

CONTESTING VILLAGE LAND: URANIUM AND SPORT HUNTING IN MBARANG'ANDU WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREA, TANZANIA

Christine Noe³

Abstract

The continuing struggles for land in Africa and the recent and dynamic academic debates about conservation as land grabbing, calls for the critical analysis of the complexity besieging land deals that disempower local resource owners in different social-economic and political settings. This article considers Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) in Tanzania as a new category of protected areas with potentially continuing effects on rural community land rights. Using examples of uranium mining and hunting concessions in the Mbarang'andu WMA in Namtumbo District, the article demonstrates how WMAs have served to release village lands for different kinds of private sector investment in both nature-based and extractive industries. Conceptually, the article draws from the body of literature on idle/waste land and the power relations to demonstrate how the existing legal framework and the relations of power work to the detriment of local land users. Data was collected through qualitative techniques, both in Dar es Salaam and Namtumbo District. The main argument of the article is that the change of village land into conservation has entailed an irrevocable change of land and other resources tenure. Yet, the use of WMAs and the economic gains from investments in them are not determined by community members but the relations of power at higher levels – government ministries, investors (who are often foreign to the community) and local elites. In particular, the circumstances in Mbarang'andu suggest that the mining law lacks complete recognition of WMAs, which preempts any possibility for negotiations for community rights to mining investments or the associated social-economic impacts. Instead of empowering local communities, WMAs may therefore continue to serve the interests of those with the necessary capital and political influence. This engenders new social regimes of power and inequality.

Key words: village land, wildlife management areas, investments, Tanzania

1.0 Introduction

This article examines the role of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) in releasing village lands for different kinds of large-scale investments in Tanzania. It uses the case of Mbarang'andu WMA in Namtumbo District where seven

³ Department of Geography, University of Dar es Salaam

villages were, since early 1980s, facilitated through a Community Based Conservation (CBC) programme to put aside about 2,318.28 km² of their land in order to qualify for legal wildlife user rights. On 29th March 2010, the Mbarang'andu Community Based Organisation (CBO) [herein the Authorized Association (AA)] received a three-year certificate of wildlife user rights, No. 00000567, from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism - Wildlife Division (MNR-WD). Whereas these rights are renewable every three years, they are limited to tourist hunting, photographic tourism, beekeeping and fishing. This makes the Mbarang'andu AA a legal grantee of wildlife user rights of the said area for 2010/2013 period. However, the area is also a hunting block currently listed as Mbarang'andu Open Area by the Wildlife Division. A year before the Division granted wildlife user rights to the AA, it had leased the block to a private hunting company – Game Frontiers of Tanzania Ltd. (GFT), for the 2009/2012 period. This makes the GFT another legal grantee of wildlife in the same area for the mentioned period, which overlaps with that of the Mbarang'andu AA.

Land and community wildlife user rights have been made complicated further by the recent discoveries of 'world-class' uranium deposits in the Selous ecosystem of which Mbarang'andu is part (Uranium One Inc., 2012). With the discovery of about 53.9 million pounds of uranium oxide in the area, Tanzania stands to become one of the major uranium producers in the world (*Mining Review*, 28/10/2011). Of interest to this discussion is the fact that the WMA is at the core of these discoveries, making Mbarang'andu the first WMA in the country to have mining activities of this scale formally approved. Mineral resources are not under the Ministry of Natural Resources but the Ministry of Energy and Minerals (MEM). Currently, over ten private foreign companies have obtained active prospecting and mining licenses from the MEM for the 2011/2016 period. Of these, three companies namely, Mantra Tanzania Ltd. (of Canada), Uranix (T) Ltd, (of Australia) and Frontier Resources Ltd. (of Australia) had had activities on the ground by May 2012. Figure 1.1 captures the location of these concessions with the darker shade standing for both the WMA and a hunting block. The map indicates how village lands are annexed to create the WMA. It also points to the overlap and incompatibility nature of land uses that have been the cause for tension as community land and wildlife rights are re-allocated to private investors.

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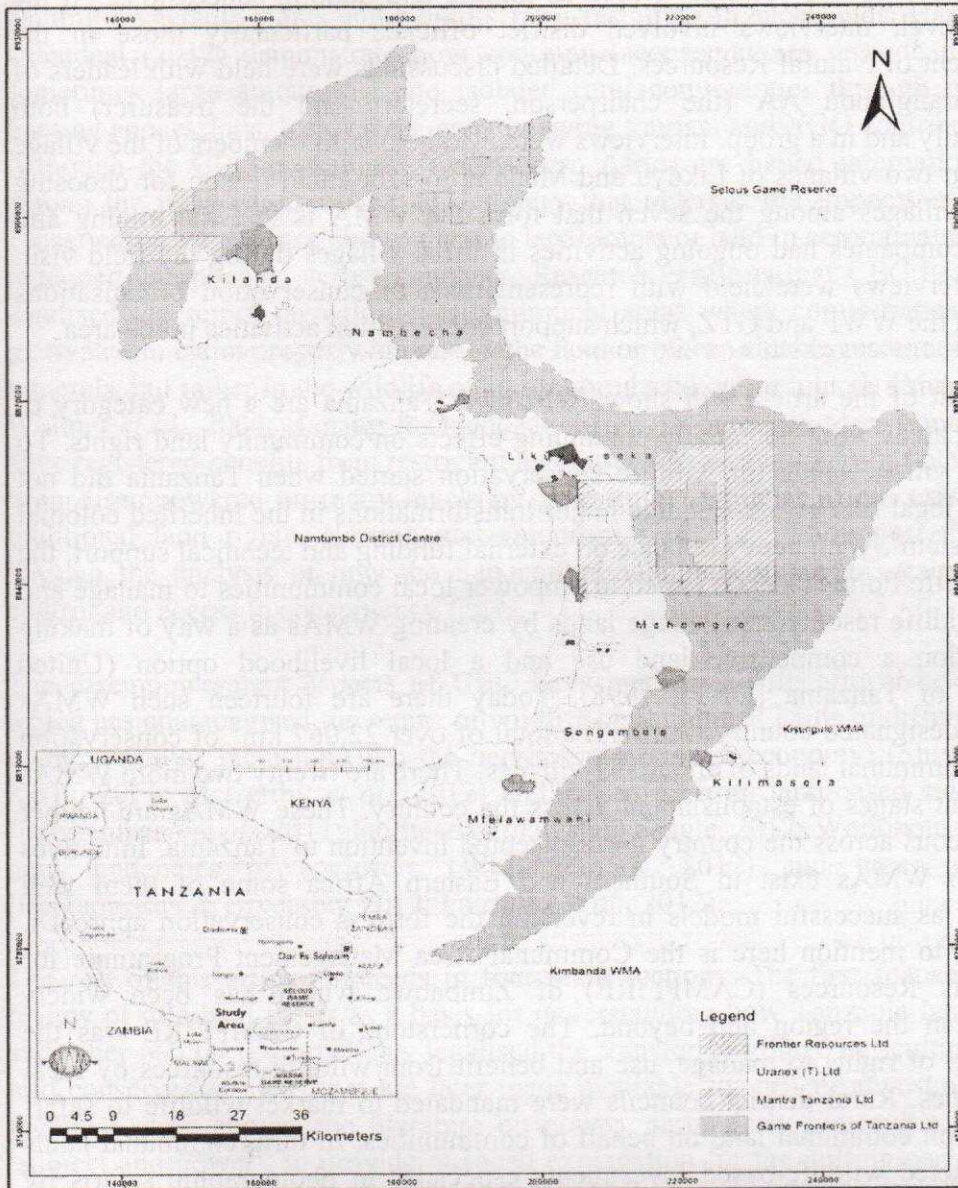


Figure 1.1: The Mbarang'andu WMA/hunting block and mining concessions

Data for this study was collected in May and June 2012, in Dar es Salaam and Nantumbo District, using four main techniques; face-to-face interviews, group discussions, observation and the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS). Government offices in Dar es Salaam, particularly the Wildlife Division and MEM, were important sources of data. Whereas several rounds of interviews were conducted with officials in the Wildlife Division, MEM provided maps for mineral concessions which were used together with those of conservation to locate

WMA areas that are currently leased as mining and hunting concessions. At the district level, interviews involved district officials particularly those in the Department of Natural Resources. Detailed discussions were held with leaders of the Mbarang'andu AA (the chairperson, secretary and the treasurer) both individually and in a group. Interviews were also held with members of the village council in two villages of Likuyu and Mchomoro. The main reason for choosing the two villages among the seven that form the WMA is that the mining and hunting companies had ongoing activities in these villages during the field visit. Other interviews were held with representatives of conservation organisations including the WWF and GTZ, which support conservation activities in the area.

As the rest of the article will show, WMAs in Tanzania are a new category of protected areas, with potentially continuing effects on community land rights. To set aside village lands for wildlife conservation started when Tanzania did not have any legal framework to guide major transformations in the inherited colonial tenure system⁴. With heavy reliance on external funding and technical support, the first Wildlife Policy (1998) aimed to empower local communities to manage and utilise wildlife resources in village lands by creating WMAs as a way of making conservation a competitive land use and a local livelihood option (United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 1998). Today there are fourteen such WMAs formally designated countrywide with a total of over 22,067 km² of conservation areas in communal lands of about 137 villages. There are twenty two more WMAs in different stages of establishment across the country. These WMAs are neither homogeneous across the country nor a patented invention to Tanzania. Initiatives similar to WMAs exist in Southern and Eastern Africa some of them well published as successful models in reversing the fortress conservation approach. Important to mention here is the Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) of Zimbabwe which has been widely emulated in the region and beyond. The cornerstone of CAMPFIRE was the devolution of rights to manage, use and benefit from wildlife resources by local communities. Rural district councils were mandated to market wildlife to safari operators on communal land on behalf of communities. In turn, communal lands have attracted wildlife-based investments especially in photographic safaris by foreign sport hunters and eco-tourists (Frost & Bond, 2008). Elsewhere in the region, the Government of Namibia adopted the communal conservancy model from the early 1980s. Like it is for the CAMPFIRE, conservancies are designed to encourage communities to incorporate their land into conservation as a means of

⁴ The country maintained colonial natural resource policies and laws with some minor reforms until the 1990s. The first Land Policy was formulated in 1995 followed by the Land Act (1999) and the Village Land Act (1999). Likewise, the first Wildlife Policy was adopted in 1998 so as those of other resources such as Forests (1998) and Minerals (1997).

gaining ownership rights and benefits from resources in such lands. Harring and Odendaal (2012) demonstrate how communal conservancies provide income – sometimes large amounts – into isolated rural communities through big-game hunting concessions, local crafts, game viewing tourism and NGO contributions. Although the CBC programmes in Southern Africa are hailed internationally as among the innovations of the 21st century that reversed the impacts of fortress conservation, experience shows that the legal status of land in communal areas has remained complicated across countries. Research confirms that CBC has mainly legalised the return on wildlife in communal areas where communities are not motivated to claim property interest in the land or other valuable resources such as minerals, but rather in the wildlife resources produced on such lands (Moyo, 2000; Wolmer *et al.*, 2004; Harring & Odendaal, 2012). Conversely, some communities have registered benefits from restricted legal user rights of wildlife but others have been disempowered on many levels by government's denial of the existence of traditional land rights. Harring and Odendaal (2006, 2012) support this view through the analysis of how the San community in Namibia has gained some control and access to conservancy funds.

The disempowerment aspects of CBC have been met with critical scholarship which has characterised the return of wildlife in communal lands in different parts of the world as inclusion (into the neo-liberal capitalist economy) (Shivji, 2009; Kelly, 2011; McCarthy *et al.*, 2012) and exclusion from land-based subsistence (Benjaminsen *et al.*, 2011; Fairhead *et al.*, 2012; Seagle, 2012; Woodhouse, 2012), new tendencies of enclosure (White *et al.*, 2012) and green grabbing (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Fairhead *et al.*, 2012).

The rest of this article proceeds in four main sections. The first focuses on the review of idle land thesis as a basis for understanding how Tanzania land tenure and other natural resource laws legalised the transfer of village agricultural lands into conservation areas that are later made available for private investment. The second section applies the literature on power, particularly Foucault's thesis of 'subject and power', to provide nuanced explanation for the willing participation of villages in setting aside their lands for wildlife, and why they may not have any basis for revolting. The third section uses an agreement signed by the private investors for the use of the Mbarang'andu WMA with no regard to the existence of the community legal wildlife user rights. The last section provides the conclusion.

2.0 The idle land thesis and Tanzania resource tenure

The 'idle land' thesis which is used to characterise land as marginal, vacant, open or waste has recently dominated international debate and rationalised the transfer of rural landscapes into new frontiers of investment. However, the contemporary practices of land re-categorisation and transfer are not new. Geisler (2012) associates them with an old doctrine, *terra nullius* (no one's land), which justified land annexation missions in the past. The *terra nullius* is reasserted and reference is made anew to the low density of Africa's rural population, its land and labour underutilisation, tenure ambiguity and its 'arrested' civilisation – all to justify the current north-south land relations (Geisler, 2012:15). Accordingly, Nalepa and Bauer (2012) demonstrate how geospatial technologies such as remote sensing and GIS have recently become useful tools for characterising tracts of land in Africa as marginal hence rendering them unsuitable for food crops and other competitive productive purposes. Although the characterisation of marginality using geospatial technologies has proved ineffective in capturing the shifting character of what constitutes marginality in an economic sense, lands that are labelled marginal are made available for the production of bioenergy feedstock for export (Nalepa & Bauer, 2012).

Counter-narratives of the idle land thesis provide mounting evidence to support that *terra nullius*, past and present, has ignored local indigenous tenures and property right dynamics (Hall, 2011; Wily, 2012; Cotula, 2012; Geisler, 2012). Since the assessment of land availability has mainly reflected the productivity rather than the existence of traditional uses such as shifting cultivation and dry-season grazing (Cotula *et al.*, 2009; Shivji, 2009), land transfers in Africa have, almost without exception, involved squeezing of some existing customary rights especially where investment targets agricultural higher-value lands (Wily, 2012; Cotula, 2009). The existing land uses and claims go unrecognised as land users are marginalised from formal land rights and access to the law and institutions (Cotula, 2012). It is noted, however, that most of the present land deals are legitimised albeit through legal manipulations (Wily, 2012). As African indebted governments agreed to the World Bank's structural adjustment conditions, they also consented to free up market in land, create conducive environment for foreign land ownership and large-scale land-based investments. These conditions drove the land reforms of 1990s. Among other things, new and modified laws provided for *de facto* expropriation of customary land rights by redefining most untitled (but traditionally occupied and used) lands, reinforcing that the state, by default, be their legal owner and by creating investment friendly promotion laws (Shivji, 1998; Wily, 2011). Against this background, land tenure system in Africa is fine-tuned to support the ongoing transformation of rural landscapes.

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In Tanzania, land (as it is for wildlife and mineral resources) is vested in the President as the trustee, while citizens are granted only right of occupancy. This makes it possible for the state to claim any lands within the villages which are not actively used. The Land Act of 1999 and the Village Land Act of 1999 are the principal laws that govern the use and management of land in urban areas and private estates, and in villages respectively. The Land Act divides the land into three categories: reserved, general, and village land. 'Reserved land' is defined as land set aside for special purposes, including national parks, game reserves and forest reserves, which are established under different sectoral pieces of legislation (URT, 1999a). 'General land' includes all public land which is neither reserved nor village land (URT, 1999a), while 'village land' comprises all land of which boundaries have been demarcated as village land under any law or administrative procedure in force (URT, 1999b). Section 8(1) of the Land Act empowers village councils to manage and administer land and by the virtue of Section 8(4) of the Act, village councils can establish committees to advise and make recommendations on the management of its land. The Village Land Act reinforces the village council's responsibility for the management of village land (Section 8(1)). However, the Village Land Act empowers the President to redistribute land considered as open land. The act complies with Section 3(1) of the Land Act that seeks '*to ensure that land is used productively and that any use complies with the principles of sustainable development*'. Consequently, Section 4 (1) of the Village Land Act states that '*where the President is minded to transfer any area of village land to general or reserved land for public interest, he may direct the Minister to proceed in accordance with the provisions of this section*'. Section 4 (2) of the Act clarifies further that public interest in this case shall include '*investments of national interest*'.

The transfer of village land into conservation categories such as WMAs and wildlife corridors is justified in terms of its role in securing critical biodiversity habitats from misuse while also contributing to the economic empowerment of the communities. Using provisions of the land laws, the MNRT-WD published regulations and guidelines for the designation of WMAs in 2002. Detailed procedures for doing so start with community awareness rising on economic costs and benefits of wildlife, the identification of village areas fit for wildlife, getting villager's consent through the village assemblies and the submission of applications to the ministry for approval of the designation of land of two or more villages as a WMA (URT, 2002). With the support of different donors and international conservation NGOs, villages adjacent protected areas have been facilitated to implement these procedures across the country (for more details see Ramutsindela and Noe, 2012). Ultimately, the current wildlife act recognise WMAs as '*a means of effecting community-based wildlife conservation outside*

core protected areas, which are used by local community members and within the village land' (Section 31(1)) (URT, 2009: 31(1)).

Whereas the Wildlife Act provides for some wildlife user rights to the AAs that manage WMAs, mining is technically a restricted type of resource utilisation in WMAs (URT, 2002). Mineral prospecting and mining is subjected to the current Mining Act (2010). As other laws, this Act empowers the Minister for Minerals to designate 'any vacant area' as an area exclusively reserved for prospecting and mining operations, if he/she determines that it would be in the interest of the development of the mining industry in Tanzania (URT, 2010:20-21). The law defines a vacant area as an area of land which is not the subject of mineral right, a processing area or a pending application for a mineral right (of which may include any area of the village). This has meant that mining licenses can be given for areas where people live and have customary rights to the land. Figure 1.2 confirms what this has meant for the case of Mbarang'andu. As pointed out earlier, the Mbarang'andu WMA (and other village areas) is leased to over ten mining companies for as far as the year 2016. The map shows how these mining concessions override pre-existing land uses including the WMA itself, settlements and farm plots of villagers.

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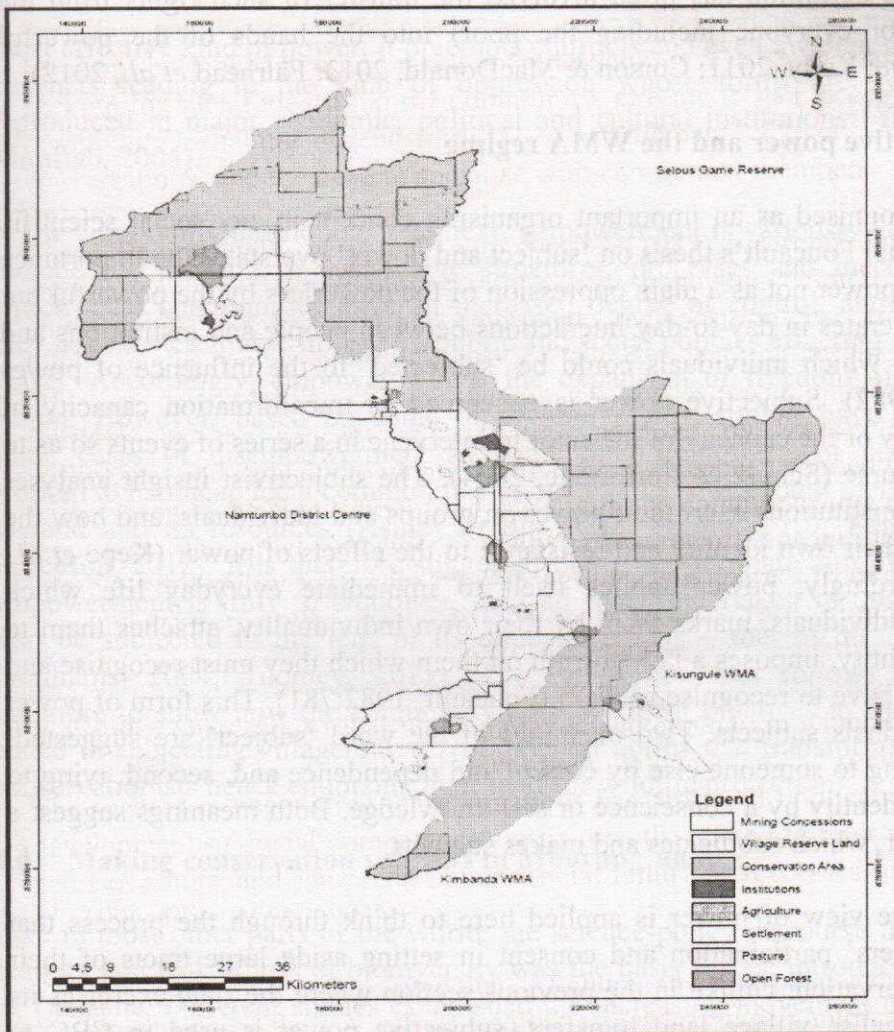


Figure 1.2: Mining concessions in Mbarang' and WMA/hunting block
 Source of data: Ministry of Energy and Minerals (2012)

The foregoing discussion underscores the use of state power in framing market-led land deals in Africa as legitimate (Geisler, 2012). In conservation projects, the concept of market environmentalism is used to emphasise the ways in which the commodification of nature is a practical means of achieving sustainable development. This has made conservation business oriented partnerships increasingly popular, with local communities integrated as partners who must contribute towards capital generation mainly through releasing their land for conservation. It is argued, however, that nature commodification is a strategy of accumulation by dispossession which has required states to collude with capital to pillage nature and the commons (Harvey, 1996). Indeed, the current trend in local

land rights re-definition has often involved the transfer of such rights from the rural poor (or everyone including the poor) into the hands of the powerful (Castree, 2008; Kelly, 2011; Corson & MacDonald, 2012; Fairhead *et al.*, 2012).

3.0 Subjective power and the WMA regime

Power is recognised as an important organising concept in any social scientific inquiry. Michel Foucault's thesis on 'subject and power' overstates the importance of analysing power not as a plain oppression of the powerless by the powerful but the way it operates in day-to-day interactions between people and institutions and the extent to which individuals could be 'subjected' to the influence of power (Foucault, 1982). Subjective power is conceived as transformation capacity of human agency or the capacity of the actor to intervene in a series of events so as to alter their course (Schulz & Northridge, 2004). The subjectivist insight analyses how various institutions exert their power on groups and individuals, and how the latter affirm their own identity and resistance to the effects of power (Kepe *et al.*, 2000). Accordingly, power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises individuals, marks them by their own individuality, attaches them to their own identity, imposes a law of truth on them which they must recognise and which others have to recognise in them (Foucault, 1982:781). This form of power makes individuals subjects. Two meanings of the word 'subject' are suggested; first, subjecting to someone else by control and dependence and, second, tying to his/her own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power, which subjugates and makes subjects.

The subjective view of power is applied here to think through the process that solicits villagers' participation and consent in setting aside large tracts of their land for conservation. Unlike in the previous section where the state exercises its powers to legalise village land transfers, subjective power is used in CBC to ensure long-term support of community members in wildlife protection (Formo, 2010). This way of thinking encourages problematisation of the concept of community empowerment which is an important aspect of the CBC. It is crucial to note that although Foucault's thesis is concerned less with the oppressive aspect of power but more with the resistance of those the power is exerted upon, Stewart (2001) as well as Schulz and Northridge (2004) warns that oppression and domination in relevant senses need neither to involve physical violence nor an overt threat. Instead, coercive power expresses itself in the ability of advantaged groups to shape the agenda of public debate and decision making in such a way that disadvantaged constituencies are denied a voice (Miraftab, 2004, Schulz & Northridge, 2004). At a deeper level, dominant groups can mould people's perceptions and preferences in such a way that they do not have any serious grievances. This power to shape peoples' thoughts and desires is considered the

most effective kind of power; it preempts conflicts and even awareness of possible conflicts leading to the kind of oppression whose forms are systematically reproduced in major economic, political and cultural institutions (Young, 1990; MirafTAB, 2004).

In the community development context, empowerment is variously defined but to include the creation of sustainable structures, processes and mechanism over which local communities have an increased degree of control, and from which they have a measurable impact on public and social policies affecting them (Craig, 2002). Accordingly, empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action. However, based on some observable trends, studies have documented some cases of disempowerment as community empowerment practices have worked to handicap local communities in making decisions about their basic rights to land and its resources (Ashley *et al.*, 2002; Formo, 2010; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). It is therefore suggested that if the ultimate aim of community empowerment is truly to empower, then all roles undertaken in this guise must also be subjected to the lens of its opposite effects – that of disempowerment (Williams, 2004; Toomey, 2011). The sub-section that follows applies this literature to show how the community empowerment practices in Mbarang'andu ended in subjecting villagers to environmental norms that transformed them into conservationists hence endorsing their land for wildlife protection.

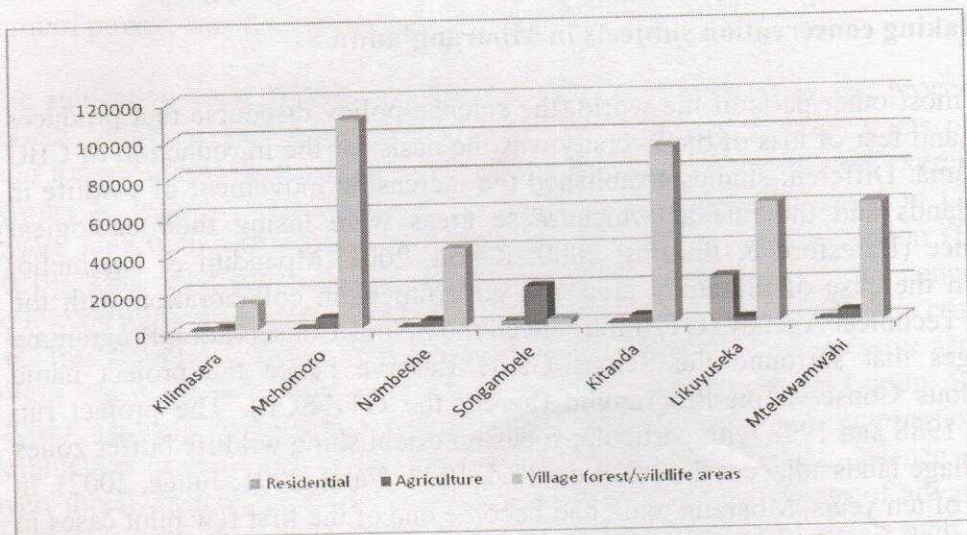
4.0 Making conservation subjects in Mbarang'andu

Like in most other parts of the world, the science-policy discourse that produces scarcity and fear of loss of biodiversity was the basis for the introduction of CBC in Tanzania. Different studies established the increasing movement of wildlife in village lands and the rate at which these areas were losing their ecological importance (Beresford & Phillips, 2000; Kikoti, 2001; Mpanduji & Ngomello, 2007). In the case of the study area, the government in collaboration with the German Technical Agency (GTZ) introduced the Selous Conservation Programme in villages that surround the Selous Game Reserve hence the project name GTZ/Selous Conservation Programme (herein the GTZ/SCP). The project run between 1988 and 1998 with particular focus on establishing wildlife buffer zones using village lands adjacent the reserve (GTZ, 1998; Hahn, 2001; Junge, 2002). In the span of ten years, Mbarang'andu had become one of the first few pilot cases in the country where communities had accepted conservation as the main land use even though crop farming remained the main livelihood activity. This study considers the GTZ/SCP as the starting point towards making conservation subjects. In demonstrating how subjection unfolded in Mbarang'andu, I use two

aspects of the programme – the village land use planning exercise, and the success story of turning poachers into conservators.

4.1 Village land use planning

Getting villages to accept wildlife conservation and participate in planning their land uses was crucial for putting ‘unused’ village lands under control without much resistance. With the guidance of GTZ/SCP, each village agreed to set aside its conservation area among other uses. According to the Mbarang’andu official files, village land use plans were carried out by villagers who endorsed that all areas, five kilometres away from the village centre in all directions, should be given for wildlife and forest conservation. Figure 1.3 is derived from land use planning for 2003-2013 that endorsed wildlife areas in the seven villages that form the WMA. Practically, the five-kilometre radius would be an area for residence and farms and that was officially recorded as the border between conservation and other land uses. The figure confirms that wildlife and forest areas, which are combined to form wildlife habitats, occupy more than 90% of the total area in almost every village while agricultural land is only less than 10%. By early 2000, conservation areas of the seven villages had been merged to form a pilot wildlife reserve (currently confirmed as a WMA) (Mbarang’andu, 2003). As the data indicates, 84% of the total land is firmly put under conservation against 9.5% for agriculture and 6.3% for residence and other community uses.



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Villages Land use (ha)	Residential	% of total	Agriculture	% of total	Village forest/wildlife areas	% of total
Kilimasera	75	0.47	1450	9.13	14350	90.4
Mchomoro	561	0.5	5789	5	109955	94
Nambeche	205.5	0.5	3571.5	7.9	41181	91.6
Songambebe	2455	5.8	20836	49.1	3123	45.1
Kitanda	378.7	0.4	4275	4.4	92688	95.2
Likuyuseka	24251.6	27.3	2156	2.4	62485	70.3
Mtelawamwahi	642.5	1	5216	7.7	61685	91.3
Total	28569.3	6.3	43293.5	9.5	385468	84.2

Figure 1.3: Land use proportions for villages in Mbarang'andu WMA
Source of data: Mbarang'andu (2003), Village land use plans (2003 - 2013)

An earlier study that involved village elders who had participated in land use planning documented villagers complaining about the unclear communication of the aim of planning and its long-term implications. As captured in the quotation below, these villagers were complaining that the five-kilometre radius was by no means enough for their current and future human needs because both the human and wildlife populations were growing.

'...we did not know that this would have affected us so soon [...] Wahifadhi (GTZ/SCP conservationists) came and asked us: How many miles do you walk to your farm? Most of us said five without knowing why we were being asked. The five miles have now been set as borders for agriculture and wildlife in every direction [...] wildlife postings were put everywhere around the village and these were included in their maps. We remain a small island in an animal ocean. As we speak, animals are everywhere in these farms because we invited them and they do not know these borders. Surprisingly, conservationists are not bothered about our safety and the crops...'
(Noe, 2009:181)

During this study, a group discussion with members of Mchomoro village council confirmed their participation in setting aside land for conservation but expressed how land scarcity for crop cultivation had become their major livelihood threat.

The following extract shows how one participant thought it was partly their own fault that their land had been taken.

...yes we participated and willingly gave away our land for conservation. There are good things about it but we did not know that these decisions would become law. We gave more than 70% of our land to wildlife and this village contributed a larger area than any of the seven villages [...] if anyone is to help us, then he/she must give us land for agriculture.[...] there is no possibility that these animals will ever feed our children (Interview, Mchomoro village council, 28/6/2012)

Although few community members realize the WMA land use conflict as a future predicament, others consider it as something they could legally break should they not benefit. Yet, the registration of the Mbarang'andu CBO is accompanied by the certificate of incorporation under the Trustee's Incorporation Ordinance (Chapter 375) which states that; *firstly, such body corporate (Mbarangandu CBO) shall not, without obtaining consent from the Administrator General of Trustees in writing acquire any estate or interest in land. Secondly, such body corporate shall not, without consent, use or permit use of any land vested in it otherwise than in direct fulfillment of the trust for which the body corporate was established.* This section of the certificate confirms that, the land set aside as WMA shall not be influenced by village needs anymore and that it is a permanent and irrevocable change in land tenure.

4.2 Turning poachers into conservators

Precisely in 1995, the first and so far the only Community-Based Conservation Training Centre (CBCTC) in the country was established in Likuyu Village. The main objective of the centre was to equip villagers with basic knowledge and skills on wildlife conservation and the laws governing the practices. The centre targeted leaders of the surrounding villages, members of village natural resource committees and youths who were to become village game scouts. The scouts were particularly prepared to ensure effective control of poaching, protection of people and property and by implication, control the use of arms and ammunition. Overall, the CBCTC trained over 300 game scouts and members of the environmental committee from around the villages who took primary responsibility for monitoring wildlife in village lands (Balduš *et al.*, 1994). Upon being instructed and equipped, scouts conducted patrols that led to the arrest of traditional hunters/poachers and confiscation of their gear. Methods used in the confiscation varied from wilful surrender to being given incentives that were provided to community members who facilitated the identification of poachers.

Conceptually, community members were not forced but persuaded to embrace conservation. In this case there cannot be any direct claims for a dominating relationship hence possible resistances are preempted. Yet, subjecting people to limited options was to make them to either be friends or enemies of conservation at a time when almost every household had a game scout or a member of the village environmental committee. Whereas today the CBCTC celebrates a successful creation of a large conservation army (Pers. comm., 3/6/2012) game scouts are disappointed that there is neither formal employment offered by the government nor do they qualify for jobs outside their communal areas. Little did they know that the centre aimed to cater for local demands and not, for that matter, encourage formal certification which could promote labour outflow (Interview, Principle of CBCTC, 29/5/2012). Hence, village game scouts become a 'willing submissive workforce'. Even though this workforce is still working on voluntary basis, the prospects that the AA will generate enough money to cater for the salaries seem remote, which has caused some unrest among the scouts and the community at large.

The foregoing discussion points to the efforts made to change behaviour of individuals and local institutions, which in the empowerment discourse, are considered a prerequisite for sustainable development (Kepe *et al.*, 2000; Dobson, 2007). In the context of this article, however, these moves constitute a clear attempt to discipline local communities by instilling new norms of environmental conduct and constructing a new subjectivity based on environmental citizenship (Darier, 1996; Formo, 2010). Once in place, WMAs have proved to be contested spaces where rights and interests of investors override those of the local communities. Using a deal signed by the hunting and mining investors, the following section demonstrates how the WMA is currently a contested space far from the reach of the community.

5.0 Uranium and sport hunting deal: The friendly foes of Mbarang'andu

It is to be recalled that the research was conducted at the time when the government had leased the WMA as a block for sport hunting to the GFT (2009/2012) but also granted wildlife user rights to the Mbarang'andu AA (2010/2013). In addition, over ten mining companies were given prospecting and mining licenses of the same area for up to year 2016. Of these mining companies three had ongoing activities in the area. These are Frontier Resources Ltd, Uranium Resources PLC (herein URA) and Western Metals Ltd (herein WMTL). These concessions are clearly conflicting, not only because they are granted for the same piece of land but also due to the nature of land use incompatibility. For the Mbarang'andu AA, leaders are caught up unprepared as the certificate of user

rights expires unutilised due to the conflicting rights. The words of the secretary general of the AA capture this confusion and the resulting tensions on the ground: ‘...this certificate is toothless; it does not give us rights over those already given to the investors. For these three years, we have user rights that we cannot use because the area is a hunting block for the investor. We do not know where the government is taking us...’ (Interview, 30/6/2012).

On 23rd March 2007 private investors signed an agreement to cooperate in undertaking their activities in Mbarang’andu property. Precisely, two mining companies (URA and WMTL, and their successors and assigns) paid the GFT to access the property (from 1st January – 30 June for two years) and to compensate for any loss of business due to the mining operations. Table 1.1 summarises some clauses of the agreement which are relevant for this discussion.

Table 1.1: Payment agreement for subleasing the Mbarang’andu property

i.	The URA/WMTL agrees to pay the GFT a sum of USD six million (6,000,000) in two equal instalments, the first being upon the commencement date of production of uranium on block PLR3185/2005.
ii.	The URA/WMTL shall make a one-off payment to the GFT of USD two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) upon defining its economic deposit within the prospecting license and upon securing funding to develop a commercial mining operation.
iii.	The URA/WMTL shall pay an annual amount of USD fifty five thousand (55,000) to the GFT as compensation for all loss of business and inconveniences incurred as a result of disruption to it, the clients and business.
iv.	The URA/WMTL shall fund an annual sum of USD ten thousand (10,000) each year to be distributed to the local communities who will be affected by the mining activities. The sum shall be distributed as agreed by the companies in their joint name - later agreed to be the ‘ <i>Friends of Mbarang’andu</i> ’

Even though the certificate of user rights (No. 00000567) granted to the Mbarang’andu AA is a legal document, the AA is not party to the above deal. The agreement provides evidence for the exchange of millions of dollars between private investors and, by any standards, an overly low amount for the community. Whereas the legality of subletting the block for uranium mining in village land is debatable, questions arise on the role of the government in creating conditions for conflicts and community oppression. In the meantime, the investors are masking the oppression and counteracting possible resistance by calling themselves the ‘*Friends of Mbarang’andu*’, the name that has become a locus of high level corruption involving government officials and local elites. There are two examples

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that suggest there are acts of corruption. The first involves the chairperson of the Friends of Mbarang'andu, also the Managing Director of the GFT who promised to the Mbarang'andu AA a once-off cheque of USD 62,000 in November 2011. In addition to the cheque, he delivered a tractor and a truck to aid anti-poaching activities of the AA. Even though this could be part of the amount agreed upon in the agreement in 2007, the AA had neither accessed it nor used the tractor/truck because these were to be handed over officially in the presence of the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism and with sufficient media coverage (Pers. Comm., Anonymous, 29/5/2012). The sudden cabinet reshuffle in May 2012 interfered with this plan hence the handing over on the 10th June 2010, without the intended fanfare (*Daily News*, 11/6/2012). Obviously, the publicity was to suppress any opposition from the AA and villagers particularly on block allocation decisions. The second example of acts of corruption implicated the Namtumbo Ward Councillor who is claimed to have received financial support from the hunting investor for the election campaigns that came just ahead of the meetings that discussed wildlife-based investors for the coming hunting block allocations (2013-2018). Although unlawful, the Councillor serves in the central committee of the Mbarang'andu AA as a treasurer. This has assured the outgoing investor an influential position in the decisions made by the AA on the investments (Interview, anonymous informant, 2/6/2012). Indeed, of all the hunting blocks which were advertised on 13th May 2012, the Mbarang'andu Open Area was not in the list because the decision had been made internally that the outgoing investor would be retained (*Daily News*, 15/6/2012). This decision does not only obstruct the AA from getting an investor of their choice but also breaches the procurement procedures for investments in WMAs.

Different respondents held different views when asked about the future of the people of Mbarang'andu. On the one hand, villagers share their concerns that uranium sites in the WMA are using heavy machines and chemicals which cause disturbances and force animals to seek refuge outside their areas hence intensifying the already existing human-wildlife conflicts. It is also clear to the villagers that some livelihood activities such as beekeeping, which were introduced together with CBC, are no longer viable due to the health threats from uranium mining in the vicinity. On the other hand, concerns for the ecological implications of the ongoing activities are also shared by district officials and experts especially those facilitating the establishment of the Selous-Niassa wildlife corridor. The following interview clips summarise these concerns.

The future of conservation is blinking as that of the people. Look at it this way....ADAP⁵ left because uranium makes beekeeping unsafe. The same logic should apply to the people who depend on these forests for food and water. It is not a secret.....mining experts have clearly communicated about these health impacts (Pers. Comm., Anonymous, 29/5/2012).

...but how can every project be accepted regardless of potential conflicts with others? The government accepted wildlife protection, then uranium mining (and its infrastructure requirements) and also agricultural promotion in the same area? (Interview, Paul Anspach, 30/5/2012⁶).

This section points to the importance of subjective power in creating conservation subjects and transforming village lands into corporate properties. Clearly, the wildlife policy objective of empowering communities to have full mandate over wildlife and to benefit from conservation efforts in their lands is self-defeating and it ignores the progress of events in other internal sectors of the economy and the general global rush for land and other resources. In particular, the mining law lacks complete recognition of WMAs, which pre-empts any possibility for negotiations for community rights to minerals in such areas. In other words, the empowerment process that entailed creating WMAs did not tamper with mineral resources. Hence mineral speculators and exploration companies have no legal obligations for community development. It is this legal pluralism that has subjected already poor and displaced communities to the harsh realities of not only losing their basic livelihood assets but also rights to the safe environment⁷.

6.0 Conclusion

This article has demonstrated how village lands in Tanzania have become a subject of a complex legal framework that recognises the existence of vacant land and its use as deemed right. The acquisition of vacant land from village councils and their utilisation for different purposes such as wildlife conservation has meant an irrevocable change of village land tenure. The establishment of WMAs as new protected areas in village lands has inevitably created new institutions and altered the geometry of power - strengthening access and control of village lands by the

⁵ ADAP is an NGO that supported beekeeping as a livelihood activity in the WMA prior to the uranium discoveries

⁶ Selous-Niassa Project International Team Leader

⁷ Although this paper did not touch on human impacts of the ongoing uranium mining, health risks of radioactive materials are overly underplayed.

government and private investors (who are often foreign to the community) and local elites while limiting the same by the local communities. For this reason, this paper endorses the view that WMAs are new conservation enclosures and a form of green grabbing. As Corson and MacDonald (2012) observes, conservation enclosures have not only entailed physical land grabs but also the privatisation of rights to nature. Although WMAs and their impacts are not homogeneous across the country, the process that establishes them is generic and it is potentially a vehicle through which more rural lands will be made available for various kinds of land-based investments in Tanzania.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my appreciation to the Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI) for the research grant that facilitated data collection for this research. This grant became a great motivation for my field visit in the remotest part of Tanzania. Thanks to Prof. Ruth Hall for providing very insightful comments that shaped this article. I am also grateful to the University of Cape Town that awarded the All Africa House Fellowship at the time of writing this article.

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