experiences and opinions of research participants/respondents factors, which can contribute to environmental degradation included large number of livestock (overgrazing), cutting tree (charcoal making) , deforestation, bush fire, illegal fishing, over extraction of sand off shore for construction (particularly for Saadani) and industrial waste products. Other factors mentioned were agricultural activities near or close to the sources of water and domestic waste products such as papers, plastic bags and bottles.

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and local Livelihood

To balance trade-offs between natural resources conservation and development has been a challenge of our time. The problem is more apparent and elusive particularly for poor communities with limited alternatives and which directly depend on the natural resources for their survival and livelihood. The Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (2007:18) recognizes the public as one of the key “stakeholders to support the government in the conservation, development and sustainable utilization of wildlife and wetland resources”. In addition it states that, “local communities living on the village lands with viable populations of wildlife have a role of protecting and benefiting from wildlife and wetlands resources, by setting aside wildlife conservation areas in their land”. Our experience from the field revealed that local communities feel that they are not regarded as stakeholders but rather that they must obey the regulations and decisions prescribed by other stakeholders. This was more evident when local communities from all study areas expressed their grievances concerning the evictions resulting from Wildlife conservation in Saadani and Ruaha National Parks.

H. L. Sigalla

Lack of holistic alternatives to compensate the loss resulting from conservation

Our findings clearly show that there is a general consensus among various conservation stakeholders in Tanzania who argue that local communities from conservation areas are not given holistic alternative to compensate the loss they have encountered in conservation. In most cases, local people are given promises and preached about the merits of conservation, which however, later on are not fulfilled. When local people decide to cooperate in conservation efforts on the basis of the information, which is given to them before implementation of conservation projects, they do so with specific expectations. They are normally told that conservation initiatives will balance the trade-off between conservation and their livelihood. Unfortunately, when the conservation activities are undertaken, they find themselves on the losing side and shoulder the burden of conservation while the promised trade-off never materializes. This is a major reason for the general hostility towards conservation from local communities. We discussed with various conservation stakeholders from academia, civil society and international organizations dealing with conservation. While explaining the dilemma of trade-offs between conservation and local means of livelihood and the challenges of conservation in Tanzania, a senior chief conservation officer from WWF said the following:

In most cases, the experience from conservation practices to local communities means loss, suffering and poverty. Thus, the logic of national and international community's benefits does not translate to meeting their daily local needs. They need trees to construct houses, they need an impala or/and wild pig to get meat, but the logic of conservation tells them "no", and that if you kill an impala you are a poacher and it is an offense because an impala is important animal for the nation. There is discrepancy of benefits between national or/and international interests with those of individuals at local context...we conserve in order to impress international organizations but we are not addressing the needs of respective communities. For instance, creating a national park practically mean excluding local communities around these areas to access natural resources such as forest and so on... that is connected with the fact that in the process of conservation people lose their traditional resources such as land and we fail to compensate them. When people are told to stop using some natural resources in order to conserve for community's and national interest, then they are supposed to be fairly

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

compensated so that they do not feel that they are deprived their rights to use that resources for their livelihood and development.

Institutional architecture and Trade-Offs between Conservation and Development

While discussing the issue of trade-offs between conservation and people's livelihood with various stakeholders, it became apparent that there is also an institutional problem. The balance of trade-offs between conservation and development has been illusive because of inadequate policies, regulation, planning and management of our natural resources. The weaknesses of our institutional arrangement and capabilities related to Natural resource management is supported by the findings of Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (2009), which among other things point out that "The Wildlife sector continues to expand direct control over lands and tourism revenues, to reduce economic opportunities for many local communities, and to be plagued with governance issues and lack of transparency". Our discussion with some experts of development and conservation confirmed similar experiences when they juxtapose the practice of conservation and development in Tanzania. Within this context, in his attempt to elaborate his experience and opinion, one of our key informants (natural resources economist from the University of Dar Es Salaam) elaborated his views in the following manner:

There are some areas, which are not very challenging in conservation. For instance, marine parks, here the management is somehow flexible because marine -parks differ from national parks. When you speak about marine-park, you also include people who live in that area, what we normally do, is to improve the use but not imposing restrictions, which is the case of national parks. Our experiences show that local communities are not reluctant to establish and support a marine park because they are not restricted to use the resource in the park area. While other natural resources such as forest or national park, local people are restricted that is why trade-offs between conservation and development remains a challenge.

In fact, the problem with our policies, laws and regulation is one of the challenges in conservation especially wildlife and other protected areas. Sharing similar opinions another informant (Senior Conservation Officer WWF-Country Office Dar Es Salaam) had this to say:

H. L. Sigalla

Another problem is that during a preparatory period communities members are told many good words and promises which later on are not fulfilled. For instance, looking at these WMA (Wildlife Management Area), in most areas where they are established, they did not face any direct resistance from the local community members because there were many promises. Their sustainability will only depend on their function and benefits to the local community...In the same context, another problem, we argue is that it is there in terms of benefits. For instance, the issue of time-frame in the sense that, the benefits we propagate take time to materialize and to be realized practically. Therefore, if local people are supposed to invest today in the sense of restricting access to these resources, while the benefits may be realized after 5 to 10 years, it is for them a long time, since they have to survive today. If you take an example of WMA which were piloted, very few show benefits now; most of them took a minimum of three years to reach a level which they are now. But if you listen to those communities which are believed to benefit more, they say they get an average of 2000-3000 US \$ annually. Now, if you are talking of 10 villages getting an income of US \$ 2000 or 3000, how many US \$ does each individual villager get? Thus, at the end of the day, you realize that the benefits they get do not help them much compared to the responsibilities they have as well restricted to access resources which they could have used to sustain their livelihood or increase their income.

In connection to the above views, some weakness of our laws and regulations was evident last year (2009) when the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism presented a proposed Bill on National Park in the parliament. The majority of the members of the parliament rejected the proposed Bill on the basis that it was interested in protecting wildlife at the expense of communities. The Minister was urged to change the context of the bill and resubmit it to parliament. Similar observation is reported by Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (2009) concerning the said bill as follows:

The content of this act is not favorable to increasing local income from wildlife or local participation in wildlife management, or to promoting good governance of natural resources. The act also will likely increase conflicts between local communities and the government, as have recently occurred in Loliondo, over the tenure and management of land and resources where wildlife is found. In particular the act focuses on increasing the area of land and authority over the land under the jurisdiction of the Wildlife Division. It gives the Directory of Wildlife

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

authority to prohibit all farming and livestock grazing in Game Controlled Areas. This may directly impact the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Tanzanian citizen living in these Game Controlled Areas if safeguards are not carefully followed, because Game Controlled Areas and village lands overlap in most parts of the country. The act is likely to increase conflicts over land use and land tenure, and is contrary to the MKUKUTA objectives to harmonize sect oral laws in order to reduce conflicts.

This shows clearly how institutions and responsible authorities through poor laws and regulation may exacerbate the magnitude of trade-offs between conservation and development in Tanzania. The quotation above reflects peoples' experience from Saadani and Ruaha.

Conservation and Development: Local community's perspectives

Apart from the local knowledge, the study was interested to investigate how local people felt about conservation. There have been imbalances of Trade-Offs between conservation and development partly because people depend on environment for their survival. Within this context, the challenges lie in the fact that practically, conservation means the reduction, if not completely alienation from extraction of some natural resources, which people have depended for their livelihoods. The difficult to ensure conservation in the context of development is how to balance the trade-offs between the two. In other words, to compensate the benefits people anticipate losing if they adhere to the conservation endeavors.

Social services, for instance, in Saadan, the park contributed 70% of the Mkange ward Secondary school construction; it has contributed to the provision of health services to the communities; it is one of the resources the village's depend on to earn income. The village has initiated a fund raising facilities program that requires every tourist who visits the area to pay T.Sh 5,000; the national park has helped the development of business opportunities and infrastructure development such as road; it has created new employment opportunities. However, they are also some negative impacts resulting from the presence of a National Park. Among other things, for instance, conservation has caused the loss of the following resources for communities around Saadani National Park: Denied people access to resources such as fishing areas, to perform ritualistic activities; access to their sacred places like "Mvavi and Matipwile", access to burial sites of their relatives; crop damage by wild animals, livestock depletion, loss of arable land, opportunities to manage wild animals destroying their crop or

H. L. Sigalla

threatening their life (by trapping or killing them) and access to fire wood. Others argued that they felt that wild animals from the National Park were valued more than human being by conservation stakeholders particularly the Tanzania National Park Authority (TANAPA). The FGDs participants in one of the village in Saadani elaborated their feeling by saying: "By and large, we consider ourselves unlucky by residing close to the park because we have negatively been affected as regards fishing, hunting and farming".

Yet, there has been a problem of internal displacement. This kind of displacement itself has myriads of challenges and problems, which indirectly perpetuate the challenges of conservation process. One participant in an FGD in Saadani used the following words to explain the imbalance between conservation and development and which was shared by other participants:

We decided ourselves to come here but we were told that we should choose where we want to settle and then the government officials will come and assess whether the area we have chosen is adequate for human settlement. After we had chosen this area, we submitted our choice that we want to come here but they did not come and do the necessary assessment to know whether we have chosen a proper place or not as they promised. The whole process was done quickly, they told us in October and by the end of December we were supposed to have all moved.

Adding to the above discussion, another participant elaborated his opinion in the following manner:

The government did a mistake that was indeed a serious. The issue of telling us that we should come here first then the infrastructure will follow immediately, that was a mistake. We need water, because in our previous village we had tape water, they (government officials) said, they will bring us water, but until now, we do not have water.

Our discussions with community's members from the respective areas revealed that contrary to many places in Tanzania and Africa, where protected areas are seriously resisted by local communities, demand for establishment of a protected area in Saadani emanated from the communities in the 1960s. This was prompted by the fact the area was rich in wildlife resources, but local communities were unable to benefit. The beneficiaries to this resource were illegal hunters from other countries, notably Kenya. The

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

local communities felt that establishment of a Game Reserve would end this problem. Therefore, they requested the government to do the needful. One of the villagers in Saadani compared the importance of wildlife for Tanzania's development to oil in Arabs countries.

In Usangu, people had grievances associated with the issue of eviction or internal displacement. The process of extending the Ruaha National Park among other things required that people from Ilonga and Rujewa divisions should be displaced to pave way for the exercise. One of the FGDs with people from Usangu revealed their negative experiences with conservation in the following manner:

The first grievances we have as far as our environment is concerned are the fact that we were evicted in order to pave way for conservation (National Park). The process of eviction caused many problems to us such as loss of our farms, death of our animals during the process of eviction, loss of our settlement, loss of most basic services such as water, school, dispensary and other well established infrastructure such as roads...In addition, we had a second problem, namely, payment, the compensation was very low.

We requested participants from the discussion to elaborate more on why they felt that the compensation was very low and the criteria that they used to measure that it was low? Their response to our question was as follows:

For our farm, we were told that we will be paid T.Sh 100,000 for each acre. But the actual payment was different, I mean, for example, there are people who had 3 acres and were paid T.Sh 48,000. While another was not paid at all, while they come and measured his farm.

After learning this problematic in Ihefu-Mbalali, the study was interested to learn what the people thought about the reasons behind this inconsistency of payment. The majority were the opinion that these were indicators of corruption. They thought that the government through TANAPA intended to pay them fairly but they were suspicious of the district officials. One participant in an FGD while attempting to explain the prevailing circumstances during the compensation process said:

I can generally say that the whole process of payment was not fair, was discriminatory and corrupt. For instance, you find that an owner of a

H. L. Sigalla

house is paid T.Sh 500,000, whereas somebody with simply a hurt is paid T.Sh 1,500,000. Can you see the difference? Sometimes, you may find someone who does not own a farm but his or her name is on the list payment and it is written that he/she owns three acres while another person with ten acres is indicated that on the payment list to owns nothing. Can you see the miracle?...During the preliminary briefing about the eviction the government on the one hand promised lots of things such as the fact that our new settlement will have school, dispensary and water. On the other hand, at one point the government said it cannot start preparing these infrastructure if people are not there, thus, we should move first then the service will follow immediately. When we came here, we found nothing; at least they (government officials) have recently built a dispensary. In addition, we were paid very little money (T.Sh 40,000) for transport. From Ikoga (where we were) to here is about 20 km, owners of means of transport were refusing to take T.Sh 40,000. They were demanding T.Sh 200,000. For instance, I had some agricultural crops and livestock, the amount of money I got as compensation including transport was T.Sh 200,000 and this amount is actually a fare of transport only.

Discussion

Conservation and Development: What can we learn from these findings?

According to the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (URT, 2007: iii) the vision of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism “ is to conserve, manage and develop wildlife and wetland resources, and sustainable utilization that will contribute towards poverty reduction through promotion of participation of stakeholders in conservation and sustainable utilization of wildlife and wetlands resources.”¹⁰

The concepts of conservation and development are interrelated in the sense that the former is one of the cornerstones of the latter. Sometimes National development strategies have been contradicting the two concepts. For instance, the National Strategy for Poverty Alleviation, MKUKUTA shows some sort of contradictions between conservation and Development. For instance, the Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (TNRF) (2009) in one of its publication titled: Using the Nation’s Resources to Reduce Poverty? Point out that:

In a country where over 70% of people still live in rural areas and 80% of people depend on agriculture and natural resources for their livelihoods,

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

pattern of natural resources use are critical to the economy at all scales. At the same time, nearly 44% of the country's land area is governed by some form of conservation regulation, which has a bearing on the way people utilize and manage the resources on the land.

On the one hand, we want to conserve, laws and regulation have been formulated and put in place to guide our conservation endeavors. On the other hand, we have MKUKUTA (the reviewed version), which also includes the need to conserve the environment. In one way or another, the emphasis now is not conservation but 'poverty alleviation'. In practice, however, if you want to reduce poverty, you need to conserve, but what is really happening now is the opposite. The message now is that we have to promote development at the expense of conservation. Worse enough is that strategies for poverty reduction imply more environmental stress as people will be interacting more with their environment through extraction of natural resource in their endeavors to increase their income and guarantee their livelihoods. This assumption is based on the fact that we haven't yet reached the level of sustainability of which is attested by among other things the fact that our national budget still depends on external assistance by over 30 percent. Thus, nationally, we have not reached a level of giving people the understanding or/and logic that we are talking about development and conservation, which mean sustainable use of our natural resources¹¹. There seems to be some confusion between sustainable resource utilization or/and management, which is related to poverty alleviation and conservation. Though interrelated the two are however different.

The analysis of TNRF (2009) found that natural resources particularly wildlife, forest, lake and coastal fisheries are decreasing. TNRF (2009) point out MKUKUTA has been emphasizing on importance sustainable use and management of natural resources and the importance of protecting the environment; similarly, it emphasizes the importance of improving local benefits and participation through community-based natural resource management and good governance. For many indigenous groups in Tanzania, in the past conservation was closely tied to the co-existence of human and wildlife, under the communal land tenure system¹². Conservation was part of the local culture and traditions and was without written decrees or formal institutional framework (Leader-Williams, 2001)¹³. The current conservation paradigm, which bypass local social realities and restrict the indigenous people from using natural resource on, which they depend for their livelihood without providing them with alternatives are

H. L. Sigalla

exploitative in nature. Other scholars like Igoe (2004) have argued that this was part of material processes whereby Africans were disposed of their land and other forms of natural wealth by colonialism and international capitalism. Thus, such top-down approach to conservation in protected areas is a justification of material dispossession. Tanzania has a history of forced relocations and land grabbing by state to meet conservation and development goals. Foreign conservation paradigms are reinforced in Tanzania through international treaties and the work of NGOs. For instance, Tanzania has ratified important Conventions relate to conservation and management of wildlife and wetland resources. According to *Wildlife Policy of Tanzania* (2007:3), for instance, Tanzania became member of CITES in 1981, CMS in 1999, AEWA in 1999, Ramsar in 2000, and Lusaka Agreement in 1996. Forced migration, eviction and internal displacement of people have in several cases been implemented in the name of conservation in Tanzania. This is one of the major and painful Trade-Offs, which local communities carry in the name of conservation. In other words, eviction, displacement and forced migration are terms, which this study has found to be closely linked with conservation from the perspective of the local communities in the study areas. These painful experiences and feeling of losing one property is a major reason why conservation is negatively perceived by local people from our study areas. People often ask a very straight and logical question: "If we are told that we cannot conserve and our fathers and mothers did not conserve, would the government and other conservation stakeholders find anything to conserve today? The fact that, they have something to conserve today shows that our last generation conserved all these".

For instance, forced relocation continues, as demonstrated by the eviction of 5,000 Maasai from the then Mkomazi Game Reserve in 1998 (Gregg, 2005). In Simanjiro, the government has alienated 50,000 hectares of land (one hectare=2.47 acres) belonging to Maasai for 80 large-scale farms producing seed bean for export to Holland. These farms are established near permanent water sources and prevent Maasai cattle access to water. In 1968, the Barbaig saw 70,000 hectares of their land (later expanded to 100,000 hectares) taken over by a state owned National Agriculture Food Corporation (NAFCO) to grow commercial wheat on seven state farms. A similar land case is being waged by the Sangu (cultivators) and Maasai (pastoralists) of the Usangu plains in southwest Tanzania. Over the last 30 years, some 55,000 hectares of land in Usangu have been alienated as state property, including areas that were hitherto important grazing land (Gregg, 2005; Igoe, 2004)¹⁴. Similar incidences occurred in the year 2007, when people were forced to leave their

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

settlements from Kikondo area in Makete District, which was said to be part of the new Kitulo National Park.

The magnitude of Trade-Offs between Game Reserve and National Park

It was interesting to note that local communities from the study areas particularly Saadani had since 1970 been initiators and supporters of conservation. However, they could also make a clear distinction of the magnitude of 'Trade-Offs' between conservation and development when Saadani was a Game Reserve and now when it has become National Park. The findings indicate that a game reserve, to some extent, minimizes the trade-offs than a National park. From their perspectives, the former is more integrative, participatory and community's friendly than the latter, which is more restrictive, prescriptive and segregative. The Game Reserve gave local community's members in Saadani a feeling of ownership. As such, they viewed it as not only a national property but also felt they were part of the owners. On the other hand, under the National Park, local community members did experience more harm than benefits. Thus, under the National Park, local community's members feel they were to carrying more burden of 'trade-offs' than the Game Reserve. They feel as losers, as a result, they are demoralized to support conservation processes.

Local people from the study areas were of the opinion that, Game Reserve respected their culture and allowed them to use some resources. But with the establishment of a national park, there have been a number of problems confronting them and since then, they are not comfortable. They also felt that, the park official value wild animals more than human beings, that people are being alienated from their basic resources such as sources fire wood, medicinal plants, wild meat, and that people are being dissociated from their culture and traditions such as performing rituals and accessing sacred places. People also mentioned some benefits from TANAPA. However, they were of the opinion that these benefits were too minimal to offset the costs caused by wild animals. People felt that the park should have its status lowered to that of "game reserve" or reducing its size or even abolishing it.

Conclusion

The study has revealed that local people from Saadani and Ihefu-Mbalali have a clear understanding of the term "environment". Their understanding is that environment includes land, plants, animals, water, mountains and other living organism. They view the environment as important for their

H. L. Sigalla

survival and livelihood as they depend from it for food, water and other basic needs. However, there are negative aspects caused by environment, these include but are not limited to environmental natural disaster, conservation and living close to a protected area like a National park. For local communities from Saadani and Ihefu, living close to the national park has been a burden rather than a blessing, as they experience negative impact of protected areas and conservation. Generally, the findings show that local communities from study sites particularly people from Saadani support the idea of conservation. During the 1970s they asked the government to establish a Game Reserve in order to protect the wildlife, which by then were exploited by local and foreign poachers. This shows that they had positive attitudes to conservation. One old man (82 years) in Saadani told us that Wildlife is important to Tanzania just like oil is for OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) countries. The negative impacts and experiences they have been experiencing in the process of conservation and protecting wildlife has led to the development of a negative stance towards the current endeavors for conservation in these areas. They feel that they are treated like object of conservation than being regarded as stakeholders of conservation. Thus, the study found that there is unbalanced trade-offs between conservation and development from Saadani and Ihefu, despite the fact that the same local communities are expected to carry the burden of conservation. Conservation practices do not address their socio-cultural and spiritual needs. They feel that wildlife is more valued than human beings and consequently they ask: Conservation for whose benefits? It is worthwhile to conclude that people are willing to conserve the natural resources but they need pragmatic and realistic alternatives to balance the trade-offs between conservation and their means of livelihood in the short and long run. One of the challenges that conservation experts and practitioners expect local communities to stop extracting or/and using natural resources today and accept to benefits from conservation sometimes in the future while these people have to survive today. It is like to tell somebody, "I want you to work today but you will get paid next year or after five years". This is not logical and practical in real life. Another issue is that it seems that the current conservation philosophy and practice limit local people's participation in designing, planning and implementing conservation activities. This is top-down approach, which bypasses local people's needs and priorities. Thus, it is recommended that if we conserve in order to save people, then, the interests, indigenous knowledge and practices of local communities living close to protected areas or/and under conservation must be mainstreamed in the whole conservation process.

Trade-Offs between Wildlife Conservation and Local Livelihood

Notes

1. Kideghesho, R. J. 2006. Wildlife conservation and local Land use conflicts in Western Serengeti Corridor, Tanzania. Ph.D Thesis: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
2. Anomie is a concept developed by Structural Functionalist Theorists Robert Merton King and Talcott Parsons which refers to lack of orientation and focus which in most cases occur in times of societal upheavals such as war, economic crisis, economic prosperous, and natural disasters. In our context in Tanzania today, people and communities experience a state of anomie at the time of displacement as well, when they see their houses demolished, forcibly removed from their long historical areas. Thus, *anomie* is one of the psychosocial impacts of conservation particularly when people experience internal displacement as they suppose to pave a way for a national park.
3. Quoted from Baird et.al. 2009.
4. Michael Cernea and Kai Schmidt-Soltau have well summarized the common consequences of this practice in their "Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model for Involuntary Resettlement". They identify eight distinct risks for evicted or/and displaced people: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased mortality, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation. This information is drawn from Fine, L. (2008).
5. The enclosure of nature, nature of source of inspiration, undisturbed Eden.
6. Despite of this development, Community-Based Conservation in Tanzania still lacks support from local people partly because the practice uses a top-down approach mainly run by national parks authorities and International NGOs. Another obstacle is that Community-Based Conservation endeavors have yet not addressed the balance of trade-offs between local people's need, priorities, development on the one hand, and conservation on the other hand in a pragmatic manner. Thus, local people in many parts feel as losers than beneficial of conservation practices.

H. L. Sigalla

7. This includes but not limited to Arusha National Park, Mkomazi Game Reserve, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Serengeti National Park and Tarangire National Park.
8. We held a FGD in each village we visited.
9. People who moved from Ikoga village to Madibila village in Lujewa district included but not limited to the following ethnics groups: Sangu, Hehe, Bena and Sukuma whose main livelihood activities are subsistence farming and livestock keeping and pastoralism. Their main agricultural products are maize, coconut and rice while their livestock are mainly cattle, poultry, sheep and goat. Their religion is mainly Christian comprising of Roman Catholics and Sabato denominations. They were internally displaced from Ikoga to Madibila where the host ethnic groups were Nyakyusa, Hehe, Bena, Sangu, Sukuma, Tatulu and Nyatulu. Their main livelihood activities include subsistence farming of rice, coconut and maize. Livestock keeping and pastoralism of mainly cattle, sheep, goat and poultry is an additional means of livelihood. Major religions in Madibila include Christian (Roman Catholic, TAG and Moravian denomination), Islam and traditional religious believers.
10. United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism: *The Wildlife Policy of Tanzania*, Revised in March 2007.
11. Derived from our discussion with Chief Conservation Officer, WWF country Office, Mikocheni, Dar es Salaam.
12. Land tenure refers to right to own, right to use and right to inherit land.
13. This information was drawn from a proposal for “Advancing conservation in A Social Context: Working in a World of Trade-Offs (ACSC), Tanzania Case Study”, 2008.
14. Drawn from “ACSC Proposal-Tanzania Case Study”, 2008

References

- Baird, D.T., Leslie, W.P. and McCabe, J. T. 2009. "The Effects of Wildlife Conservation on Local Perceptions of Risk and Behavioral Response," *Human Ecology* 37, 4: 463-74.
- Barrett, C. B. and P. Arcesse. 1995. Are integrated conservation-development projects (ICDPs) Sustainable? On the Conservation of large mammals in Sub-Saharan Africa, *World Development* 23, 4:1073-84.
- Brockington, D., Igoe, J. and K. Schmidt-Soltan. 2006. "Conservation, Human Rights, and Poverty Reduction," *Conservation Biology* 20, 1: 250-2.
- Colding, J. and C. Folke. 2001. "Social Taboos: 'Invisible' Systems of Local Resource Management and Biological Conservation", *Ecological Applications* 11:584-600.
- Fine, L. 2008. "The Legacy of National Parks: Community-Based Conservation in Tanzania and Zimbabwe." Senior Thesis: Boston University Academy.
- Gibson, C.C. and Marks, S.S. 1995. "Transformation Rural Hunters into Conservationists: An Assessment of Community-Based Wildlife Management in Africa", *World Development* 23, 6: 941-57.
- Gregg, G. 2005. "The Legal System and Wildlife Conservation: History and the Law's Effect on Indigenous People and Community Conservation in Tanzania," *Georgetown International Environmental Law Review* 17, 3: 481-516.
- Igoe, J. 2004. *Conservation and Globalization: A Study of National Parks and Indigenous Communities from East Africa to South Dakota*. Denver: Thompson.
- Igoe, J. 2006. "Measuring the Coasts and Benefits of Conservation to Local Communities" *Journal of Ecological Anthropology* 10: 72-7.
- Infeld, M. 2001. Cultural Values: A forgotten Strategy for building community support for protected areas in Africa, *Conservation Biology* 15, 3:800-2.

H. L. Sigalla

- Irwin, A. 2001. *Sociology and the Environment*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kideghesho, R. J. 2006. "Wildlife conservation and local Land use conflicts in Western Serengeti Corridor, Tanzania". Ph.D Thesis: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
- Lutz, W., L. Prieto, and W. Sanderson. 2000. *Population, Development and Environment on the Yutican Peninsula: From Ancient May to 2030*, Vienna: IIASA.
- Nelson, F. and O. S. Makko. 2005. *Communities, Conservation, and Conflicts in the Tanzanian Serengeti: Preserving Rights to gain Benefits*, http://www.sandcounty.net/assets/chapters/assets_chapter_5.pdf.
- Neumann, R.P. 1998. *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Songorwa, A.N. 1999. "Community -Based Wildlife Management (CWM) in Tanzania: Are the communities interested?," *World Development* 27, 12:2061-79.
- Stieglitz, J. 2002. *Globalization and its Discontents*. London: Penguin.
- Tanzania Natural Resource Forum. 2009. *Using the Nation's Resources to Reduce Poverty: Analysis of MKUKUTA Outcomes (2005-2009) Related to Forest and Wildlife Resources as a Contribution to the MKUKUTA Review*, <http://www.policyforum-tz.org/files/TNRFMKUKUTA.pdf>.
- URT. 2007. *Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism: The Wildlife Policy of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer.