Community-Based Natural Resource Management: The case of Community Forest Management Areas in Pete, Zanzibar.

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

The shift from centralised conservation to Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) was the highlight of the conservation discourse across the world during the late 1980s and early 1990s. CBNRM efforts were believed to have the potential of successfully merging biodiversity conservation simultaneously with local development efforts. However, the increasing critiques against the applicability of CBNRM interventions in different contexts is threatening the viability of the approach. Extant literature on CBNRM interventions focuses on the theoretical aspects of such efforts at the expense of the practical and context specific elements. This thesis intends to fill such a gap in literature by focusing on the practical and contextual elements of an example of this approach in Zanzibar. In an attempt to conserve the isles' natural forests, Zanzibar has adopted Community-Forest Management Areas (CoFMAs) bordering its natural forests. In this study, focus is placed on Pete's CoFMA, a village bordering the isles' last remaining natural forests- Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP). Pete provides an ideal site due to the conflict that exists between residents and the CoFMA intervention. By using the political ecological framework, this study is able to examine the political, social, historical and economic elements that play a significant role in the practice of CBNRM efforts. Narratives from residents are relied on to elucidate on such elements in relation to the existence of the CoFMA in Pete Village. Narratives gathered through interviews and participant observation concluded that while CoFMAs have been set up with the optimistic goal of conserving the forest and providing development to community members; in practice, the conservation intervention has proved otherwise. In spite of the achievement of some developmental goals, the overall findings indicate that the CoFMA has failed to protect the forests and its natural resources from degradation. At the same time, community members are facing difficulties to live a sustainable life.

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Table of Contents

List of Acronyms

CARE- Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere

CBC- Community-Based Conservation

CBNRM- Community Based Natural Resource Management

CBO- Community-Based Organisation

CoFMAs- Community-Forest Management Areas

DCCFF- Department of Commercial Crops, Fruits and Forestry

FINNIDA- Finnish International Development Agency

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GoZ- Government of Zanzibar

ICDP- Integrated Conservation and Development Project

JCBCA- Jozani Chwaka Bay Conservation Area

JCBNP- Jozani Chwaka Bay National Park

JECA – Jozani Environmental Conservation Association

NGO- Non-Governmental Organisation.

PAs- Protected Areas

RUMA- Resource User Management Agreement

TSHS- Tanzanian Shillings

UWEMAJO- Umoja wa Wenye Mashamba Jozani

WMAs- Wildlife Management Areas

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1. Community-based conservation in Africa

Within the past thirty years of Africa's biodiversity conservation, Community-Based Conservation[1] (CBC) efforts have been on the rise through various programmes (Goldman, 2003; Gruber, 2010; Dressler et al., 2010). These programmes have all focused on incorporating community members in managing and conserving marine life, wildlife as well as forest resources. The rationale behind this approach is that by encouraging community members to conserve natural resources, they would be able to develop non-extractive alternative livelihood activities from such resources. For instance, community members who conserve wildlife in game reserves are able to start their own tour guide ventures for sightseers visiting the reserves. Consequently, biodiversity is conserved and community members can make a living without exhausting the natural resource stock.

Historically, centralised governments, including first the colonial government and later the independent nation state controlled, managed and took sole responsibility for wildlife conservation throughout the 20th century. Conservation strategies conceptualised as 'fortress conservation' (Hutton, Adams & Murombedzi, 2005), 'fences and fines' (Songorwa, 1999), 'command and control' (Buscher & Whande, 2007) and 'Protected Areas' (Anderson & Grove, 1987) focused on conserving vulnerable African wildlife from what was perceived as misuse by local communities. The common theme of these various strategies involved the forceful seclusion of community members who lived in, or beside areas intended for conservation purposes. The forceful removal of community members alienated and secluded local people whose lives intersected with the wilderness and who were in a direct position to protect the ecosystem (Gibson & Marks, 1995; Murombedzi, 2003: 2; Dean, 2007: 19).

By the 1970s and early 1980s, as a consequence of a growing demand for natural resources (both flora and fauna), population pressures that spilled over the protected areas and the failure of the European influenced institutions to protect natural resources; biodiversity was speedily declining throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Concurrently, the international conservation discourse emphasised the importance of including local communities in conservation. This was based on

[1] Community based conservation can be broadly defined as the protection of biodiversity's natural resources 'by, for, and with' local communities (Western and Wright, 1994: 7, as cited in Dean, 2007: 20)

the idea that by including local communities in conservation strategies, a win-win goal is guaranteed for both community development and biodiversity conservation (Goldman, 2003; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). The realisation of the failure of centralised conservation[2] measures amongst global and national policy makers led to a refocus of how conservation has been managed and implemented from the colonial times up until the 1980s. For these reasons, community-based conservation was conceived as the go-to strategy for conserving natural resources across the world.

Zanzibar, a semi-autonomous state in Tanzania, is no exception to the shift from centralised conservation to CBC. CBC efforts in the isles have been introduced through setting up Community Forest Management Areas (CoFMAs) in buffer zones adjacent to National Forests. These CoFMAs, comparable to other CBC interventions in the isles, have been established based on principles and guidelines set out by international donor and/or conservation organisations and applied through the national government (Myers, 2002; Levine, 2004; Levine, 2007; Saunders, 2011a;). This scenario suggests that even though CoFMAs are expected to yield some level of social development goals, they are established with little to no account for context-specific factors or relevance to a Zanzibari framework. It is important to note that much of the debate surrounding CBC in Africa has been on the theoretical aspects of the approach. Fewer studies have focused on the practical and context-specific factors that play a significant role in its success or failure.

Such a gap has motivated this study to use the political-ecological scholarship to interrogate the historical, social, political and environmental factors that play a role in the practice of conservation in Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP) in Zanzibar.

1.2. Problem statement

This study aims to interrogate Community Forest Management in the context of the Jozani Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP) by focusing on Pete village as one of the buffer zones. The study aims to do so by using narratives from community members of Pete to bring forth such issues that include, socio-economic conflicts, conservation failures, conservation successes as well as socio-political problems faced by Pete community members.

[2] Due to the variation in terms used to refer to state-led conservation interventions, the term 'centralised conservation' will be used throughout this paper to refer to such measures.

Several case studies have been conducted in the context of Southern Africa depicting the experiences of local communities of CBC practices in their various forms. However, there is a lack of sufficient literature on case studies in the context of Zanzibar that interrogate the relationship between the existence of CBC strategies and local communities inhabiting buffer zones, directly from the communities' perspective. The extant literature has brought light to the overall weaknesses and/or benefits of community-based conservation in relation to local communities. Such literature has dealt with issues such as, the existing power conflicts between conservation authorities and local communities, the lack of sufficient benefits from conservation strategies to local communities' development, the various ways through which state officials, international conservation agencies and wildlife tourism organisations have taken advantage of the profits accrued from natural resource conservation, and the continued misuse and degradation of natural resources in these conservation areas. This literature has created a gap; specifically, how local communities interact with CBC efforts on their village land in Zanzibar. Williams, Masoud & Othman posit that, participatory approaches to conservation and resource management are increasingly being adopted worldwide, yet much of the literature associated with these approaches documents the theoretical background of such an approach at the expense of the many valuable practical lessons learned (n.d: 2). Additionally, Brockington states that, despite the fact that the extent of protected areas has increased from 3% in the 1980s to about 11% in the new millennium, the social impacts of the consequences of gazetting pieces of village land as protected areas, for conservation purposes has not been adequately presented (2004: 414).

1.3. Research questions

The study was guided by the main question; What are the experiences of local communities living in the buffer zones of a CoFMA in Zanzibar? From this main question, the study sought to examine the following specific questions:

a) What are Pete community members' experiences of living with the Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP) on their village land?

b) What are the narratives of the different local community members of Pete Village bordering the Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP)?

1.4. Research objectives

The study's main objective was to understand the experiences of different people living around the buffer zones of a CoFMA in Zanzibar with the following specific objectives:

a) To explore the narratives given by the local community members bordering the Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park.

b) To interrogate the lived experiences of the local community members living with the Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park on their village land.

1.5. Research design

A case study design using a narrative approach was used to examine the research problem. The study gathered information from the participants through the stories as told by them. Such stories of personal experiences as told by participants, have assisted the study to understand, analyse and present the complex relations that humans have in their socio-cultural and environmental contexts (Etherington, n.d). Additionally, through relying on the stories narrated by the research participants, this study has benefited in acquiring the subtle critical life events that have shaped and continue to shape the lived experiences of human beings interacting with their environment. Especially an environment that faces incredible danger of being irreplaceable (Sandelowski, 1991; Webster & Mertova, 2007).

1.5.1. Study Site

The Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park (JCBNP), located in the south-east region of Unguja Island (Zanzibar's main island) (see figure 1) has been declared a biodiversity hot spot with endangered species and a variety of forestry vegetation. Salum (2009) posits that JCBNP is home to the largest remaining natural forests of Zanzibar islands. The Jozani-Chwaka Bay Conservation Area (JCBCA) is the core conservation area within which the JCBNP exists. The National Park was gazetted in February 2004 as Zanzibar's first National Park covering 50 square kilometres.

The Jozani Forest Reserve has been in existence since the 1940s when the forest was logged and re-planted to form a plantation. During the 1990s, the Government of Zanzibar (GoZ) recognised the area as a 'biodiversity hotspot' (GEF, 2004). With such recognition and influence from

international conservationists as well as donor organisations, the JCBCA was established in 1993. With funding from the Austrian Government, the JCBCA was finally initiated under a partnership between the Austrian Government, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere- Tanzania (CARE[3]) and the Government of Zanzibar's Commission for Natural Resources. The project's zone of operation consists of the Jozani Forest, the mangrove forests north and south of the National Park and the southern edge of Chwaka Bay- a tidal inlet bounded on three sides by Unguja's mainland and the Michamvi Peninsula (See Figure 2) (Myers, 2002: 5).

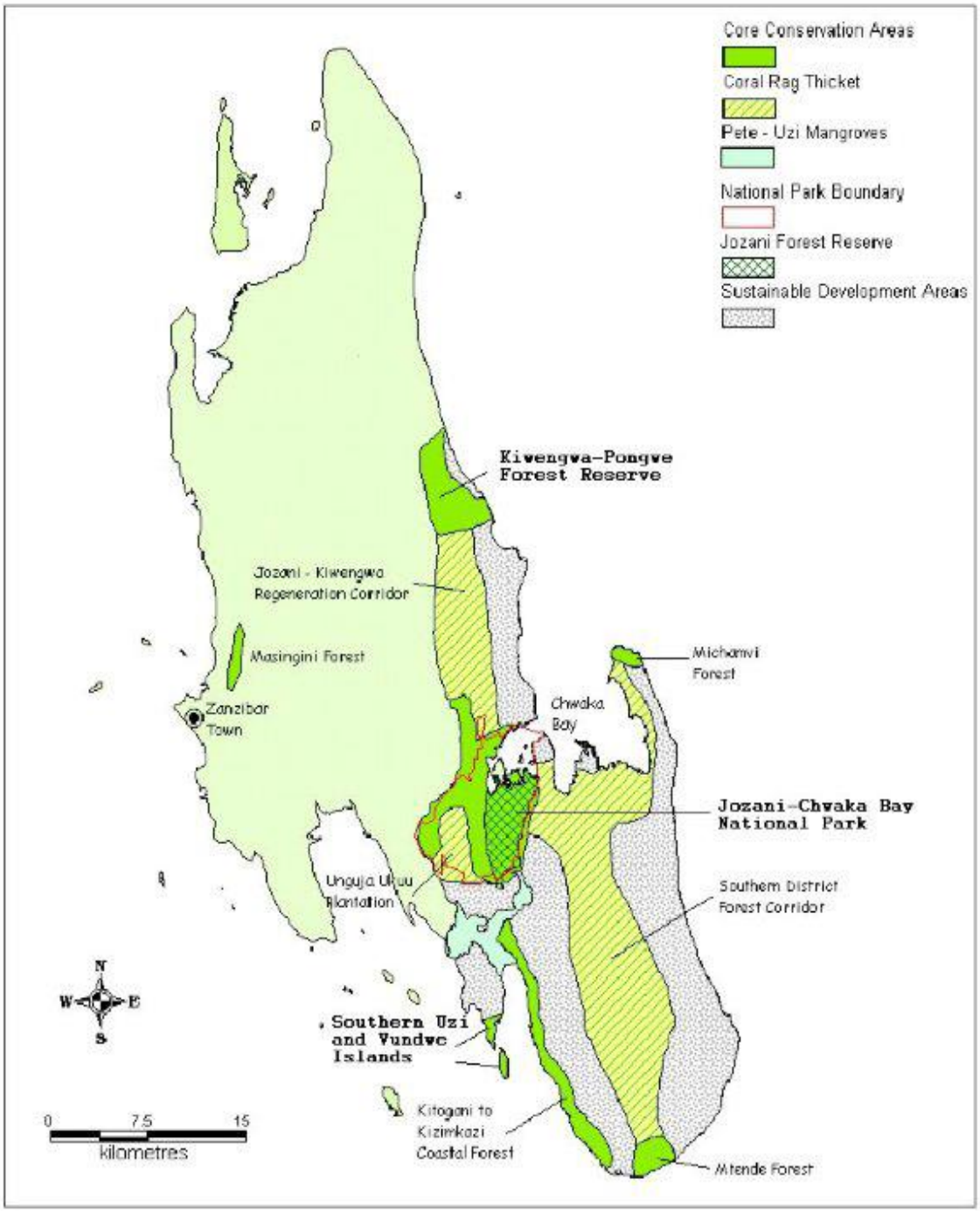
The JCBNP (which is the focus of this study) is home to a wide variety of endangered and endemic faunal and unique floral species that coexist with plantation remnants. Small populations of bush pigs, civets, dikdik, Ader's duiker and the infamous Zanzibar Leopard which although not adequately recorded for, local residents claim that the mammal still exists while others believe that it may possibly have become extinct. Sykes monkeys are also found in abundance but the Zanzibar Red Colobus monkey (a threatened species endemic to Zanzibar) is the JCBNP's signature specie. Of the 2350 Colobus monkeys of the island, the JCBCA is home to the remaining 1000 red colobus monkeys, 700 of which reside within the Jozani forest and the other 300 living outside of the Jozani forest boundary but within the JCBCA (Myers, 2002: 153). The colobus monkey has become an exceptional attraction for ecotourism. Although the specie is harmless and is in fact a friendly animal, local people consider it a pest. Local residents dislike this specie due to its tendency to attack their farms and crops. Hence, the monkey is locally referred to as Kima Punju, which in Swahili means the Poison monkey (Myers, 2002: 153).

The JCBCA consists of 9 villages that surround the JCBNP: Bwejuu, Charawe, Chwaka, Ukongoroni, Unguja Ukuu, Pete, Michamvi, and Kitogani (See Figure 3). Communities generally support their livelihoods through subsistence agriculture and rearing small livestock. In the coastal villages, fishing and seaweed farming supplements subsistence agricultural and livestock herding activities. Other economic activities include charcoal making and collecting fuel wood, building or construction poles for domestic and trading purposes (GEZ, 2004).

[3] CARE International is an International humanitarian organisation that delivers emergency relief, fights poverty and supports international development projects. (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere [CARE], n.d)

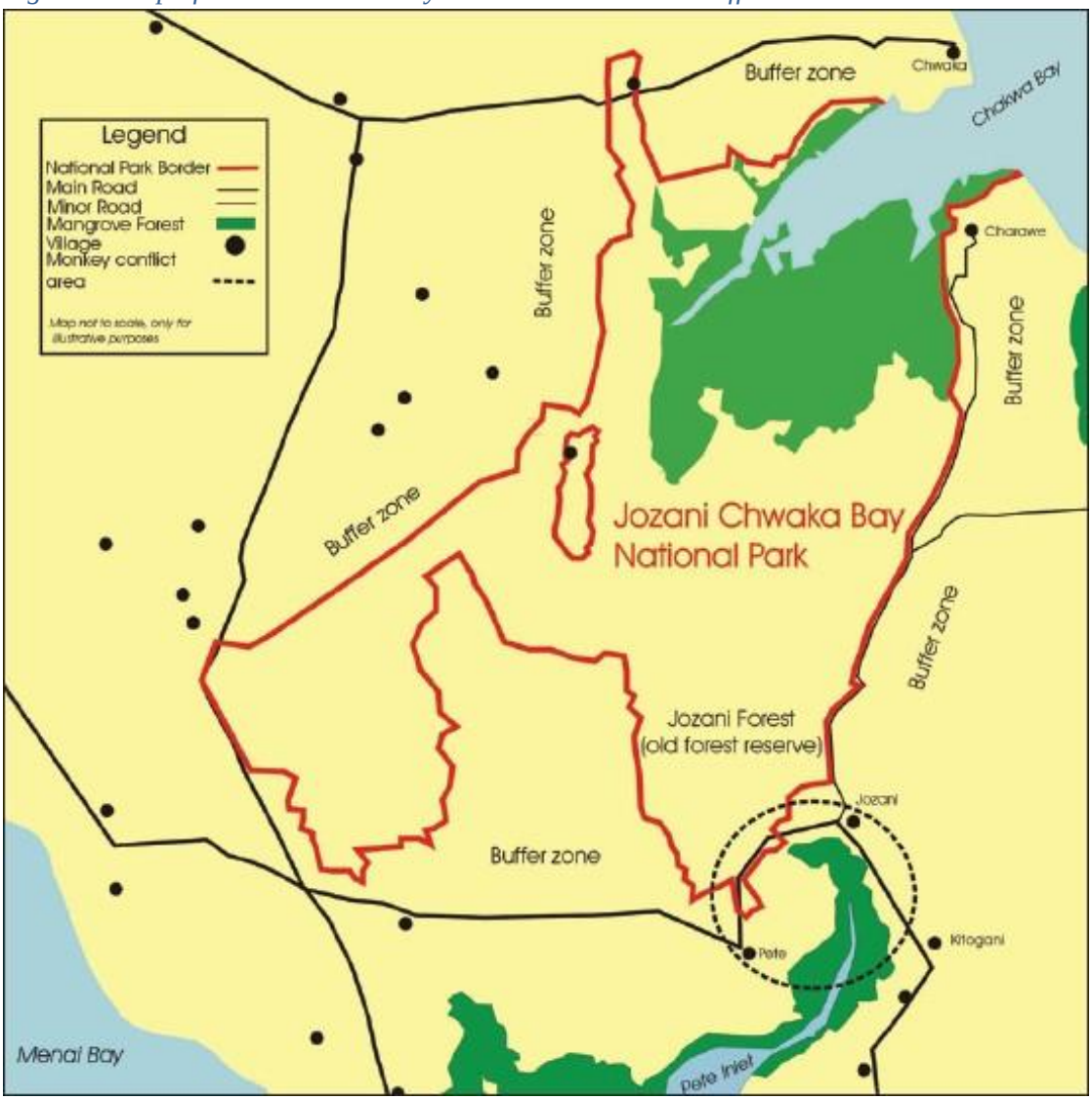
Focus was placed on Pete Village as the source of data collection due to the conflict that ensued during the establishment of the JCBNP boundaries. The proposed park boundaries involved the enclosure of large sections of farm land and mangrove forest that was relied on by community members in Pete as a main source of livelihood (Saunders, 2011b). Pete residents also felt that their village was the least developed compared to other villages buffering the planned park. Thus, the proposition of enclosing their farm lands and mangrove forests within the JCBNP was met with immense contestation from village members in Pete (Rabe & Saunders, 2011).

Figure 1: Map of Unguja, Zanzibar.



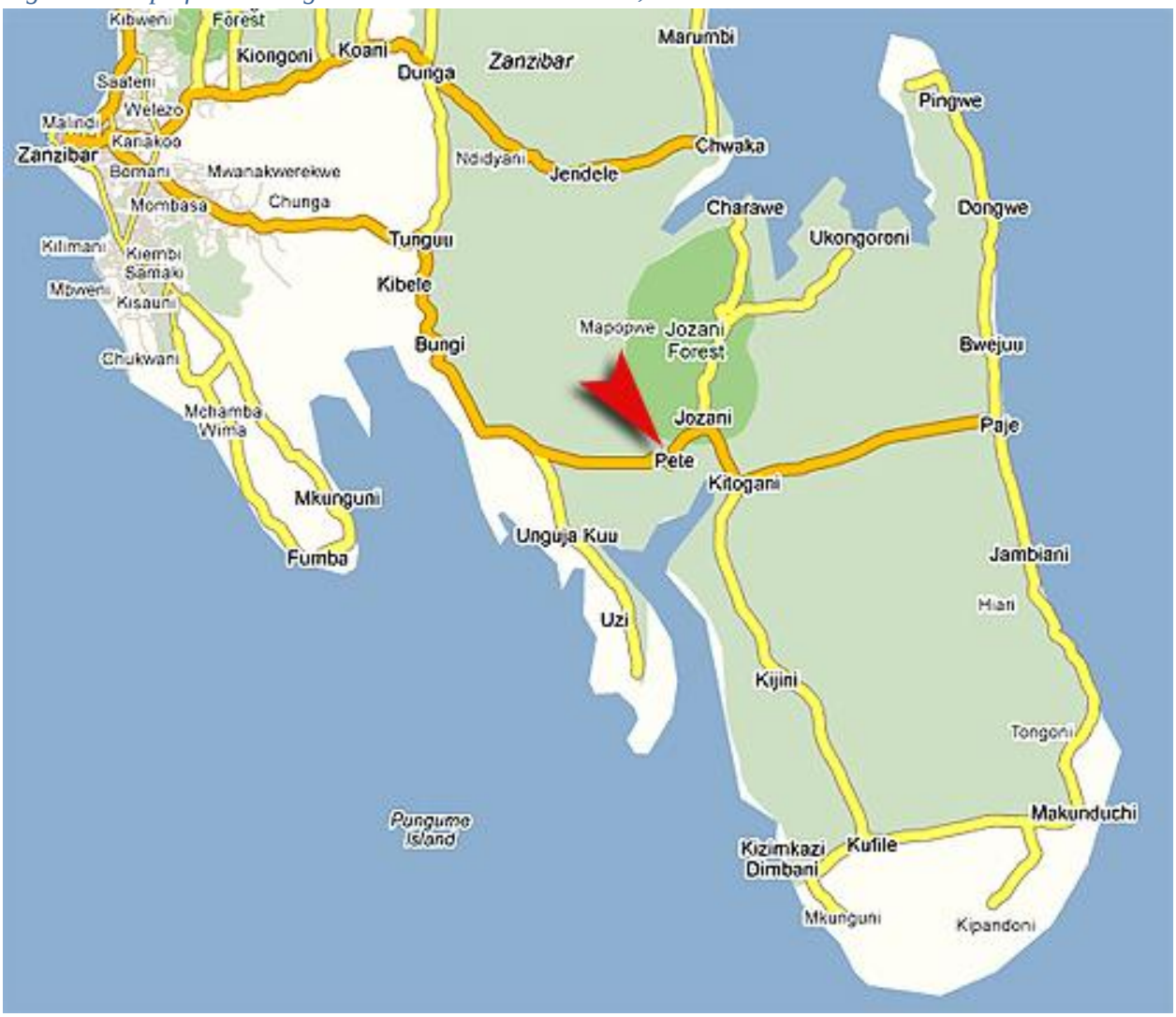
Source: Nowak, Perkin & Jones, 2009: 19

Figure 2: Map of Jozani-Chwaka Bay National Park and its buffer zones



Source: Saunders, 2011a:264

Figure 3: Map of Pete village in relation to Jozani Forest, Zanzibar



Source: "Batik Zanzibar". n.d

1.5.2. Data Collection Methods

The study adopted a combination of primary and secondary data collection methods due to the complexity of the problem under study. The use of the case study approach enabled me to conduct unstructured open-ended interviews and participant observations. Such approaches allowed for the collection of data primarily from the participants' interaction with their environment and the CBC intervention in Pete village, from the insider's perspective (Yin, 2003). Using the case study approach allowed me to collect context specific data that affect the implementation of CBC strategies. Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that the use of the case study

approach ensures that a research is conducted through various lenses. Such lenses help to reveal dynamic factors that affect a phenomenon under study. Data for the study was gathered in two phases. The first phase took place between April and May 2016 and involved initial interviews with key respondents. This phase of data collection also allowed me to gain the community's trust into their community and overall lives. The second phase of data collection spanned between May and July 2016, during which data was collected through participant observation and subsequent interviews with community members.

Interviews conducted with key respondents included, youth members, middle aged community members, the elderly village members, representatives of the environmental NGOs operating in the village as well as government officials within the forestry and environmental department. The rationale for the choice of this particular demographic was to avoid any risk of social and or gender based hierarchies in the decision making processes and involvement of community members in conservation activities. Additionally, the age differentiation of the respondents was intended to obtain narratives from all community members whose lives have been affected by conservation efforts in general (both centralised and decentralised). In particular, the choice of the elderly community members was to obtain historicised conservation information in comparison to the present conservation efforts. From the middle aged community members, information/data on the transition from centralised conservation to CBNRM was obtained.

Interviews conducted with NGO representatives and government officials aimed to decipher the influence and the role played by entities outside of the village community in conserving natural resources in Pete. The study identified the first respondent through contacting the Ministry of Forestry whereby connection was consequently made with the *Sheha*[4] of the village in the study. Following the first meeting with the *Sheha*, I was introduced to a few key village members who allowed me to network with other local community members prior to the data collection period. Through snowballing, interviews were later conducted with 10 key respondents. The interviews included questions relating to the history of conservation in Pete village- from centralised conservation to community based conservation efforts through setting up of Community Forest

[4] Sheha in Swahili means a leader, headman, chief or councillor of a Shehia which is the smallest administrative unit in Zanzibari law, consisting of one or more villages (Ely et al., 2000: 12). The Sheha is appointed by the government

Management Areas (CoFMAs). The interviews and interactions with the study participants were conducted in Swahili, considering that the participants predominantly spoke in Swahili only.

Participant observation was undertaken through various strategies. The first strategy involved attending social gatherings amongst elderly women as they routinely visited each other's homes in the evenings. The second involved accompanying butterfly farmers, seaweed farmers and charcoal producers as they engaged in their livelihood activities. Such a strategy allowed me to gain further insight into how different local groups accessed alternative livelihood resources outside of the JCBNP borders. The third strategy involved sitting in on some of the fortnightly meetings held amongst the village Sheha, the CoFMA leaders and community members. During these meetings, I was able to observe several issues including decision making with regards to the use of revenues from the JCBNP, settling disputes amongst the various stakeholders as well as the extent of the involvement of community members in pertinent issues regarding conservation and its impact on their livelihoods.

The case study approach allowed me to collect data through participant observation in the participants' various social settings. I immersed myself within the various social activities that the study participants engaged with on their daily lives. Although, initially, the participants were wary of allowing me to fully immerse myself as an observer of their daily activities out of fear that I was a government 'informant'. It was anticipated that developing trust and rapport with the community members would take time. For this reason, I spent the first month of the field work to gain the community's trust and to reassure them that the data being collected would not be used for any other reason than for educational purposes. Participant observation techniques used during the study allowed me to identify previously unnoticed aspects that became crucial to the data of the study, it allowed for people's actions to be supplemented by the answers they provided during the interviews and it ensured that I was fully immersed in the study setting (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

Secondary data was collected throughout the fieldwork period merely as a supplement to the primary data that was collected during the interviews and observation of participants. Secondary data was collected in order to revisit unclear information provided and to supplement historical narratives provided by respondents

1.5.3. Data Analysis

The analysis of this study was situated under mainstream political ecology as an approach that allowed data to be analysed by drawing in the frames of understanding relations amongst entities such as the state, the people and the environment. Additionally, the political ecological framework ensured that socio-economic, political, historical and environmental factors were considered concurrently in the analysis of the data. The political ecology scholarship also allowed the study to hone into two aspects that seemingly played a role in the human-nature relations of the case study. Firstly, the concept of cross-scale linkages was relied upon during the data analysis as a way to interrogate power relations amongst the various stakeholders in the case study. Secondly, the concept of scales across time enabled the study to interrogate socio-political and environmental changes over time in the study's context. Such a focus on changes over time looked into the overall implementation of conservation efforts throughout Zanzibar's history.

Through the political ecological framework, the narratives gathered during the fieldwork were analysed accordingly. Analysis focused on presenting narratives as stories provided by the participants throughout the fieldwork.

Data analysis was conducted during the fieldwork period-simultaneously with data collection. The reason for analysing data in such a way was to allow the study to take into account the complexities involved in the lived experiences of participants. Such that stories provided were socially situated and analysed by the respondents at source, without interference with pre-determined or post-determined theories (Polkinghorne, 1995, as cited in Etherington, n.d). The narrative analysis approach adopted in this study unravelled the data primarily out of what was being narrated by the participants (through the interviews) and out of what was being observed (through the participant observation). Thus, the approach pieced together the stories provided by the participants in a logical manner (Etherington, n.d; Sandelowski, 1991).

Interviews were recorded and transcribed with NVivo software programme. Notes gathered through the fieldwork were recorded in the NVivo software where themes were created and linked with the interviews conducted throughout the study. It should be noted that due to the nature of this study, themes were generated throughout the fieldwork.

1.6. Structure

The rest of the thesis is organised as follows:

Following this introductory chapter that has provided information on the shift from centralised conservation to community-based conservation. The chapter introduced community-based conservation in the Tanzanian context as well as in the Zanzibari context where the study site is located- the JCBNP. The chapter then stated the research problem as a lack of sufficient literature that interrogates the relationship between CBC efforts and local communities inhabiting village lands on buffer zones, directly from the communities' perspective in the context of Zanzibar. Following this, the research questions and objectives of the study were presented as well as the research design adopted by the study.

Chapter two presents a comprehensive discussion on political ecology as a theoretical framework that has guided the study. The Political ecological scholarship is crucial in that it takes into account important issues that affect CBC interventions in the study site. These issues include, socio-cultural factors, historical factors, political factors as well as socio-economic factors. The theoretical framework discussion is followed by an extensive review of literature that discusses community-based conservation globally and nationally in the Tanzanian and Zanzibari context. This is followed by a critique of CBC interventions broadly and within the study's context.

Chapter three of this thesis is the background chapter. This chapter presents a historical overview of conservation in Zanzibar beginning from the pre-colonial time, shifting to the colonial period, to the post-colonial period and finally the current period of community-based conservation.

Chapter four discusses the narratives provided by the study participants from Pete village in Zanzibar. This chapter focuses on the local community's perspective of the Pete CoFMA in relation to the JCBCA. The chapter focuses on telling transformative stories through the narratives given by the local communities who participated in the study. These narratives are based on the way through which the local communities have experienced community-based conservation in Zanzibar, as a collective community of Pete and as individual community members.

Chapter five is the discussion chapter of the thesis. This chapter unravels and discusses the narratives presented by community members in Pete in relation to overarching literature on

CBNRM interventions. The chapter does so by following through with the themes explored in chapter four. This chapter unpacks each theme by discussing the main insights that the narratives brought to the fore in relation to CBNRM interventions in general.

Chapter six is the concluding chapter of this thesis. This chapter offers the contributions made by this study based on the participants' narratives on community-based conservation in Zanzibar. This chapter also provides suggestions for future research on similar research problems. The chapter indicates that by relying on the political ecological framework, socio-political, economic and historical factors play a prevalent role in the conservation activities in the study site. The study has shown that the presence of the Pete CoFMA has impinged on the livelihoods of community members due to a lack of sufficient alternative livelihood sources. In addition, although the CoFMAs were introduced to conserve the forest and its resources, the study's participants indicated that the forest continues to be depleted by displaced community members. Finally, the study has shown that although CoFMAs should essentially be managed and run by community members, the government's influence is still heavily felt by many respondents.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical framework & Literature review

This chapter elaborates on the theoretical framework that underpins the research problem followed by a review of literature on community-based conservation strategies. The chapter does so by first discussing the political ecological scholarship that has guided the study. This will be followed by an examination of literature relating to the rise of CBC strategies globally and then nationally in Tanzania. The chapter culminates with an examination of literature dealing with the critiques against such conservation strategies.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

This section provides a discussion of the theoretical framework that guided the study problem. The section will begin by briefly discussing the definition of political ecology. It will then discuss the importance of political ecology as an approach. Finally, the section will discuss how the narrative approach, as used in the data collection process of this study, answers the problem statement within a political ecological framework.

The concept of political ecology has been defined in several ways by various scholars. Some scholars define the concept by emphasising the impact of political institutions on environmental change, others stress on the social movements that emerge from tensions over environmental changes, while others highlight the importance of narratives and stories depicting environmental changes. In spite of differences in emphases, the commonality lies in that the study of ecology is fraught with political nuances (Robbins, 2012). This scholarship thus, stresses that in order to understand environmental issues, scholars must incorporate political economy factors that play a significant role in such issues. To bring these various definitions together, Robbins offers a definition of political ecology as a study based on a set of theoretical underpinnings and empirical research approaches that "address the condition and change of social/environmental systems, with explicit consideration of relations of power" (2012: 21).

Although several issues are highlighted in political ecology. For the sake of this study, two main issues are of relevance. These are, the importance of narratives and stories of humans in their relations with environmental change, over time and the importance of social, economic and political systems in such relations. By grounding this study in political ecology scholarship, it is

possible to represent the experiences of community members in Pete Village with the Community Forest Management initiative from community member's narratives and stories.

Considering that human-environment relations are fraught with complexity, the use of narratives as a form of inquiry allows the researcher to represent the multifaceted reality of people's lived experiences in relation to their environment (Etherington, n.d.). In the context of this study, narrative inquiry ensures that the lived realities of community members in Pete village are captured and represented as told by them. Narrative inquiry can be understood as a means through which personal and human life experiences over time are gathered, examined and represented as reported by them (Webster & Mertova, 2007; Etherington, n.d.). Such a form of inquiry serves to describe individual's historic and current ways of experiencing and dealing with the world (Clandinin and Connelly, 1990).

Biodiversity conservation affects stakeholders at different levels-locally, nationally and internationally. Each of these stakeholders serve as sources of knowledge that can develop into different discourses of biodiversity conservation. Taken together, the various sources of knowledge can develop into credible and successful conservation policies that are later implemented as conservation interventions (Blaike & Jeanrenaud, 1996). Unfortunately, scientific knowledge and facts are solely considered when developing such conservation policies. The reliance on scientific knowledge and facts for developing conservation policies is often based on the assumption that such issues relating to 'nature' can be studied separately from humans (Leach & Mearns, 1996: 449). Thus, excluding knowledge and experiences derived from local community members (Whande, 2009). The exclusion of local knowledge and the sole reliance on scientific knowledge creates a gap in the overall discourse of biodiversity conservation. For this reason, it is crucial to examine and represent experiences and knowledge from local community members in relation to biodiversity conservation (Blaike & Jeanrenaud, 1996; Leach and Mearns, 1996).

To situate this study more specifically, cross-scale linkages and scales across time as aspects in political ecological scholarship will be relied on to analyse the data. Cross-scale interactions involve the use of relative power between the various stakeholders in resource management (Adger, Brown & Tompkins, 2005). These stakeholders or actors are often involved in contestation over access and use of natural resources (Natter & Zierhofr, 2002). Such an

understanding of cross-scale interactions stresses the need to acknowledge an interaction between environmental problems and socio-political forces, specifically in the political ecology of the Third-World (Bryant, 1992). In this study, the stakeholders include: national government, local resource users and international organisations. These stakeholders often times compete with one another in their access and use of the JCBNP's natural resources.

On the other hand, scales across time/temporal scale in political ecology scholarship interrogates the socio-political and environmental relations over time. This stresses the need to take into account historical occurrences that may play a significant role in how conservation efforts are shaped and executed presently in relation to the socio-political and environmental interactions. Furthermore, such historical approaches to a study of this nature may enable the researcher to detect factors that have been consistent over time and that affect the way conservation is and will continue to be practiced- whether positively or negatively. For instance, a study conducted in Tanzania's West Usambara Mountains[5] identifies that the Tanzanian state and its forest-related policies have played a significant role in the issue of deforestation, throughout the country's history (Conte, 1999). Whether it was under the German rule, the British rule and even after its independence. In particular, the temporal scale aspect of political ecology scholarship will be relied on when examining the historical shift in conservation efforts in Zanzibar across time. Specifically, the centralisation-decentralisation-recentralisation processes that conservation efforts have faced over time and the socio-political relations between local people and other stakeholders (government agencies and international organisations) over time.

In addition, as a way of analysing the empirical data gathered during the fieldwork, the study will rely on narratives to express the messages relayed by the study's participants (Adger, Benjaminsen, Brown and Svarstad, 2001: 685). In analysing the data, focus will be laid on using the stories given by the participants to narrate a better reality than the supposed 'reality' presented in the extant literature about the participants. By doing so, the participants' stories will form narratives that best represent the situation in Pete village, Zanzibar, compared to any other narratives of community forest management in a different part of the world. As suggested by Roe (1991; 1999), narratives are most gripping when they tell stories of facts as relayed from a specific context rather than from what is occurring in similar settings.

[5] Conte, C. A. 1999. `The forest becomes a desert: Forest use and environmental change in Tanzania's West Usambara mountains', *Land Degradation & Development.* 10: 291- 309.

The following section presents an examination of the literature on CBC strategies globally and will hone into such literature in the Tanzanian context.

2.2. Literature Review

2.2.1. The rise of the global Community-Based Conservation

Conceptualised as Conservation with Development Projects (Stocking & Perkin, 1992: 337), Community-Based Natural Resource Management (Adams & Hulme, 2010: 193), Integrated Conservation with Development Projects (Barrett & Arcese, 1995), Community Based Conservation (Goldman, 2003: 833) and Collaborative or Joint Management Ventures (Adams & Hulme, 2010: 193), these community conservation efforts have gained popularity in the international conservation and development platform within the past thirty years. With the worsening of conservation and development efforts during the 1980s and 1990s, the traditional conservation strategies such as those referred to as centralised conservation approaches were no longer a viable solution.

Disdain towards centralised conservation dominated the international conservation community as well as the international humanitarian community. Such contempt was mainly due to the fact that the traditional approaches were failing to conserve the environment. Additionally, the protected areas were creating 'islands surrounded by human poverty and [were] increasingly vulnerable to encroachments and incursions' (Marks, 2001). Some scholars argued that centralised conservation efforts like the 'fences and fines' interventions involved high human costs that ultimately turned into coercive conservation approaches (Dressler, 2010: 5). In addition, evidence suggest that these centralised conservation approaches involved high economic costs (Leader-Williams & Albon, 1988), coupled with low economic returns due to the underutilisation of protected areas by local community members for sustaining their livelihoods (Norton-Griffiths & Southey, 1995). Others indicated that these conservation interventions led to the active exclusion of local community members from the protected areas. Such forceful exclusion paused a humanitarian threat, especially considering that the community members heavily relied on natural resources in the protected areas for their survival (Neumann, 1998). These reasons added impetus to the shift to a more 'fair' conservation approach; which at the time, materialised in the form of community conservation approaches. In addition, the political

and economic liberalisation that occurred in many parts of the world during the 1980s presented a suitable environment for the decentralisation of control and management of natural resources. Also, it hailed the growth of the tourism industry as a way forward toward development (Rabe & Saunders, 2011: 134).

Community conservation approaches were touted for their win-win values. This 'new' conservation approach was based on the ideology that the goals of natural resource conservation will be coupled with goals of community development, rather than being in opposition to them as was the case under the centralised conservation (Noe & Kangalawe, 2015). Through community conservation, community members would be encouraged to steer clear from heavily relying on natural resources for their survival. Instead, the resources from the environment could garner financial benefits to them, if they are conserved by the local people (Goldman, 2003; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). Such a discourse has supported the idea that by alleviating poverty through development measures, pressures on the environment will surely be reduced (Reardon & Vosti, 1995; Ramutsindela, 2003). Furthermore, conservation narratives believed that in order for conservation efforts to succeed, community development ought to be viewed as a prerequisite to the conservation of biodiversity (Stocking & Perkin, 1992: 337). The idea is that community members cohabitating with the natural flora and fauna, and who are living in areas of high biodiversity must surely value these places as their own and would willingly want to protect these areas (Twyman, 2000: 323; Brockington, 2004: 411 – 412). Generally, conservation practitioners were under the assumption that since local people were already relying on and managing natural resources, in their own dynamic ways, they were at the best position to conserve the environment by using their local knowledge with the help of external actors (Tsing, Brosius & Zerner, 1999: 197; Dressler et al., 2010: 5). It is worth highlighting, that community conservation discourse continues to believe that community members indeed have local conservation knowledge and have been able to manage their use of natural resources. However, they require external assistance- whether in the form of national government departments, international conservation practitioners or international NGOs, to assist them in using such local knowledge more effectively.

According to Adams and Hulme (2010: 193), the discourse of community conservation has been based on several overarching principles. These principles include the idea that conservation must be 'participatory', it must consider community members bordering protected areas as 'partners',

and it must be based on the belief that these protected areas and the natural flora and fauna it is protecting should contribute economically to the community members and their livelihoods and to the national economy at large. In Short, the community conservation narrative in the international policy arena gained rapid acceptance due to several reasons. Firstly, community conservation initiatives combined conservation efforts to the idea of sustainable development that was gaining ground during the 1980s based on the Brundtland Report (1987)[6]. The idea was further grounded during the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio in 1992. Secondly, this conservation narrative adopted a human face that drew on the idealisation of the local community and the importance of ensuring community participation in the strive towards conservation and development simultaneously. Thirdly, the focus on decentralising conservation efforts with a shift away from the top-down models of development and conservation made community conservation an attractive alternative. Finally, the renewed interest in the market economy of the 1980s instead of the focus on the state economy, made community conservation appealing to international policy makers. Here, community conservation focused on turning local community members into 'micro-entrepreneurs' by having them engage in alternative livelihood activities, such as eco-tourism. Ultimately, community members would be able to make a sustainable livelihood while conserving the environment that provides them with such an economic benefit (Twyman, 1998: 765; Hutton, Adams & Murombedzi, 2005, 344-345; Dressler et al., 2010).

It is important to note that the community conservation narrative emerges in a variety of different projects. Barrow and Murphee (2001, as cited in Adams & Hulme, 2010: 194) suggest that such a variety of projects can be best conceptualised as a continuum. At one extreme end are community conservation projects that have been developed to support and extend community development activities surrounding national parks. Such community conservation projects have been developed after a protected area has been established, such as in the cases of national parks (considering that some National Parks were established prior to humans migrating to the Parks' buffer zones). What these projects aim to do is to resolve resource use disputes with community members buffering the national parks. In the middle of the continuum is where projects that are

[6] The Brundtland Report culminated into the idea of sustainable development during the 1980s. Sustainable development views environmental problems and human development as mutual. Such that both issues should be tackled together in order to establish an environment suitable to meet present and future generations' needs (Brundtland et al., 1987)

based on collaborative initiatives between local community members, the state and at times the private sector, are found. Such 'collaborative management' projects intend to promote conservation activities through public-private partnerships. At the other far end of the continuum are initiatives that aim to promote community development through the use of wildlife and other natural resources on land outside of the protected areas. In this instance, conservation of biodiversity is a by-product of sustainable biodiversity management and sustainable resource use initiatives. In this end of the continuum is where Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) projects are located (Adams & Hulme, 2010: 194). Under CBNRM initiatives, nature and natural products are made meaningful to local community members who rely on them for their livelihoods, by incorporating them into sources of economic returns. This is done in order to avoid community members considering CBNRM initiatives as a means through which they can re-claim their rights and control over the accessibility of natural resources for securing their livelihoods (Western & Wright, 1994 as cited in Dressler et al., 2010).

For the purpose of this study, focus will be laid on CBNRM initiatives. CBNRM as a conservation initiative has several definitions. However, central to these definitions are that CBNRM is an approach that advocates for the participation of community members and local resource users in all processes involved in the management of natural resources, to ensure its long term sustainability (Gruber, 2010: 3). A working definition that will be used for this study has been derived from the CBNRM principles as presented by Armitage (2005). These principles taken together, culminate into a characterisation of CBNRM that describes it as follows: CBNRM is an intervention that aims to achieve environmental and socio-economic objectives by balancing the over-use of valuable natural resources. CBNRM also aims to devolve decision making authority over natural resources to local community members and community-based organisations. At the same time, CBNRM initiatives intend to address conflict relating to the access to natural resources by the local people who rely on them for their survival (Armitage, 2005: 704).

The CBNRM discourse and its ideals have instilled a sense of optimism to conservationists and international policy makers worldwide. The focus on local people, who have been secluded from accessing natural resources on which their livelihoods depended on, has morphed traditional conservation interventions into a human face. Furthermore, the realisation that local people are

equipped with the knowledge of conserving and managing ecosystems that they have lived alongside with for generations, has undoubtedly, glorified CBNRM initiatives even further. Unfortunately, the optimistic principles of CBNRM are not sufficiently practiced on the ground. The CBNRM discourse is now increasingly facing criticisms regarding its practice in many areas across the world.

The following section will present several criticisms heralded on the practice of CBNRM initiatives generally and with specific examples from the Tanzanian and Zanzibari context.

2.2.2. Critiques of CBNRM

Garland (2008) presents an interesting critique of CBNRM initiatives in Africa by pointing out that wildlife conservation across the continent has become a productive process that aims to derive value from the African ecosystem, which then transforms into capital which has the ability to produce further value to the global world. The author specifically draws attention to the fact that international conservationists and international policy makers have encouraged and provided their expertise and 'assistance' in conserving Africa's biodiversity. It is important to note here that these natural resources are of high value and have the potential to generate further benefits to stakeholders involved in conserving the resources. Some studies argue that CBNRM strategies have been used to legitimise the goals of stakeholders. These stakeholders rarely, if ever, include the local communities. Instead, benefits from conservation of wildlife (and other natural resources) are accrued by rent seeking state officials, international conservationists, and international tourist corporations (Kajembe & Monela, 2000; Homewood, 2004; Swatuk, 2005; Nelson 7 Agrawal, 2008: 558; Hausser, 2011).

Although CBNRM initiatives have been applauded for their goals of generating economic and social benefits to local communities living on the buffer zones of protected areas. Benjaminsen and Bryceson (2012) argue that the introduction of CBNRM initiatives (whether through WMAs or through CoFMAs) as a win-win strategy merely worked to allow conservation programmes to gain traction in village land. Once these strategies were established, preferable conditions for continuous dispossession of community members off such valuable land is made possible (Igoe & Croucher, 2007; Noe, 2013; Noe & Kangalawe, 2015).

Other scholars have pointed out that CBNRM initiatives have been glorified for their strive towards community development and environmental conservation simultaneously. However, the reality of it is that local community members have and continue to be disadvantaged by conservation efforts. In support of this, Ramutsindela (2003) argues that throughout the conservation history, continued antagonism between conservation 'authorities' (state officials, international donor countries and conservation agencies) and local communities existed. Such antagonism is often based on the disequilibrium between biodiversity conservation and local communities' development. In support, Mavhunga and Dressler (2007: 46) argue that, conservationists in general, often ignore the lived experiences of local communities in relation to conservation practices on their land. These ignored lived experiences often result into conflict between community development and conservation efforts.

As for how conservation efforts have continued to denounce the importance of community members when it comes to conservation; studies have pointed out that often times conservationists have reduced the dynamism of communities into homogenous and simplistic units. The language of CBNRM often assumes local communities to be stable and unified grouping of people, such that their heterogeneous and complex socio-political make-up and their multifaceted social realties are neglected in relation to natural resource conservation (Mavhunga and Dressler, 2007: 45). To add to this, Kumar (2002: 766) points out that the continued portrayal of the local community as a homogenous entity that is static and simplistic in its relations to nature is a consequence of how the CBNRM literature has depicted local people's social realities with nature. The artificial boundaries created through the establishment of conservation areas have failed to acknowledge the historical existence of human-nature relations on the same landscape (Saunders, 2011a).

In practice, CBNRM efforts in many case studies have often excluded community members from their active involvement in conservation efforts. Rabe and Saunders (2011: 133) contend that although CBNRM initiatives are commended for their ideals of involving local community members in conservation efforts; in reality, such ideals are not practiced. The authors posit that CBNRM efforts are driven by 'top-down concerns' that often ignore community members' diversity and local knowledge of conservation. In other cases, community members are encouraged to participate in the processes of conservation, merely to absorb conservation costs that previously fell on the national government when conservation was centralised. These studies

suggest that by incorporating local communities in conservation programmes, the state is using these communities as a conservation tool, where conservation costs are shifted to the local communities in question (Songorwa, 1999; Marks, 2001; Goldman, 2003; Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012).

When examining the setup of CoFMAs in Zanzibar, the lack of decentralisation efforts is quite apparent, especially in the development the forest management plan. According to the Forestry Act of Zanzibar (1996), the forest administrator (who is appointed by the President) and to the most part answerable to the government, prepares the plan for the forest management. Once the plan has been prepared, the administrator is expected to consult the community members who will be involved in the conservation efforts. By the time the plan reaches community members for consultation, it has already been directed and controlled by the government's interests. Thus, to claim that conservation efforts through CoFMAs are decentralised seems to be a flawed statement. Although central governments in many parts of the world (specifically in sub-Saharan Africa) have rhetorically- through policies and legislations, encouraged decentralisation of conservation efforts; in practice, they have placed 'imaginative obstacles in the path of decentralized institutions and choices' (Ribot, Agrawal & Larson, 2006: 1881). It seems that conservation efforts in many African cases are heavily entangled with bureaucracies and insist on incorporating state institutions in all stages of conservation (Noe & Kangalawe, 2015). This ultimately contradicts CBNRM ideals. Interestingly, Dressler et al., (2010:13) state that, these bureaucracies and state interferences will continue to increase rather than decrease to a point of full recentralisation of conservation efforts.

Other critiques directed on the practice of CBNRM efforts relate to the lack of transparency in funds from eco-tourism ventures and the failure of sharing information with community members. Community Based Organisations (CBOs) that are supposed to represent the interests of community members tend to fail in fulfilling such duties. Levine (2007) argues that such community representatives are often led by society members whose sole purpose is to accumulate revenue and political resources away from local communities. Additionally, other studies indicate that information regarding eco-tourism funding is not sufficiently shared with community members. Often times, community members end up receiving insufficient funds that hinder them from using such funds in a meaningful and economically productive ventures

(Saunders, 2011b: 261). These factors surely lead to further destitution to local community members involved in CBNRM efforts (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012: 338).

Although CBNRM efforts have promised both development and environmental conservation, some studies have shown otherwise. Taking an example from Zanzibar, studies suggest that despite the fact that CoFMAs have been applauded for their efforts to conserving the forest cover, the isles are estimated to be losing 1.2% of their forest cover per annum (Siex, 2011: 2). The continued demand for forest resources to sustain local communities' livelihood is deemed to be a leading cause of such a loss in forest cover (Siex, 2011: 2).

Indeed, at the onset of CBNRM initiatives, the general consensus was that these efforts would constitute a win-win situation for both conservation and development of community members. After all, placing high importance on the development of community members in line with conservation efforts should only lead to positive outcomes. Unfortunately, as Brockington (2004: 414) suggests that "The good of conservation is such a powerful 'myth' that it dulls our expectation of ill effects". The outlook of community members who engage in CBNRM efforts has increasingly become disheartening. This can be attributed to the many failures that are cited with regards to such conservation efforts and its impact on community members' livelihoods. Rabe and Saunders (2011: 147) posited that community members who engage in CBNRM efforts have become increasingly apathetic to such a conservation effort due to the fact that such efforts have impinged on their lives. This reaction may be due to the fact that more value is placed on the resources (natural flora and fauna) in the protected areas and conservation areas than on the people (Li, 2009). In addition, community members' needs are often side-lined when it comes to defining ways in which conservation should be and is conducted (Marks, 2001; Goldman, 2003; Noe & Kangalawe, 2015). Perhaps such a situation occurs due to the fact that these conservation projects that have been introduced are predominantly planned, imposed and executed according to a pre-established agenda and plan. The need to achieve conservation and development goals as set out by these pre-established plans inevitably side-lines local community members and neglects their agency to be active participants in conservation efforts (Brechin et al., 2002; Rabe & Saunders, 2011: 147; Noe & Kangalawe, 2015).

As previously mentioned, CBNRM efforts, especially in many sub-Saharan African countries, have been forced upon local community members. Insufficient information regarding what

CBNRM would entail and how it would affect the livelihoods of local communities is one way through which community members have been coerced into engaging in CBNRM efforts on their village lands. The fact that the only way community members can sustain their livelihoods after being secluded from accessing natural resources, is through engaging in conservation efforts, is a further telling sign of how community members have been coerced to engage in CBNRM efforts. Also, the failure to adequately engage with community members in decision making processes involving conservation shows that powerful state actors and international conservation agencies have more power and say over how conservation should be undertaken on the village land. Community members in this instance are merely following orders given to them by the powerful society members. In support of this, Twyman posits that such findings indicate that CBNRM efforts are in fact 'coercive conservation' presented as 'community-based' conservation strategies (1998: 766). It may be assumed that resistance from local community members may hinder the establishment of such conservation efforts. However, it seems that in spite of local community's opposition and resistance, conservation efforts like CBNRM can be forced upon local people and may continue to grow traction despite such resistance. Such forcefulness of CBNRM efforts cannot be contested and resisted by local community members for several reasons. Including the fact that community members are often politically and socially weak in relation to the state agencies and international conservation agencies that impose such conservation efforts. Often times, local community members' resistance is muted by those who are politically and socially more powerful (Brockington, 2003: 22; Brockington, 2004: 412; Benjaminsen et al., 2013).

The idea of slow violence as developed by Rob Nixon (2011) can be used to highlight a form of violence perpetuated against communities involved in CBNRM efforts. Such a form of violence does not necessarily involve the use of militarised interventions, but they involve a more passive form of violence against the community members. As explained above, CBNRM efforts have been forcefully imposed on community members either without their knowledge or with their knowledge. Either way, the powerful state actors and International conservation agencies impose such a form of conservation without fear of retaliation from the relatively weaker community members (Twyman, 1998; Brockington, 2003; Brockington, 2004; Rabe & Saunders, 2011). In addition to being forced to engage in conservation efforts that they have not necessarily taken part in planning, community members are also not given sufficient alternative livelihood sources

to sustain their lives outside of the protected areas. By dispossessing community members off their land for the purpose of conservation, forcing them to steer clear from the natural resources in order to conserve the environment and what is in it, and at the same time failure to provide community members with sufficient alternative livelihood activities is a passive form of violence.

2.3. Chapter summary

This chapter began by discussing the theoretical framework through which the study is developed and data is analysed. The study has been situated under the broader scholarship of political ecology. The benefit of such a scholarship lies in the fact that it juxtaposes the social, political, cultural and historical factors that play a significant role in environmental degradation (Robbins, 2004). Moreover, the chapter concurs that the narratives approach is an expressive mechanism that can best represent the realities of the study participants as expressed by them, without interferences from external narratives and ideas. The literature review section of this chapter discussed the rise of CBC interventions globally and more specifically with the Tanzanian and Zanzibari context. The chapter culminated into a critique of CBC interventions broadly and in relation to the Tanzanian and Zanzibari context.

CHAPTER 3: Background to Zanzibar's conservation history

This chapter presents a historical overview of conservation in Zanzibar beginning from the pre-colonial time, shifting to the colonial period, then to the post-colonial period and finally narrowing down to the current phase of community-based conservation.

3.1. Colonial conservation

The management and conservation of the environment's natural resources was in existence during the pre-colonial era. Some have argued that in many parts of pre-colonial Africa, environmental management was closely linked to the socio-economic organisation and religious systems of local societies. In Tanzania, such management practices are said to date back to the local rules and customs of its pre-colonial society). Given the lack of sufficient documented reports of the pre-colonial Tanzanian history, detailed accounts of conservation practices during that time are unfortunately lacking.

The first 'formal' wildlife conservation laws in Tanzania were introduced and proliferated soon after the beginning of the German colonial rule in 1891 (Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 232). The first basic colonial conservation strategy involved regulations to control wildlife for the sake of recreational, hunting and commercial use values. Such regulations included, hunting policies (Majamba, 2013) that saw the introduction of licenses for all forms of hunting carried out in the area and banning of customary hunting practices, such as the use of nets, pits and snares. These regulations and rules were largely aimed at increasing the colonial government's control over the wildlife as well as reducing local communities' rights to using the resources they once had unrestricted access to. Consequently, the once customarily used and managed natural resources were converted to resources that the colonial government largely possessed and had official rights to access and use (Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 234). The second basic colonial administrative strategy was through the setting up of Protected Areas (PAs). It is argued that Tanzania has one of the oldest PAs in Africa, dating back to 1896[7] (Baldus & Hahn, 2009: 5). Through the setting up of such protected areas, the rights to use and manage wildlife and other natural resources by local communities were further restricted (Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 234).

[7] The Selous Game Reserve is the largest and oldest protected area in Africa.

At the end of World War I, the British gained control of Tanzania from German rule. The formal British colonial rule that lasted between 1919 and 1961, inherited and built upon German rule's strategy of regulating and controlling natural resources in all its forms (Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 234; Neumann, 2001: 641). The Forest Ordinance of 1921 and the Land Ordinance of 1923 introduced several changes to the conservation strategy. Firstly, large areas of forests were placed under direct control of the colonial administration. Secondly, all land was placed under the property of the British Crown. Thirdly, customary land rights were held at the discretion of the Governor (Shivji, 1998, as cited in Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 235). In essence, the entire British colonial development and conservation strategy was driven by the need to gain further control over the territory by extensively restructuring human-wildlife populations. Such control was further reinforced by introducing more PAs and restricting land and forest uses by reorganising African settlements (Neumann, 2001: 641).

The common thread that tied the conservation strategy throughout the colonial period in Tanzania was that local communities were restricted from accessing resources that their livelihoods once depended on. Additionally, community members were marginalised by the 'new' rules and regulations that impinged on their livelihoods. Moreover, the natural resources that the colonial governments were protecting from 'misuse', were instead turned into sites where only Europeans (in the form of colonial governments) were entitled to muse over its aesthetic beauty. Eventually, the natural resources being conserved were turned it into commercial sites where profits were not shared with local communities displaced. Brockington, Duffy and Igoe (2008:73) argue that protected areas have a tendency to displace local resource users, such that it is assumed that they no longer fit within that ecosystem. They tend to also strip community members from their authority to manage and use their own resources. Consequently, livelihoods of local community members, such as in the case of the Tanzanian society, are altered for the worse (Wily, 2000).

The section above has discussed the historical conservation practices in Tanzania. The section began by highlighting the presence of customary based conservation practices amongst pre-colonial Tanzanian societies. Such practices were later reformed by colonial governments (first German rule and later British rule) that primarily controlled all matters relating to conservation of wildlife and other natural resources. During the colonial conservation era, community

members were heavily restricted from accessing and using natural resources that previously supported their livelihoods.

3.2. Post-independence conservation

Throughout the colonial administration era, a few Africans if any, were incorporated into upper managerial positions when dealing with the territory's natural resources (Neumann, 1995). This is most likely due to the importance that such natural resources had to the colonising states. Having said that, newly independent governments throughout Africa were often ill equipped with administering conservation projects post-independence (Garland, 2008). In addition, as in many parts of Africa, the newly independent government of Tanzania was forced to retain many structures and institutions that were already in place during the colonial time. For this reason, the conservation strategy in post-colonial Tanzania was significantly similar to that of the colonial period (Neumann, 1995: 365). Not only were these inherited conservation institutions and policies quite restrictive against local communities, such policies and institutions had similar economic and ideological basis as those proliferated during the colonial period. As previously mentioned, during the colonial period, conservation areas were turned into commercial sites. Similarly, post-independence conservation practices continued focusing on generating profits from these protected areas (Mkumbukwa, 2008). Perhaps this situation had to do with the fact that the newly independent Tanzania was left with an inheritance of a steep debt by the colonial government. In addition, the new government was in dire need to develop a financially strong independent state. One way of strengthening the economy of the state was to shift conservation ideologies from merely protecting natural resources in all its forms, to one that focused on garnering foreign exchange from the country's wildlife (Mkumbukwa, 2008: 594).

The situation during the 1960s and 1970s was dismal in as far as conservation and community development was concerned in the country. Increasing population pressures spilled over the PA's and threatened the conservation of wildlife and other natural resources. The increased poaching of wildlife across the country and increased degradation of the forest was a telling sign that conservation and development efforts were failing the country's ecosystem. It was believed that part of such a failure was due to the increased exclusion of indigenous communities from their communal lands and from their access to natural resources. Such forceful exclusionary practices and restrictions deterred local communities from engaging in any conservation efforts (Nelson,

Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 232). In addition, the broader socialist policies that governed rural transformation and the economic control of Tanzania further expanded the state's control over the country's natural resources. Thus, giving little rights to local communities over the use and management of their natural resources (Hyden, 1980, as cited in Nelson & Agrawal, 2010: 560).

By the 1980s, the environmental and socio-economic problems were escalating. Additionally, the economic recession that hit the world in the 1980s inevitably caused a significant decline in the productivity and profits of the agricultural industry across the globe. Until the late 1970s, the agricultural industry contributed to about 50% of Tanzania's GDP. With the economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the contribution fell to about 40% of the GDP (Mlambiti & Isinika, 1999: 5). Considering the significant decline in one of the country's largest GDP contributor, the Tanzanian government was forced to shift its attention to an alternative source of income (Salum, 2009). Such an alternative source came in the form of the wildlife and forestry sectors. Having said that, the government began reforming the institutions and policies that governed conservation interventions. These anticipated reforms were occurring in conjunction with the broader economic liberalisation processes and decentralisation reforms experienced throughout the world. Consequently, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, Tanzania, alongside other African countries, formally introduced community-based conservation, as a conservation strategy. The 'new' conservation strategy was intended to rectify the ills of centralised wildlife and forest management institutions that were inherited from the colonial era (Nelson, Nshala & Rodgers, 2007: 233; Nelson & Agrawal, 2010: 561). In Tanzania Mainland, such decentralised conservation efforts were made through the introduction of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), while in Zanzibar, this was in the form of Community Forest Management Areas (CoFMAs).

Government policies in both Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar islands have been reformed to decentralise the management and control over natural resources to the local communities concerned. However, in practice, such devolution efforts have been prevented (Nelson & Agrawal, 2010: 562).

Considering that the context of this study focuses on the Zanzibari case, the following section will focus on how community-based conservation continue to operate in Zanzibar since the late 1980s.

3.3. Community-based conservation in Zanzibar

As afore mentioned CBNRM in Tanzania is practised through the creation of WMAs on buffer zones adjacent to National Parks and Game Reserves. In the case of Zanzibar, Sustainable Forest Management[8] through CoFMAs, is the model adopted. The initial arguments in support of the introduction of CBNRM programmes were based on two main ideas. Firstly, through these management programmes, local communities would be able to use the economic benefits from wildlife-flora and fauna, to achieve socio-economic benefits. Secondly, by realising the potential non-extractive benefits that can be garnered from such natural resources, local communities would be incentivised to actively participate in conserving their environment. Menzies (2007) describes the community forest management project in Zanzibar as an "Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP[9]) aiming at conserving Zanzibar's biological diversity…and the surrounding environment while improving the living conditions of people surrounding the protected area*".* ICDPs are established to solve the conflict between conservation efforts and the issue of natural resource use by economically vulnerable communities (Wells & McShane, 2004). An important element of ICDPs that requires mentioning, is that such initiatives are often externally funded by International funding organisations, foreign countries and International conservation organisations (Alpert, 1996). In the context of Zanzibar, the establishment of CoFMAs was also externally funded.

In spite of the fact that Zanzibar does not have the same celebrated array of wildlife as in Tanzania mainland, the pressing deforestation problem that faced the isles during the 1980s led to a considerable amount of foreign aid being channelled into managing forest resources (Levine, 2007). Additionally, international development agencies were said to have intervened in restoring the forest cover that remained across the isles. Organisations such as the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA[10]) and Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) were amongst the first organisations to support the introduction of CBNRM

[8] "Sustainable forest management, as a dynamic and evolving concept, aims to maintain and enhance the economic, social and environmental values of all types of forests, for the benefit of present and future generations" (UN. 2008: 3 as cited in Lozev, 2013). For the sake of this paper, the terms community-forest management will be used interchangeably with community-based conservation.

[9] ICDPs are initiatives that grew prominence in the late 1980s and early 1990s that focus on integrating biodiversity conservation and human development such that each aspect is given equal importance and each aspect promotes the success of the other (Alpert, 1996).

in Zanzibar by providing funds and expertise to stakeholders involved in the process. Furthermore, the Zanzibar's Environmental Management for Sustainable Development Act, 1996 and Forest Management and Conservation Act have opened the door for the delegation of natural resource management authority to institutions and individuals not employed by the government, this included local communities (Levine, 2007). These efforts played a significant role in establishing what is now the Jozani-Chwaka Bay Conservation Area (JCBCA) in Unguja island, Zanzibar. It is important to note that the JCBCA is home to the largest remaining natural forest of Zanzibar islands (known as Jozani Forest) (Salum, 2009).

In the mid-1990s in Unguja island, conservation planners (CARE and Department of Commercial Crops, Fruits and Forestry (DCCFF[11])) proposed the Jozani forest area to be turned into a strictly protected area- a national park. The national park was surrounded by a buffer zone of 8 villages later enlarged to include a 9th village. The 9 villages within this buffer zone were to operate under restricted and self-regulated resource use procedures. The resource use was to be managed by the village conservation committees nominated by the *Sheha* of each village. A Resource User Management Agreement (RUMA) was developed by the conservation planners in order to support and inform community regulations in the use, management and conservation of the forest's natural resources. Such agreements commenced the formal institutionalisation of conserving the isles' forest resources. The management of the forest's resources were then to be regulated according to the individual RUMAs established by each of the nine villages in the buffer zones. These agreements also incorporated the use rules, the roles and responsibilities of community members and rights of each of the nine villages (Saunders, 2011b: 265).

In light of the fact that the creation of national parks and protected areas in general leads to the exclusion of local community members; it is no surprise that conflict between conservation efforts and local communities often ensues. In the case of Zanzibar, an authoritarian government and heavy-handed regulations around resource accessibility and use has created an unfavourable environment for CBNRM approaches, such as the one proposed for the JCBNP (Menzies, 2007: 42). Several projects that had positive intentions of restoring the island's forest cover were met with much disdain from local community members. For instance, the forest plantation programme introduced by FINNIDA in the 1980s did attempt to restore the forest cover in the

[11] Formerly known as the Department of Forestry (DF) (Menzies, 2007).

isles, but this was done at the expense of relocating local community members to achieve such a goal. Consequently, community members engaged in episodes of arson and other resistance efforts against the project (Chachage, 2000 as cited in Levine, 2007).

Moreover, there has been growing evidence suggesting that the rhetoric of community participation in conservation through such co-management programmes have not provided local communities with income nor with the promised social development opportunities (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Noe, 2013; Benjaminsen et al., 2013). Noe (2013) suggests that the economic opportunities that local communities were promised for participating in the management of their natural resources have yet to materialise. For instance, community members have not been given the opportunity to acquire the necessary skills that would allow them to seek employment outside their villages. Such a situation has been exacerbated by the continuous lack of funding to pay salaries and to fund skills development projects. These failed promises have led many village members to engage in illegal and often environmentally detrimental activities to support their livelihoods. Despite such evidence, the GoZ alongside international donor and conservation organisations still insist on such conservation measures (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Benjaminsen et al, 2013).

CBNRM efforts through setting up CoFMAs in Zanzibar are believed to be beneficial in as far as conserving the forests and simultaneously providing alternative livelihood measures to restricted local communities. However, in reality, there are some evidence suggesting that this is not the case. CoFMAs are essentially a conservation strategy that has been built upon colonial policies and institutions (Garland, 2008). Additionally, the establishment and enactment of CoFMAs have been highly influenced by external actors (international NGOs, international funding organisations as well as international conservationists). Furthermore, the state still holds a significant amount of control over the management and decision making regarding conservation efforts in the isles. This in turn creates further animosity between the community members and conservation efforts. This is not to suggest that CBNRM efforts are completely ineffective in Zanzibar. However, it is important to understand the dynamics involved in the practice of CoFMAs in the context of Zanzibar, from those who are directly and mostly affected by its existence- the local community members. Fischer (2000, as cited in Dean 2007: 20) posits that for CBNRM efforts to be successful, they ought to reflect local people's understanding of which natural resource issues are important in their local context. In support of this, Nelson (2007)

posits that the most successful community-based conservation programmes have been ones that were shaped around the local communities' needs. Thus, taking into account local people's social realities is a pre-requisite of a successful conservation intervention.

3.4. Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted several key issues regarding the historical trajectory of conservation in Zanzibar and how it translates into CBNRM efforts presently. During the colonial period, conservation efforts in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) and in Zanzibar were centralised under the colonial administrations. Such conservation efforts displaced community members living in and in close proximity to protected areas. Local people were restricted from accessing natural resources on which their livelihoods depended on. Moreover, local people were not provided with sufficient alternative livelihood sources to survive on.

In the post-independence era, conservation was still under the central authority of the government. Local people continued to be restricted from conservation areas, poverty only increased and ultimately biodiversity continued degrading. With changes in international conservation and development policies, CBNRM efforts were eventually adopted in Zanzibar through setting up of CoFMAs in villages buffering protected areas. Despite the introduction of a theoretically sound conservation strategy, in practice, the conservation efforts are still flawed.

The issues highlighted above are of importance to this study as they are reflected in several of the narratives from community members in Pete village, as will be discussed in the next chapter. These issues include: the historical continuity of centralised conservation efforts from the colonial period, continued displacement of community members from their land and natural resources on which their livelihoods depend on, lack of sufficient alternative livelihood activities that could otherwise support local people's livelihoods and finally impingement on local people's rights in several ways.

CHAPTER 4: Local narratives of Pete's CoFMA

This chapter presents the findings of the study as narrated by the respondents from Pete Village, Zanzibar. The narratives are grouped according to overarching themes that were highlighted during the fieldwork. These include recentralisation of resource management, impingement on people's rights, lack of cooperation amongst key players in the CoFMA, the benefits accrued and the overall weaknesses attributed to the establishment of Pete's CoFMA, presented respectively.

4.1. Recentralising conservation and resource management

As afore mentioned, the rhetoric of CBNRM encourages decentralisation of conservation and natural resource management. However, the narratives below suggest that in the practice of CoFMAs, conservation efforts continue are not decentralised.

4.1.1. Government influence in CoFMAs

The essence of CBNRM initiatives is to decentralise the management and conservation of natural resources to community members. In the case of Zanzibar, the government continues to play a significant role in the control and management of all natural resources. To present evidence of such an issue, it is crucial to note that the *Sheha* of each village, is appointed by the government. The *Sheha* alongside the CoFMA leaders jointly partake in the decision making process regarding conservation in each CoFMA. Although the *Sheha* officially represents a village, s/he is still answerable to the government that appointed her/him. Suggesting that the government is still heavily involved in all matters relating to CBNRM through the Sheha.

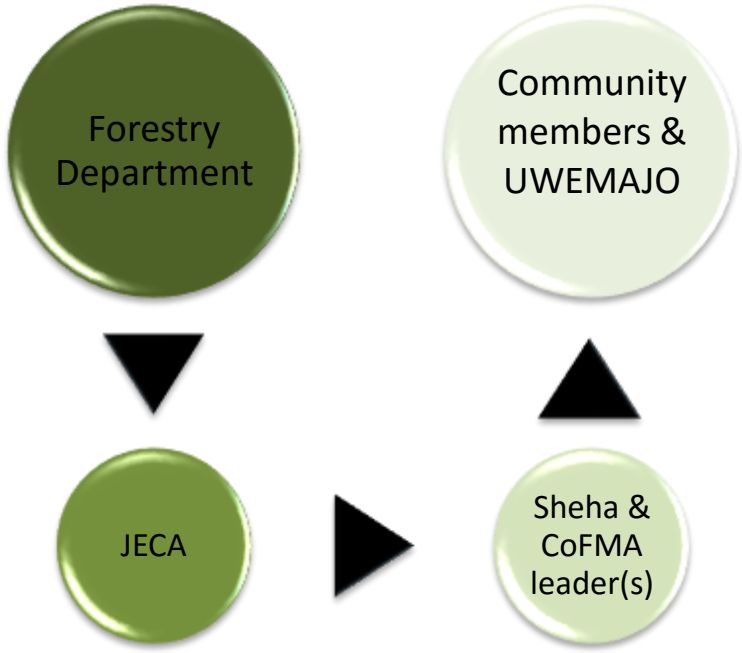
In an interview with one of the officers of conservation in Pete (also regarded as the leader of Pete's CoFMA), the involvement of the government in conservation issues was highlighted when he noted that:

There is a hierarchy of power and is basically set up as follows: community members speak during committee meetings, committee is headed by Sheha who then gives the information to JECA who then gives the information to the Forestry Department and vice versa (see Figure 1) …The Sheha and the CoFMA leaders have been given the authority to oversee the conservation activities of Pete in general and the development in the village (Respondent 1 C)

During the same conversation, the respondent noted that although Jozani Environmental Conservation Association[12] (JECA) is an NGO overseeing conservation matters in the nine villages bordering the conservation area, it still took orders from the Forestry Department. He noted that:

Whatever needs to be done in relation to conservation and community development in each village has to be brought forward to JECA by the Sheha and CoFMA leaders. But JECA is advised and is led by the Forestry department (government agency) (Respondent 1 C)

Figure 4: Hierarchy of stakeholders in Pete's CoFMA, Zanzibar



Another CoFMA leader commented on the same issue by saying that*:*

JECA as it stands is an NGO, and in any NGO, they assist the government by working with communities to conserve the forest. The way conservation is carried out in each CoFMA is

[12] Jozani Environmental Conservation Association (JECA) is a community based, non-governmental organization established in 1998 that works with communities in the nine villages bordering Jozani-Chwaka Bay Conservation Area (Jozani Environmental Conservation Association, n.d)

agreed on by the government and us as the committee of conservation (CoFMA leaders) in this village. There is also a particular report that we need to send to the forestry department every month regarding conservation in Pete. This report is then discussed by the Department officials and if there are any problems it is discussed and a decision is made from it. If there is a threat to conservation, the government steps in to find a resolution to it. JECA is just a NGO, for instance, if there is something big that the government wants to do in the Park, it calls JECA to a meeting and discusses the issue, then JECA provides us the information discussed, then we have to relate the message to the community…yeah just like that (Respondent 2 C)

The above narrative shows that CBNRM in Pete is not fully decentralised due to government's influence on the decision making process of conservation. In other cases, respondents pointed out that government officials seem to have the power to change agreements regarding conservation matters as they please. Even when community members want to retaliate to such interference, they are advised not to do so based on the fact that they are politically and socially powerless. Such instances are portrayed in the following narrative;

… We have complained several times about different cases with government leaders where they interfere with different issues in our village. For examples, as Pete community members, we are allowed to use a portion of this land outside of the park to sustain our livelihoods, but there are some government officials who have taken pieces of our land for their own use. Some (government officials) bought our farms with such little money…things like that, there was a lot of conflict like this happening. We even took it up to higher bodies (court) complaining of this unfairness. We told the court that the government[13] has come and taken over the land that we are allowed to use outside the park, they have bribed people for farms, they buy our farms without following any rules and at times even without the Sheha knowing of such cases. These issues are still on going, because many people don't have papers showing that they own their land, so they are easily deceived. In many cases, it is very important officials who are high up in the government who do such things, so it's impossible to fight with such people (Respondent 2 C)

A middle aged member of Pete's community pointed out that even when some community members are willing to express their concerns on the mismanagement of natural resources, they

[13] Often respondents refer to a government official(s) as 'the government'.

are forced not to voice such issues to avoid implicating those in charge of managing the conservation of natural resources in the JCBNP:

I will give you a story, on the 8th December 2012, it was scheduled for the president to come visit us here, but on the 7th December, 2012, a few officials from the Forestry department came to visit me, you see, they came to ask me "Costa (his nickname), tomorrow the president is coming and we know that you talk too much, tell us what will you tell him", I told them that I will only tell them what is asked of me. They (Forestry department officers) tried to convince me not to complain about what is happening to the president, as it won't look good on their part" (Respondent 1 U)

Recentralisation of conservation efforts in Pete is not necessarily in the form of direct interference by the government or government officials. Recentralisation also occurs when the government fails to involve local people in decision making processes. An elderly community member noted that:

…this scheme (CoFMA) should increase the involvement of society members in decision making. Society members should be active in deciding what is best for their community, especially when decisions involve the community members' development and access to funding (Respondent 3 A)

Other community members commented that the government and some government officials still continue to intervene in agreements that community members have with other stakeholders in the conservation area. Some said that government officials at times changed rules and regulations without consulting with the community members regarding such changes. A member from UWEMAJO said;

Shams Vuai Nahodha, the then Chief Minister came… when he came, he doesn't know that there is an agreement in relation to the boardwalk, UWEMAJO members had complained previously to him that the money they were receiving from the Boardwalk was very little…and we have given up our farms for the monkeys. So he just decided to take 10% from Pete's share to UWEMAJO, he didn't know there was an agreement between us (Pete residents and UWEMAJO) and he just went ahead and broke the agreement without consulting with us. We went as far as taking the case to court. But the government just told us to be patient and understand that that was the Chief Minister we shouldn't take him to court (Respondent 2 C)

When asked if Pete residents felt that the government and government officials could easily impose new agreements regarding conservation efforts on their village land without fear of any repercussions, the interviewee said:

The situation in these communities is heart-breaking in terms of how the government officials have a sense of power and invincibility that gives them the courage to impose new rules and agreements. All the while disregarding what the communities want or may have agreed on previously, the courage to take away land from community members who are already suffering because they have been dispossessed off land in the conservation area, and the overconfidence that the system would not punish them (government officials) because these poor community members are fearful that they would lose if the cases are taken up to court.

The narratives above suggest that although the establishment of CoFMAs should encourage community's involvement in conservation, the case of Pete suggests otherwise. It is apparent that government officials play a significant role in decisions relating to conservation efforts in Pete. Additionally, government officials have considerable amount of influence and authority over the operations of conservation in the village. Pete's CoFMA is yet to become decentralised. In fact, what is occurring is more of a recentralisation of conservation efforts.

4.2. Impinging on people's rights

The impingement on people's rights in the case of Pete's CoFMA is highlighted in a number of ways as presented below.

4.2.1. Dispossession of land and natural resources

When CoFMAs were introduced, community members were promised alternative livelihood means in order to compensate for the land that they gave up for conservation purposes. These alternative livelihood activities were in the form of projects that community members would partake in to make a living. Such projects include butterfly farming projects, seaweed farming, and contract jobs in construction. In spite of this, some community members are unhappy with these projects, stating that these alternative livelihood measures are not sufficient to sustain their livelihoods. In one interview with one of the CoFMA leaders, he noted that:

… you can see that many community members are upset and complain to us, "What have you done, you have closed the forest from us and these projects are not enough to survive on". They

think we worked with the government to take away their land, when really we are just following the government's orders to conserve the forest (Respondent 2 C).

On the same issue, an elderly community member commented that

… I think about 80% of the community say that they do not care about conservation because they were forcefully removed off their land and they don't have any other means to survive on (Respondent 3 A).

Another middle aged community member complained that although community members have been restricted and secluded outside of the National Park, more land is acquired from residents for conservation purposes. The respondent said;

I mean now things are being done without following the right procedures, people from the Forestry Department, see a plot of land and they manipulate the owners to extending the space [for conservation]. But I wonder why, because we have maps that clearly set out the boundaries of the Park and each farm in it. To be honest, people were sufficiently consulted by the conservation people. (Respondent 1 U)

The narratives above suggest that the establishment of the CoFMA has impinged on community members' rights by removing them from their land and restricting their access to their main source of survival- the forest. Additionally, more land continues to be sought after by the government and conservation agencies to expand the conservation area. In some instances, land is being acquired through deceit and manipulation of community members. Consequently, community members continue to be dispossessed.

4.2.2. Impact of dispossession

The impact of dispossessing community members off their land for conservation purposes is a drawback in the idea of conserving the environment. These impacts are not sufficiently explored in CBNRM literature. Thus, it is an important task for researchers in this realm of work to explore these issues directly through the narratives of community members affected by such dispossession. In the following narratives, community members describe how they have been affected by setting up of the JCBNP and the introduction of CoFMAs on their village land. As one youth member said: *The downfall [of JCBNP] is that the land demarcated for conservation puts land use restrictions on village members (Respondent 3 F)*

To other community members, receiving compensation in exchange for one's land is an insufficient reparation. Community members in Pete consider land to be a form of wealth. A form of wealth that monetary compensation is simply insufficient. Although this interviewee has had to give up his land for conserving the forest and the Red Colobus Monkeys, he still believes that the compensation promised by the government is not enough to support his family:

You know this issue of leaving my Shamba[14] for compensation by the government is a troubling issue because people know the importance and the value of owning a farm here [in Pete]. The compensation is not enough. How do you expect me to get a small compensation of TSHS 115,000 [R752] every six months when it is my land that is being used for conservation and ecotourism that benefits the government? So for a farmer to be asked to leave their farms all together in exchange for money, is making the farmer even poorer… Because you know having a farm is having wealth (Respondent 1 U).

In the same interview, the respondent brought to light the fact that monetary compensation is not endless. Therefore, giving up a piece of land for conservation purposes in exchange for money means if funding stops, one cannot go back to the same land to make a living. The interviewee said;

This money we get today, we are receiving it. But if someone comes tomorrow and decide to stop paying us, we are affected even more, because we no longer have our farms because it is now home to the Red Colobus Monkeys. You see we depend on the farm yields, like coconuts and bananas, imagine, just one coconut in town is sold for TSHS 2000 (R13), I have about 150 coconut trees on my farm (that is now used for conservation), and it has been about 4-5 months that I haven't touched one coconut from the trees because of the Red Colobus Monkeys. How much compensation do you think the government gives me to be able to think it is fair? Just think about it! For one coconut tree I can get up to 70 coconuts and I can get over 200 coconuts from that one tree in one year. To be honest, these monkeys affect us greatly, but you know we understand their useful for the country's (Zanzibar) tourism (Respondent 1 U)

Conserving the forests and its resources is a highly important goal to achieve across the world. However, it is also important to weigh the costs of such efforts. If the costs of such efforts come

[14] Shamba (Mashamba-plural) – In Swahili this terms could either mean farm or rural area and is often used interchangeably.

at the expense of making community members poorer, then is it truly worth it? To this end, the interview said;

It is important for the Monkeys to be conserved, but also, the government should pay attention to the actual people being affected by this conservation (local people), rather than ignoring us…This is our situation now, the forests are being conserved, but yet people still lack employment. And this is the only way people can make a living. Really, these CoFMAs are not doing anything, they need to better help their communities, giving them tenders or better work opportunities to be able to survive outside of the forest (Respondent 1 U)

On the same issue, an elderly community member said;

…People should be left free to make a living. Back then you can easily go to the forest to feed your family. But now with these restrictions that come with conservation, I don't know where to go to feed my family. I continue to complain that the government is useless; they have food to feed themselves and their children, while I am left without employment and I am not allowed to cut down trees to make charcoal or sell the timber to make an income. So how will I survive, if I come and steal from your house today to survive I will go to jail. They tell us to farm, but if I start farming today, am I really going to yield bananas tomorrow to eat? It's like taking an animal and putting them in a cage, you are taking away their freedom. Back then when there wasn't ecotourism, I used to freely go into the forest, whether to farm or to get resources to sell to make an income. Today I wake up and I don't know where to go to make an income. If I engage in illegal tree cutting to support my family, I will be caught and charged a fine. Meanwhile these people who catch me have a stable salary every month end. This is the situation now; we don't have freedom anymore (Respondent 1 A).

In an interview with one of the middle aged members of UWEMAJO[15], the respondent agreed that in addition to the alternative livelihood projects, they receive a bi-annual lump sum of money from ecotourism ventures in the JCBNP. This money is then used to fund community projects such as building schools, supplying water and electricity. Even though such tourism funding is used for development purposes, some community members indicated that more funding is needed to support alternative livelihood activities of their choosing. For example,

[15] UWEMAJO- is a community-based organisation made up of a group of farm owners whose farms have formed part of the JCBNP.

community members should be supported to initiate their own subsistence farms. The respondent continued to say that community members in poor and rural villages solely rely on the forests and its natural resources. Suggesting that exclusion from the forest has led to dire livelihood situations for people in Pete:

…you know the life of people in the village, his/her entire life and livelihood is in the forest. When they wake up in the morning they take their machete and go to the forest to make a living. So in order to change that mind set, you must find similar activities for them to rely on (Respondent 3 U)

Other respondents described the impact of being dispossessed land by pointing out that they can no longer maintain and care for their farms that have now become part of the JCBNP. To this end one respondent said;

These people (farm owners) get compensation for a reason, because they can't use their land (that is part of the JCBNP) due to conserving these animals. Their farms have faced almost like a natural death because they have not been used nor maintained by the farmers themselves (Respondent 3 U)

Dispossessing community members from accessing resources that their livelihoods depend on brings rise to illegal forest cutting, as narrated by a middle aged community member

It (dispossession) affects how people conserve the environment, as some still go in the forest to cut down trees to use. They have been removed off their land so they have to rely on illegal access to the forest's resources and this in turn affects conservation (Respondent 4 A)

The above narratives indicate that as a result of being dispossessed off their lands and the forest from which local residents have relied on for survival for generations, community members are faced with several difficulties.

4.2.3. Disregard to people's rights

The common consensus amongst many community members in Pete is that the introduction of CoFMAs as a strategy to conserve the forest and its natural resources has led to a disregard towards community members' rights. The following narratives portray such sentiments by some respondents.

4.2.3.1. Conservation over people's rights

The outlook from many community members is that conservation is indeed necessary. The fact that the forest has been fenced off and access has been restricted to community members is detrimental but perhaps necessary to protect the forest from overuse. The unfortunate consequence of conservation to Pete's residents is that conservation is given a higher priority than community members' rights. The following narratives suggest such an outlook from several community members:

Today, conservation has become stricter on us (Pete residents), wildlife has been given more priority than the human life. The Red Colobus Monkeys have a higher value than us humans; it is very sad (Respondent 3 F)

This matter is very upsetting, I mean looking at the nursery school here (see image 1), there aren't any speed bumps, but if you compare it to the forest, as soon as you drive to the forest area there are so many signs and bumps forcing people to slow their cars down to protect the Monkeys (see image 2). But for us here, there is no such thing and that makes us feel that the government has given priority to the Monkeys more than the community members and the children going to these schools close to the road. (Respondent 3 A)

The narratives above indicate that local residents in Pete feel that the conservation efforts have been given precedence over human lives. From these narratives the resentment towards conservation and the Colobus monkey by Pete residents is apparent.

4.2.3.2. Conservation for development

The general outlook from respondents was that if community members did not conserve the forest and its natural resources, then the government would neglect its responsibility to provide basic services. Pete residents would not have access to good infrastructure, schools, electricity and water supply. Many felt that before CoFMAs were introduced, rural villages were neglected by their government in as far as basic services were concerned. Such a position on CBNRM in Pete tells a story that, community participation is not based on voluntary involvement by community members. Without local people's cooperation with conservation plans, then development would not be delivered to them.

In one interview with an elderly resident, I was informed that residents of Pete felt that if the Red Colobus Monkeys were not in Jozani Forest, their village would be forgotten. The respondent went on to say that;

Because of our involvement in CoFMAs, we are getting basic services from the government now (*Respondent 1 A*).

A couple of other respondents shared the same sentiment as narrated above, saying that;

I don't know how it would be now… I mean if these animals were not in the forest, the government would have even recognised our existence in the village (Respondent 3 A)

Another youth member stated that*: Of course conservation of wildlife has been given priority. Because without conservation, development would not reach local people here (Respondent 4 A)*

A middle aged female resident pointed out that*: We know that without the forest, we do not have development in our community, so I stay away from the forest [to make sure that the government continues to provide us with basic services] (Respondent 2 A)*

The responses above indicate that some of the residents in Pete who engage in conservation efforts do so in exchange for developmental goals. These goals are largely in the form of basic services such as healthcare facilities, education, water and electricity supply.

The narratives in this section suggest that conservation efforts in Pete village has brought about several consequences to the rights of local people. Community members are dispossessed off their rightful land, they are secluded from accessing natural resources on which their livelihoods depend on, and they feel that without their involvement in conservation efforts, the government would not supply them with basic services.

Figure 5: Panoramic view of Pete nursery school

Photo credit Dina Dabo, 2016.

Figure 6: Traffic sign at Jozani Forest, Zanzibar

Source: Jozani Park & Mangrove Forest. n.d.

4.3. Lack of cooperation amongst stakeholders

Co-management projects, especially those that involve natural resource management often comprise of multiple stakeholders. Multiple stakeholders typically have varying opinions and ideas regarding how to manage these natural resources. In the case of the JCBNP in Zanzibar, the different stakeholders involved include the GoZ and its various representatives (e.g. Forestry Department), CoFMA representatives, NGOs involved in conserving the forest (such as JECA), UWEMAJO and the community members living in the buffer zones.

Lack of cooperation amongst stakeholders in Pete's CoFMA often times hinders the success of alternative livelihood activities that some community members engage in. A member of UWEMAJO pointed out that lack of cooperation from the National Park officials, affects the group's alternative livelihood project:

…the other day, the Minister [Minister of Agriculture, Natural Resources, Livestock and Fisheries] said that the Jozani park receives about 3000 visitors in low season and during high season they can get up to 6000 visitors. But here in our park (UWEMAJO introduced a project that conserves local fish breeds, tortoise, snakes and turtles, located in close proximity to the National Park), even during high season we get about 150 guests on average. We have asked them several times to include our park as a visiting site for visitors who visit the National Park. But they continue ignoring our requests. We even suggested that they should extend their tour by another 30 minutes so that visitors can also make a stop here, but they refuse. You see, we don't have cooperation with those who run the National Park, they don't support us to make extra money from this park and we are the people who actually own the farms that the National Park is set up on (Respondent 1 U).

Figure 7: Community initiative by UWEMAJO

Photo credit Dina Dabo, 2016.

Lack of cooperation in the case of Pete was also evident amongst community members and their village representatives due to rumours and accusations that spread in the village. To this end, an elderly member of UWEMAJO group said;

…there is a person I know at Pete, who worked as a community representative (CoFMA leader). He was extremely competent, in experience and education especially when it came to this matter of conservation and community development. He was able to represent the community members during meetings held for decision making. But the community members themselves went against him because they felt just because he had been their representative for so long, then he must have made personal benefits [financially] from the conservation project and from the government tenders. I think after 10 years, they decided to remove him. So they forced him to step down and he left. His successor was not as good, he couldn't represent the community and

in fact I know that he stole from the funds given to the community, he only worked for his own benefits (Respondent 2 U).

Lack of cooperation in Pete's *Shehia*[16] also arises out of the fact that some stakeholders hold ill feelings towards others who have secured opportunities that sustains or has the potential of sustaining their livelihoods. In the same interview, the respondent informed me of such an instance occurring;

It is unfortunate that sometimes as Zanzibaris we tend to sabotage each other's opportunities. For example, a few years ago I found out my family owned a farm in Jozani forest, luckily, the farm was just outside the National park border so I decided to use this opportunity to open a restaurant that would attract the tourist coming into the park. After I began this project, the rangers and other park officials began to threaten me to close down the restaurant. They claimed that I was within the border of the park and I was operating unlawfully. After a long battle with them, I found out that they had built houses for their employees on my family's farm and they opened a restaurant similar to my idea which caused my business to fail (Respondent 2 U).

Other respondents pointed out that the lack of information sharing amongst stakeholders affects the progress of conservation of the forest. One of the JECA representatives pointed out that;

…the first issue is about information sharing between JECA and the CoFMAs. Only when I call for a meeting that is when I hear about other problems in the CoFMAs. They (CoFMA representatives) fail to tell me as soon as an issue occurs, so for example, during a meeting, someone from a CoFMA comes to tell me, "Ahh you know last month, we found out that some people had already cut down trees, but we didn't think it was necessary to tell you when it happened because these people had already left". There is other information that the government wants to directly send to a specific CoFMA, it [Forestry Department] sends it directly to them without sharing with us. This is also problematic, because sometimes the Forestry Department approaches the specific CoFMA several times, and yet we don't know anything on what has been shared, only when there is a problem is when the CoFMA leaders tell us, "Yeah, the Forestry Department representative came to us a while back and gave us this information". We have told many of them [the CoFMAs] that giving reports to us shouldn't be

[16] Shehia refers to a village headed by a Sheha

problematic, it is about information sharing. But when you don't do that, that is when problems arise and then it is too late to solve the problem (Respondent 1 J).

The respondent went on to note that; *In some cases, we can help them achieve their goals, but they don't provide us with enough information. Like Pete's CoFMA sometimes they start a project but they can't finish or sometimes they start and fail, mainly because they don't consult with us to help them through the project. If they were more cooperative they would have managed to achieve so many of their goals a long time ago. But till today, they fail to share with us what they want to do (Respondent 1 J).*

Respondents also pointed out that there is a lack of information sharing with regards to funding collected from the eco-tourism ventures in the JCBNP. As some said;

Akh, you know they say 'where there is money, there is trouble', at these meetings that deal with the funds collected and distributed, we are not invited. So to us, they are not transparent, but money always brings issues like this. But I think we should change the way money is being handled and how information about money is being shared to be more transparent to all those involved (Respondent 1 U)

On the same issue, another respondent pointed out that;

In terms of the money that is generated through eco-tourism in Jozani [forest], I don't really get enough information of how much we make every 6 months. Especially the exact breakdown of everything that has been used with the money. For example, when I am told that the money we received in the last term was used to buy water pipes, I am not told how much was spent on the transport of the pipes, the manual labour and the other expenses that come along with it. I am just told there are pipes bought and that is all. Maybe someone in the committee [conservation committee] has used a portion of the money for themselves, but without this breakdown of money used, we would never know (Respondent 1 A).

Another respondent pointed out that misuse of money by the CoFMA representatives was hindering the progress of development in Pete, he went on to say that;

I know a lot of the bad things they are doing (suggesting misuse of funding by COFMA), but I am not saying anything, because I don't want to ruin anyone's life. I say this because the report that they bring to me about what they did in the village and what actually was done with the money

doesn't add up. So obviously there has been foul play there. People assume that this job has a lot of money and they can get money by working here, when they come into power, they end up stealing, how do you expect development to be achieved like this? (Respondent 1 J)

The narratives above suggest that the lack of cooperation and lack of information sharing amongst stakeholders in Pete plays a significant role in hindering the progress of different projects, development opportunities and conservation efforts. Furthermore, information regarding eco-tourism funds are not sufficiently shared amongst stakeholders. This results in animosity amongst stakeholders and between community members and conservation efforts in general.

4.4. Weaknesses of CoFMAs

CBNRM interventions have been heralded with several flaws especially with how they are implemented on the ground. The case study in Pete points out that flaws in CBNRM interventions are also prevalent through the establishment of the CoFMA. Respondents from the case study commented that since the establishment of the CBNRM strategy on their village land, they have been faced with several problems. The following narratives provide such evidence;

In spite of the fact that CoFMAs have been applauded by some for their ability to introduce alternative livelihood measures (e.g. butterfly farming and seaweed farming) away from the extractive activities in the forest, some have argued that in fact these livelihood measures are not as successful at curbing the destructive behaviours in the forest as some believe they do. The narratives below show such a failure:

A project like this [butterfly farming] takes a long time to generate income for you. You can only safely participate in this if you have savings for your family at home. Because it could take up to a month then after that you can send the larvae to the centre for compensation (Respondent 3 A)

One respondent complained that even though the potential of alternative livelihood opportunities and better employment and better living situations has been promised by the introduction of CoFMAs; sadly, the reality is far from this ideal. Many community members are still suffering to make a living outside of the forest that is being conserved;

This is our situation now, the forests are being conserved, but yet people still go in and illegally cut down trees and destroy the forests because they lack employment. And this is the only way

people can make their living. So truly, these CoFMAs are not doing anything, they need to help their communities, giving them tenders or better work opportunities to be able to survive outside of the forest (Respondent 1 U)

Indeed, funding from eco-tourism has been used to achieve goals such as building schools, water and electricity supply, as well as building mosques and funding different small projects. However, some argue that the presence of tourists in the area has added onto the degradation of the environment as accounted by one of the respondents:

…for example, when you look at the borders of the National Park, the Park visitors tend to litter their drinking bottles everywhere, the litter caused by tourism is adding to the destruction of our forest (Respondent 3 A)

Other respondents commented that even though community members know that the environment needs to be conserved and there are restrictions placed on accessing the forest and its natural resources, some community members continue to cause damage to the environment. The following narratives exemplify such events:

…there are other people who break the rules and illegally access the national park from which they cut down trees to make charcoal with. There are many examples of such issues… they [community members] need to make charcoal to either use in their households or to sustain their livelihoods by selling the charcoal…you know how we humans are…we try to find different ways to sustain our lives. Some still go and they get caught and are fined highly (Respondent 2 C).

Commenting on the status of the forest cover, one respondent said:

We do not have a forest now anymore; you can see that the plots of land are empty..., people just don't care. They say "at least you are getting a salary from these projects and small work opportunities provided by the government, what am I getting out of this?", so then they cut the trees in the forest to make a living (Respondent 2 A)

When asked to compare the situation before the setting up of CoFMAs and the situation of the forest now, the respondent said that:

It is very different [The situation in the forest]; it is actually getting worse. People are engaging in illegal activities in the forest to sustain their livelihoods. A project like this [butterfly farming] takes a long time to generate income (Respondent 2 A).

Another respondent, commenting on his perception of how the future of the forest would look like commented that:

Back then, I used to be able to hunt for deer in the forest, because it [the forest] was in such good shape. Now you can't hunt the same way, we have degraded our environment and forest. Now you can't see deer anymore. In about 5 years, our children we will only be telling stories that we once had deer in our forest. That is the case for now (Respondent 1 U)

As mentioned previously, community members in villages buffering the conservation area receive a certain percentage of the eco-tourism funds every six months. The funds are a form of compensation for forgoing their land for conservation purposes. However, many have complained that such compensation is insufficient. Some have even gone as far as saying that if they had a choice they would rather forgo the monetary compensation to be able to continue accessing the forest. The following narratives portray such disgruntled stories from community members:

Yes, communities get some money, but this money is not enough. 2 million TSHS (R13,072) is not enough to share amongst 3000 people (population of Pete village). On top of that, we are expected to use this same 2 million TSHS fund 2-3 groups of alternative livelihood activities [sea weed farming, butterfly farmers etc.]. After you use part of the money to fund these projects, we are not left with a lot of money. Imagine, each project costs about TSHS 500,000 (R3,268) to run. Then what's leftover should be used to fund other development projects like building a mosque, or funding entertainment projects. The money is simply not enough to support all the things the community needs (Respondent 2 C)

Another respondent commented that;

…you know these farms (that were absorbed in the National Park) are not just owned by individuals, they are owned by families so whatever you receive is never enough. And you know how our African families are, we have big families, you need to get a lot of money to be able to help…this time around [June, 2016] was the highest amount received. Because I know that each family unit left with about TSHS 500,000 (R3,268). This amount is peanuts for people to survive on. If you distribute this money per month, you can see how little it is (Respondent 2 U)

Conversations with community members in Pete's CoFMA suggested that conservation efforts were held back due to insufficient training and knowledge regarding such a conservation strategy. Respondents indicated that both community members and their representatives (Sheha and CoFMA leaders) often times failed to achieve conservation and development goals because they were not well equipped with the necessary tools to do so. The following narratives point out to such a problem;

We have reached to this stage where community members do not have the right tools to understand what is expected of them in terms of conserving the environment…There is obviously this issue, and there is also the other issue of having community leaders who are there to direct the community members. But do they have enough skills to adequately lead the 3000+ community members in Pete? Are they equipped with the expertise to engage in meetings held concerning this whole issue of conservation and development? Or are they just there as statues? They can't even follow the issues being discussed because they are not equipped with the necessary skills to do so and to represent their community. These leaders are meant to engage in these meetings that deal with decision making that would impact the entire community, but considering their skill levels, they are unable to do anything because of the lack of enough training (Respondent 2 U)

As the narratives above indicate, the establishment of CoFMAs as a strategy of conservation is fraught with several weaknesses. Respondents have pointed out that since the introduction of CoFMAs, they have been restricted from the forest and the natural resources within it. Additionally, the alternative livelihood activities that were proposed are evidently insufficient to absorb all community members. This situation forces local people to trespass into the forest in order to survive. Respondents also narrated that although tourism benefits the country's economy in general, they also contribute to the degradation of the environment. Finally, interviews with Pete residents indicated that they lacked efficient representation. Poor representation affects how their interests are voiced and negotiated with other stakeholders involved in conservation matters.

4.5. Benefits of CBNRM in Pete

It is important to highlight both negative and positive effects of introducing the CBNRM initiatives. In the context of Pete's CoFMA, responses from various stakeholders show that there

are some benefits attributed to the introduction of CoFMAs as a conservation strategy. The narratives below highlight some of these benefits.

4.5.1. Non-extractive alternative activities

The establishment of Pete's CoFMA has been applauded by some community members for introducing alternative livelihood activities that do not rely on extracting natural resources from the JCBCA (the forest and the mangroves). In the narratives below, respondents have suggested that the introduction of CoFMAs in the buffer zones of the JCBCA has assisted in redirecting community members' livelihood activities away from extractive activities in the forest.

One of the many alternative livelihood projects introduced to Pete's community members is seaweed farming. This project is predominantly undertaken by women in the community. One of the seaweed farmers commented that:

…from my point of view, I can see that now we get money to support our children with schooling and even with health issues. You see now I am making cassava chips to further support myself and my family [from money received from seaweed farming], so as to leave the forests alone (Respondent 2 A)

Another respondent narrated that the money received bi-annually by UWEMAJO can be used to initiate further projects that would garner more revenue for all its members. This in turn suggests that the presence of the Pete CoFMA allows community members to engage in non-extractive livelihood activities. He went on to say:

The big thing is that we can create smaller projects (from eco-tourism funds received). For example, we can develop smaller projects that would attract more tourists to the area and the government supports our decision to develop such projects (Respondent 2 U)

In an interview with the Secretary General of UWEMAJO, he said that before the introduction of CoFMAs, the international conservation NGO (CARE International) along with the Forestry Department were in dire need to change the attitudes of local community members who relied heavily on the forest and its natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. Such extractive activities were degrading the forest cover at the same time disrupting the Red Colobus Monkeys natural habitat. For this reason, they initiated a project that would support the local communities' livelihoods away from the forest. He proceeded to say that:

In 1997, they [CARE International and the government] constructed the Mangrove Boardwalk; the idea was initiated by CARE International. The boardwalk was one of the avenues for the farm owners to get alternative income and alternative activities away from their farms. And also, it was meant to provide the community members with another way of sustaining their lives and at the same time to be able to respect, to protect and conserve this animal [Colobus Monkey] (Respondent 3 U)

[Without the introduction of CoFMAs] *there would not have been employment for the community members, people would have destroyed the forest even more than now (Respondent 2 A)*

A youth member said that*: For me, I got employment, and for the rest of the community there are so many other developmental benefits that we receive (Respondent 4 A).*

Other respondents felt that since these CoFMAs began, they have been able to engage in alternative livelihood activities that are less strenuous in comparison to how it was during centralised conservation. As depicted by one of the butterfly farmers in Pete:

Personally, now I have an opportunity to generate income through a less strenuous task such as farming butterflies. But back then I had to engage in cutting down trees and selling to make a living (Respondent 3 A)

4.5.2. Community development

One of the main goals of CBNRM initiatives is to ensure that community development is achieved for community members in villages bordering conservation areas. Such development would further encourage community members to actively engage in conservation efforts. According to some of the respondents from Pete's CoFMA, since the introduction of these CoFMAs, several development-related benefits have been achieved.

A middle aged female respondent said that:

I believe that the CoFMA scheme fully supports community members and their development. This scheme allowed us to dig water wells for community members, build schools for children and so on. The scheme even helped us build a mosque and supply electricity to all households in the village (Respondent 1 F).

The benefits that I think it has is developmental benefits like schools, water, electricity supply all from the eco-tourism that comes from it (Respondent 2 C).

When asked to compare the development situation when conservation was centralised and when CoFMAs were initiated, several respondents had a few things to add to that by saying:

Okay, I think development is made possible through CoFMAs. So considering that we are a very young nation, and our population is growing faster and our needs have increased; these Monkeys being here have helped our development. Electricity, schools, water supply…you see, it is all from the money collected from this conservation of the Red Colobus Monkeys. So now, at least we are getting something (Respondent 1 A)

…that is why I told you that some villages benefitted greatly from this [CoFMAs], especially Pete. Because Pete as it is, was never like this before. There weren't any schools, there was no water, there was no electricity, not even a mosque…With this boardwalk being here, we managed to build the school and other facilities in the village (Respondent 1 J)

Another respondent said;

…development has been improved, thanks to the money that we receive from the CoFMAs. I think that development would not be possible without these CoFMAs (Respondent 4 A)

4.5.3. Eco-tourism benefits

As a way to generate income from alternative measures, the GoZ has actively encouraged community members to take advantage of the various benefits from tourism. According to some residents in Pete, tourism has brought several benefits including employment opportunities, funding for development goals and funding for conservation operational costs. Community members are aware that without tourism, funding from the National park would dwindle, as narrated below:

Many visitors come to visit the forest and they bring with them money, so if they come and find there is no forest, we lose out on this tourism opportunity. So as a community member, you can't go and destroy the forest that will make you money. I am part of the group that farms for seaweed and engage in other activities like growing cassava to consume and sell. These projects were made possible because of the tourists that visit the National Park (Respondent 2 A).

In response to how the NGO supports its operational costs, a JECA officer attributed some of the operational cost revenues to tourism. He went on to say that:

…we have a boutique shop here that we make money from (the boutique shop caters for tourists and other visitors to the park). Mainly, it is through tourism in the National Park here, and we get 20% from the tourism funding from the Mangrove boardwalk (Respondent 1 J).

The establishment of the CoFMAs in Pete has been applauded by some community members for its benefits along the years. Some have pointed out that engaging in the conservation strategy allowed their community to receive development objectives through basic services, while at the same time conserving the forest and its natural resources. Others pointed that although they have been restricted from the forest, eco-tourism gives them a chance to make a living.

4.6. Chapter summary

This chapter has presented narratives from community members in Pete regarding several issues. Firstly, the narratives suggest that CBNRM efforts through the establishment of Pete's CoFMA is facing a process of recentralisation of conservation back to the government. Secondly, the stories from community members indicate that the establishment of the CoFMA has resulted in the impingement of local people's rights. Thirdly, it is apparent that the lack of cooperation amongst the key players of conservation is affecting the success of the CoFMA's operations. Fourthly, the presence of the CoFMA in Pete has resulted in several weaknesses, including restrictions from accessing a source of living, lack of sufficient representation for community members and misuse of eco-tourism funds. Finally, the narratives indicated that despite all the problems with the CoFMA, local residents receive some development opportunities from this conservation strategy.

The following chapter discusses each of these themes presented above. The chapter does so by relating the themes to the broader issues around CBNRM efforts.

CHAPTER 5: Unpacking community members' narratives

This chapter discusses the narratives presented by community members in Pete in relation to overarching literature on CBNRM interventions. Guided by the themes explored in chapter four, this chapter unpacks each theme by discussing the main insights that the narratives brought to the fore. The themes are analysed and presented based on concepts and issues of political ecology. These include factors such as the socio-political relations, socio-economic conflicts and historical factors that have played a role in conservation efforts of Pete's CoFMA. Additionally, the analysis shows the cross-scale interactions and the issues of scales across time that are evident in the conservation efforts.

5.1. Recentralising conservation and resource management

This section discusses the issue of recentralisation of conservation and resource management in the context of Pete's CoFMA.

5.1.1. Government influence in CoFMAs

CBNRM interventions are expected to devolve control and management of natural resources to local community members (Agrawal & Ribot, 1999). Ideally, such a process would empower community members to take control of the natural resources that they have a vested interest in their sustainable use (Tsing, Brosius & Zerner, 1999; Rabe & Saunders, 2011: 153).

In the context of Pete's CoFMA, the narratives presented by several respondents indicate that decentralisation of control and management of the forest and its natural resources are theoretically present. However, in practice such devolution of control and management is lacking. As Ribbot, Agrawal and Larson (2006) point out that, CBNRM initiatives in paper show that authority over natural resource management is decentralised; however in reality, such transfer of power is yet to materialise. More importantly, and what this thesis aimed to show is that, in practice, the government still has significant control over the operations of these CoFMAs. Such a situation has disheartened the community members in actively engaging in conservation efforts on their village land. It is not to say that community members are unable to resist such involvement from government, what was apparent from the narratives is that community members are fearful of the potential repercussions of their active resistance.

Ribbot, Agrawal and Larson (2006:47) note that in some instances grassroots groups, NGOs and community representatives are in fact under the direction and control of government and

international conservation agencies. This is similar to what occurs in the context of Pete's CoFMA. From the respondents' narratives, it is apparent that the NGOs (JECA) the village conservation committee (specifically leaders of the Pete CoFMA) and the village leader (*Sheha*) are all directed by the government through its Forestry Department. Directives are provided from the Forestry Department to the JECA officials, who then give directives to the *Sheha* and the CoFMA leaders to implement. As pointed out earlier, the *Sheha* is appointed by the government, making her/him a government employee. In other words, the *Sheha*'s decisions are controlled by the government.

5.1.2. Exclusion of local people in decision making

The disregard of community members' knowledge about conservation activities and the decision making processes involved in conserving the forest and its natural resources in Pete is at times rather deliberate. Community members are often excluded from the decision making process of conservation in their village.

As can be gleaned from respondents' narratives, community members at times felt isolated from conservation activities. Some even commented that they (community members) felt that the government disregarded their knowledge on conserving and sustainably using the forest and its resources. In theory, community members are encouraged to participate in the entire process involved in conserving the forest. However, in practice such participation is constrained by pre-determined rules and guidelines invoked by the government. As Chhotray (2004) points out that the end result of conservation activities under CBNRM initiatives are often pre-established by government actors and community members are urged to participate, merely to gain their consensus to conserve.

In order for conservation efforts to become decentralised, it requires several factors to be met. Firstly, it requires an accountable government that does not deliberately interfere with community-based management of the forest and its resources. Secondly, it requires a community that is allowed to fully engage in all process involved in decision made regarding conservation activities on their village land. Thirdly, it requires the community to be fully informed on all matters relating to conservation of the forest and its resources (Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary & Maganga, 2013: 3). Unfortunately, in this case study, such decentralisation factors are lacking as pointed out by respondents.

From the narratives provided by community members in Pete, the study has revealed that CBNRM efforts in theory are decentralised. However, in practice, the government continues to control and manage several aspects of the forest's conservation. Such centralised practice of conservation in Pete points to a process of recentralisation of conservation efforts.

5.2. Impinging on people's rights

The process of setting up the JCBNP led to the dispossession of community members off their land to make space for the Park's boundaries. As can be gleaned from the narratives, some community members have had to leave their family farms to conserve the Red Colobus Monkeys. Consequently, the displaced community members have been crammed into small patches of land outside the forest's boundaries. Conservationists, international and national leaders have used the argument that CBNRM strategies promote a common good for all (community members get development and the natural resources are simultaneously conserved). However, the common good argument is used to justify dispossessing community members, which in itself is a violation of people's rights to an adequate living situation (Kelly, 2011: 696, as cited in La Rocco, 2016).

The narratives provided by the respondents suggest that not only were community members in Pete dispossessed off their lands; but they have also been dispossessed from the natural resources that their livelihoods depended on for generations. Salum (2009: 3) posits that when the National Park was set up, several pieces of land were appropriated by the government so as to acquire the 5000-hectare land space necessary to establish it. This appropriated land was empty, community members were living on it and relying on it for their livelihood. Subsequently, the previous residents of this land have been left destitute and left to seek out alternative means to support their livelihoods. In Support of the narratives presented that the JCBNP has forcefully removed community members off their land, Brockington and Igoe (2006) argue that protected areas such as these National Parks, play a crucial role of evicting indigenous people from their land.

The creation of the National Park also led to the erection of physical (fences, security guards, park rangers etc.) and imposition of invisible borders (through rules and regulations restricting access to the park). These borders further restricted community members living alongside the Park. These borders create a sense of insecurity amongst community members and a sense the control over the forest and its natural resources is under the government's power. Even at desperate times when the only source of survival is in the forest, crossing these borders means

that community members are at risk of being arrested and punished for trespassing a land that once belonged to them. The creation of boundaries 'orders and others' those involved (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002). In this context, the Park's boundary 'orders' community members to not cross its borders and 'others' by ostracising them from accessing the natural resources that their livelihoods depend on. Thus, controlling their movement in and out of the forest. Such exclusionary practices resonate to the conservation processes that took place during the colonial period. As Colchester (2004) and Garland (2008) argue that, the current conservation efforts (CBNRM initiatives) continue to imbue colonial ways of conservation by actively restricting community members from accessing their land and the natural resources they have relied on for generations.

Dispossession from land and restrictive access to natural resources introduces further impacts than the mere physical dislocation of community members. Studies have suggested that contextual social impacts of protected areas such as the JCBNP are lacking (Brockington, Duffy & Igoe, 2008). This study aimed to highlight some of these social impacts in the context of Pete from community members' personal narrations. These impacts include the struggle to make a living, loss of ancestral land, insufficient compensation and the resultant impoverished life for community members.

From the narratives, community members generally felt that they have been robbed off their main source of livelihood. As a result, they have had to scour for alternative means to make a living for themselves and their families. Prior to the establishment of the national park, local community members still had certain rights to access and use the resources from the forest. Presently, such rights are heavily restricted (Salum, 2009). Furthermore, the land space left for the community members to use for various activities (farming, charcoal production, butterfly farming) is either too small to practice meaningful farming, too insufficient for all 3000 community members or is being taken by greedy government officials who are more powerful than community members in Pete.

Other community members have argued that even if they are compensated for giving up their farms for conservation purposes (e.g. as narrated by members of UWEMAJO), such compensation is not sufficient enough to outweigh the value of these farms to them. Land (in the form of farmland), is considered a form of wealth, which monetary compensation cannot

substitute. In particular, most of the farm owners were under the impression that monetary compensation was an unreliable source of income. Whereas from their farms, they are able to continue producing food to sustain their livelihoods and even sell excess produce to generate income. The same group of respondents pointed out that by forfeiting their farms for conservation purposes, another form of environmental damage occurs. Considering that these farms are supposed to be left undisturbed in order to conserve the Red Colobus Monkeys, they are not care for. Consequently, the land slowly degrades over time due to a lack of care. Such a situation could have been avoided had farm owners been given access to care for their land.

Other respondents indicated that conservation efforts through setting up of CoFMAs impinged on community members' rights in several other ways. One particular way was the imposition of new rules and regulations by various government officials (whether involved or not directly involved in the Forestry Department) without sufficient consultation with local community members. When these situations occurred, community members were urged not to retaliate due to a lack of power and influence on the part of the community members. What this indicates is that, in addition to being dispossessed off their land and restricted from accessing natural resources that they depend on, community members are further restricted for fighting for their rights. One of the main failures of CBNRM initiatives as pointed out by Murombedzi (2004), is that it often oversees the potential of the elite in a society to capture benefits for themselves, as they are more powerful than the average community member.

From the narratives gathered in this study, it has become apparent that many of the respondents were under the impression that if they do not actively engage in conservation activities, or at least show compliance to the conservation ideology, then their village would be left without development. Some have gone as far as stating that without engaging in CBNRM initiatives, the government would forget that Pete exists, in as far as development in concerned. In this case, although the majority of the respondents supported the existence of the CoFMAs on their village land, they did so out of fear of losing out on the prospects of receiving further social development goals. As Twyman (2000: 330) posits that, the participatory approaches used in CBNRM initiatives (such as CoFMAs in Zanzibar) create a situation whereby community members are reluctant to contest the government's decisions of introducing such conservation initiatives. Such reluctance is out of fear of losing the benefits that are promised to accompany such conservation initiatives.

The narratives provided by Pete community members suggest that they are aware of the importance of conserving the environment and the natural resources. However, most of them felt that the government and the conservation agencies were more concerned about saving the forest and the Red Colobus Monkey than protecting the interests of the community members. Whether these interests are regarding the safety of school going children, or about sufficient alternative livelihood opportunities that would support those who have been restricted from the forest, or the further dislocation of village members by land thieving officials. The common consensus amongst community members is that they have now become second class citizens after the forest and the colobus monkeys in the Park.

5.3. Lack of cooperation amongst stakeholders

CBNRM projects often involve several stakeholders with varying interests and goals. As afore mentioned, in the context of the Pete's CoFMA, stakeholders include the GoZ (through its various representatives), CoFMA leaders, JECA, UWEMAJO, the Sheha and the overall community members. CBNRM scholarship often assumes that cooperation and consensus amongst stakeholders involved in co-managing natural resources naturally exists (Saunders, 2011a: 59). Cooperation here relates to the idea that all key players abide by the same rules and have the same interests and goals in relation to natural resource management (Johnson, 1997) However, in practice, cooperation of such a nature is difficult to achieve amongst different stakeholders. This ultimately affects the success of conservation efforts. The narratives from Pete's CoFMA pointed out that lack of cooperation amongst the stakeholders is prevalent and threatens the progress of conservation efforts.

Varying interests and goals amongst stakeholders in Pete have negatively affected cooperation and the achievement of the conservation goals. Saunders (2011a: 13), argues that cooperation in the management of natural resources is often hindered due to stakeholders' varying positions, personal interests and power relations. As evident in Pete's case, lack of cooperation has hindered the progress of conservation efforts. Respondents pointed out that the lack of information sharing amongst key players often times causes conflict in the success of conservation efforts in their CoFMA. Some argued that they felt that other stakeholders were withholding information out of worry that the other person might take advantage of potential opportunities (better jobs or financial benefits). Such sentiments tend to translate into

resentfulness and eventually this would interfere in the way stakeholders co-manage the natural resources in the forest.

Grimble and Wellad (1996) argue that projects such as natural resource management, often fail due to non-cooperation and opposition of interests and goals amongst key players. The authors continue to argue that in many cases CBNRM projects are perceived to be successful. However, such success is only made possible by impinging on less powerful stakeholders, mainly local people. As some of the narratives from Pete pointed out, community members are suffering due to the misinformation and mishandling of eco-tourism revenues. This ultimately has impacted the development of the community at large.

Varying interests, goals and perceptions of how conservation should be undertaken leads to dysfunctional relations amongst stakeholders. Dysfunctional relations and the inability to reach amicable solutions regarding these differences, greatly impacts the overall conservation and development goals (Castro & Nielsen, 2001; Adams et al., 2003). The narratives gathered from community members in Pete suggest that the success of the CoFMA is greatly hindered due to the varying interests and goals of stakeholders involved. Additionally, local people (being the less powerful stakeholders) are often overpowered in such situations.

5.4. Weaknesses of CoFMAs

Narratives from community members in Pete revealed that in practice, CoFMAs have several weaknesses. These weaknesses are discussed below.

The introduction of CoFMAs has been backed up by the idea that community members will be incentivised to conserve their environment and the natural resources in them if they are provided with alternative livelihood measures. Specifically, for community members who rely on the environment to sustain their livelihoods. In the case of Pete and other villages buffering the JCBCA, the main source of alternative livelihood activities is in the tourism industry. However, findings suggest that the tourism industry has failed to supply sufficient livelihood activities. Subsequently, many community members find themselves landless and restricted from accessing the natural resources in the forest that used to sustain their livelihoods. Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000) have argued that tourism has been incorporated into CBNRM initiatives as a go-to source of alternative livelihood sources. Yet, it does not adequately absorb all community members in dire need of such alternative activities. Ultimately, those who have not been absorbed are forced

to illegally access the natural resources in the forest, risking their safety and freedom in the event that they are caught by law enforcement officers.

Additionally, the establishment of CoFMAs has failed to protect the forest from overuse and environmental damage. Respondents have argued that the forest continues to face heavy degradation by community members who lack other means of sustaining their livelihoods. One respondent went as far as saying that in five years' time, children of Pete will be told stories that there once was a forest but community members destroyed it. Dallu (n.d) argues that the JCBNP is under immense threat due to the undiscerning tree cutting by community members surrounding the National Park. Community members are forced to do so, as the alternative livelihood activities available are insufficient to accommodate all community members.

Evidently, Insufficient livelihood activities, dispossession of land and restrictions from accessing natural resources are collectively factors that force local people to continue illegally accessing the forest for survival. In agreement to this, Colchester (2004) comments that, the fact that local community members residing on buffer zones have lost their rights to accessing and using the natural resources that they previously had access to affects their attitudes towards conservation in general. These restrictions create a form of resentment on the part of community members which leads to an increased rate of damage to the environment and its natural resources. CBNRM efforts must acknowledge the fact that not all local resource users will be absorbed by the alternative livelihood activities proposed. To curb such a problem, other solutions must be implemented. Otherwise, community members will not have the incentive to conserve and to sustainably use natural resources (Colchester, 2004). In support of this, Igoe (2006) says that the concept of CBNRM is premised on the idea that community members who have been displaced off their land would eventually be absorbed by the market (in this case the tourism market). However, in many cases, these community members are not adequately absorbed by such markets.

One of the main sources of alternative livelihood strategy proposed by the government is through tourism. However, even this source is not accessible by all 3000 plus community members in Pete. Even when the tourism revenues are received by the Pete CoFMA to fund social services (water and electricity supply and building schools and clinics), community members complained that supply of social services is not enough in itself. These narratives align with the findings that

suggest that ecotourism benefits used to provide social services are insufficient to incentivise community members to stop accessing the forest to sustain their livelihoods (Salum, 2009: 166).

Igoe (2006) argues that benefits from alternative livelihood activities (e.g. seaweed farming and butterfly farming) are often not immediate. As a result, for poor and food insecure community members, such livelihood activities are inadequate. Consequently, they continue to heavily rely on the forest for survival.

An additional weakness in CoFMAs in rural Zanzibar lies in the monetary compensation provided to community members and other stakeholders biannually. The majority of respondents pointed out that it was a good thing that they received compensation and that such compensation was used to achieve development goals. However, the compensation is insufficient. Some argued that the compensation received was not enough to accommodate all community members' needs. As for the farm owners whose farms have formed part of the National Park, they argued that the farms are a form of wealth, such that the small compensation received every six months is insufficient to offset the cost of leaving these farms for conservation purposes. CBNRM initiatives use monetary payments as a way to compensate for the source of livelihood that people lose due to being secluded from the forest. However, to many rural community members, such compensation is merely a small portion of what they deem to be a meaningful livelihood (Pimbert, 2003: 81).

Insufficient training and education of community leaders have been cited by several respondents as a major hindrance to the success of CoFMAs. Respondents argued that in many cases, community leaders (Sheha and the CoFMA leaders) do not have the necessary skills to adequately represent the interests of community members. Consequently, the decision making process has become skewed to serve the interests of other stakeholders involved in conservation.

5.5. Benefits of CBNRM in Pete

In spite of the several weaknesses pointed out in relation to the establishment of Pete's CoFMA, there are certain benefits attributed to the establishment of the CoFMA. These benefits ranged from social services to economic opportunities.

To begin with, narratives from several respondents pointed out that since the establishment of CoFMAs, community members have been afforded the opportunity of improving their technical

and vocational skills. The conservation initiative is said to have initiated various smaller projects intended to improve the skill set of community members in order to enable them to engage in other alternative livelihood activities. Many respondents pointed out that the forest is still a main source of livelihood to poor and rural community members. However, the fact that there are alternative livelihood measures (such as butterfly farming, seaweed farming and employment opportunities in the tourism industry), those community members who have secured these jobs, are now at a better position of securing a living without having to engage in environmentally degrading activities. In support of this finding, several studies indicate that Community Forest Management initiatives enable community members to develop their technical knowledge and skills through the various projects that these initiatives bring with them (Pagdee, Kim & Daugherty, 2007; Jambiya, Puri & Risby, 2004)

Community members in Pete also pointed out that since the introduction of the CoFMA, they are now receiving basic social services that they previously did not have access to. Many respondents said that before CoFMAs, Pete village was a forgotten rural village without services such as water supply, electricity, tarmac roads and even health clinics. Community members would have to travel by foot to the next village just to be able to access a poorly equipped clinic and to send their children to schools. Evidence suggest that indeed with the establishment of National Parks and CBNRM projects, community members are able to benefit from physical capital that accompanies such changes (Jambiya, Puri & Risby, 2004).

Some of the findings indicated that community members are now better able to invest money into bigger and better opportunities that would eventually generate further income for them and their families. The lump sum of money received bi-annually from the tourism industry was helpful in this regard. Through the Jozani National Park and the CoFMA in question, financial contributions significantly support the local communities as well as the overall Zanzibari economy (The Arc Journal, 2013)

The establishment of CoFMAs has also allowed community members to enjoy the financial benefits of ecotourism; both through providing employment or by using the funding received for other beneficial purposes. However, it is important to note that such benefits are often not enjoyed by individual community members, but rather by the society as a whole (Lindberg, 1996 as cited in Salum, 2009). Salum (2009) argues that the financial benefits that community

members gain by participating in CoFMAs is in fact a compensation for having been restricted from accessing natural resources in their forests.

Indeed, some respondents from the case study indicated that the introduction of CBNRM efforts to their community has resulted into socio-economic and infrastructural developments. Many believed that without such a conservation programme, basic social services would not have reached their community.

5.6. Chapter summary

This Chapter has discussed the key findings of the study based on the narratives from community members in Pete's CoFMA. Relating back to the issues that the political ecological scholarship deals with. The analysis of the narratives indicate that socio-political, economic, and historical factors play a role in environmental conservation. Additionally, cross-scale linkages in the way the state uses its power to intervene in the management of the forest's resources was evident. The analysis has shown that there exists a power struggle amongst the people, the state and the NGOs when dealing with the overall conservation of the forest in Pete. In such struggles, the state seems to continue being more dominant than the people and the NGOs, in controlling and managing conservation matters. Moreover, power struggles exist as depicted by the lack of cooperation amongst the various stakeholders in important decisions relating to conservation of the forest and development of the people of Pete. On the other hand, by relying on the concept of scales across time, the analysis has indicated that presently, socio-political and environmental relations have shown a continuity of colonial and centralised conservation efforts. This is evident especially in the way through which the present conservation practices (through CoFMAs) still imbue characteristics of colonial era conservation practices. Further, the fact that conservation practices are undergoing a process of recentralisation, suggests that relations between the people and the environment are reverting back to historical practices.

The following Chapter will synthesise these discussions and engage with the broader study problem investigated, in order to provide overall insights about such CBNRM programmes and initiatives in the context of Zanzibar.

CHAPTER 6: Where to with CoFMAs in Pete?

The failure of centralised conservation efforts of the 20th century forced conservationists and national governments to rethink the entire conservation discourse. The solution came in the form of integrating human development goals with biodiversity conservation. The belief was that increase in poverty and biodiversity loss are interrelated problems. Such that if either of these problems are to be successfully tackled they ought to be dealt with collectively.

By introducing CBNRM initiatives in the late 1980s, conservationists believed that by delivering developmental goals (such as basic social services, technical and social development opportunities, monetary compensation and non-extractive job opportunities), community members would be incentivised to refrain from relying on natural resources for their survival. Consequently, human development goals are achieved and biodiversity is conserved.

In theory, CBNRM initiatives were based on sound tenets of sustainable development. However, in practice, such conservation efforts are increasingly contested for their failure to the community members and biodiversity in general. CBNRM initiatives are heralded by several critiques including, failure to take into account the heterogeneity of communities (Kumar, 2002; La Rocco, 2016), exclusion of local people from participating in all aspects dealing with conservation (Ramutsindela, 2003; La Rocco, 2016), failure to absorb all community members in alternative livelihood activities (Dallu, n.d.) and failure to take into account the unique political, historical and social factors that affect the potential of CBNRM initiatives in the different contexts they are applied in (Mavhunga & Dressler, 2007; La Rocco, 2016)

In an attempt to investigate CBNRM programmes in Africa, this study has focussed on presenting the experiences of community members in Pete Village with the establishment of CoFMA on their land. The study has done so by grounding its data collection and analysis approach within the broader political ecological scholarship. Through the use of narratives directly from community members, the research attempted to comprehensively interrogate pertinent issues relating to human-nature relations. Such issues include, power struggles between the state and the people, socio-economic issues, and historical factors. Thus ensuring that the complex and multi-layered realities of human life experiences are taken into account when exploring CBNRM interventions.

From the narratives, the study has shown that the establishment of Pete's CoFMA has resulted in several issues. Firstly, the narratives indicate that conservation efforts are in fact facing a recentralisation process, due to excessive government influence in conservation operations. Secondly, the establishment of the CoFMA has impinged on community members' rights. Thirdly, operations of CoFMAs are being affected by a lack of cooperation amongst the key players involved in the conservation initiative. Additionally, the study has revealed that the operations of the CoFMA are fraught with several weaknesses. In spite of all these concerns, the study has also revealed that some community members believe that the CoFMA has brought with it several benefits to their lives.

Power struggles between the state and the people are evident in the manner through which conservation efforts in Pete are facing a process of recentralisation. Through the Forestry Department, the state continues to control, manage and make decisions in the conservation of the forest. Although the residents have representation through the *Sheha* and the conservation committee leaders, the narratives indicated that both representatives' decisions are highly influenced by the government's directives. This indicates that CBNRM efforts in Pete's CoFMA are not fully decentralised. In fact, conservation efforts in Pete seem to be undergoing a process of recentralisation back to the government. The study has also shown that even when community members attempt to contest government officials for interfering in conservation matters, they are discouraged from doing so. Community members are often discouraged due to their lack of political and social influence in comparison to government officials. As indicated by this study, indeed socio-political factors and the power struggle involved in the relations between the state and the people in Pete play a significant role in the relations between the people and conservation efforts. Ultimately, this may deteriorate conservation efforts by local people.

The establishment of CoFMAs has evidently impinged on community members' rights. As exemplified by Pete's CoFMA, community members' rights are continuously being violated in a number of ways. Community members have been dispossessed off their lands and have been secluded from natural resources on which their livelihoods depend on. Additionally, dispossessed community members are not afforded with sufficient alternative sources for sustaining their lives. Consequently, they are forced to engage in illegal forest activities. This in turn, puts their freedom at risk in the event that they are arrested. The study has further shown that community members feel as though the government has placed more importance on

conservation goals than on their rights to a safe and meaningful life. Moreover, community members believed that without their involvement in conservation efforts, development would not reach their community. Thus suggesting that community members' involvement in conservation is involuntary and leads to resentment towards the environment's wellbeing. These findings resonate to the importance of understanding human-nature relations and conflicts in order to adequately understand and resolve environmental issues. Otherwise, such tensions between local people in Pete and conservation efforts may continue to deteriorate the overall CBNRM interventions in the village.

In addition to this, the land tenure system in Zanzibar places considerable amount of uncertainty on the livelihood of community members. As anticipated in the introduction of the study, narratives from the respondents have shown that community members lived with the idea that at any moment in time, their land may be repossessed by the government. Since land is under the rightful ownership of the government, community members can be relocated if and when the government needs to make use of the land for various reasons. In the context of this study it was found that the government has the authority to continue appropriating land from local residents for conservation purposes. This study has inferred that community members in Pete have lost and continue to lose their ancestral land in the name of conservation.

The findings presented by this study have also shown that Pete's CoFMA is afflicted with a lack of cooperation amongst its key players. As previously mentioned, the key players involved in the conservation initiative in Pete have differing opinions and ideas of how conservation should be undertaken. This situation hinders the overall success of the CoFMA. The narratives have shown that stakeholders fail to share necessary information with one another regarding conservation matters. Additionally, information regarding National Park revenues are insufficiently shared amongst all those involved in the conservation. Ultimately, this has led to a state of animosity amongst key players.

Examining the consequences of introducing CBNRM efforts in this case study has revealed several weaknesses attributed to the establishment of CoFMAs in Zanzibar. In the case of Pete, the establishment of the CoFMA has fallen short of being a fully successful intervention. The findings of this study reveal that although community members were promised alternative sources of sustaining their livelihoods, these sources are insufficient to absorb all those who have

been dispossessed off their lands and restricted from the forest. Additionally, the study has shown that the share of the National Park revenue that is given to community members for developmental goals is insufficient. Thus, insufficient sources of livelihood and insufficient compensation has left many community members destitute, landless and has forced some to resort to illegal activities to make a living. Being informed by the political ecological scholarship, these findings indeed indicate that socio-economic issues such as those indicated by people in Pete affect how they perceive and undertake conservation of the forest.

Amongst the weaknesses heralded against Pete's CoFMA, the study revealed that conservation efforts have failed to conserve the forest's biodiversity. Residents of Pete have complained that the forest cover continues to degrade and that the conservation efforts are failing to protect what is left of the forest cover. Some indicated that the future of the forest seems grim. The continued loss of forest cover relates to the lack of sufficient alternative sources of livelihood. If alternative livelihood activities were sufficient to absorb all community members in Pete, residents would most likely not have a reason to engage in the strenuous forest activities to survive.

The study has also shown that community members have often felt that the government has placed a higher priority to the forest and the wildlife in it (specifically the Red Colobus Monkeys), as they have the potential of providing the government with more tourism revenue. Without the Red Colobus Monkeys in the forest, tourism is most likely going to fall. Community members feel as though their lives are not as important as the survival and lives of the Red Colobus Monkeys. This results into resentfulness against the wildlife and the entire conservation programme on their land.

Findings from the study have not only uncovered negative aspects of Pete's CoFMA, some benefits have also been pointed out. Narratives from the study pointed out that since the introduction of the CoFMA, community members have been able to secure several social services. These include, water and electricity supply, schools, clinics and even a mosque. In addition, the funds collected through the National Park has allowed community members to initiate non-extractive alternative livelihood activities such as, butterfly farming, seaweed farming and beekeeping. Finally, community members have pointed out that CBNRM efforts have allowed them to engage in tourism related ventures that have the potential of generating

further income. Such findings indicate that in the event that local people's interests and needs are met, there is a chance for the success of CBNRM interventions.

This study has focused on interrogating relations between local people in Pete's CoFMA and the conservation efforts of the JCBNP. Using the political ecological scholarship, factors such as socio-political tensions, socio-economic difficulties, as well as a return to a historically centralised conservation approach are all affecting the relations between community members and conservation efforts in Pete. By using the framework of political ecology, this study has revealed that these factors are indicative of the subsequent success or failure of CBNRM efforts in Pete village.

CBNRM as an initiative to conservation is based on sound and theoretically positive tenets. It encourages community members who have cohabitated with nature for generations, to become custodians of conserving and continuing to co-exist with nature in a sustainable manner. However, on the broader scale, the CBNRM efforts in many case studies have revealed that this initiative is flawed in practice. It is vital to examine each case study contextually; considering that, each case may have different factors affecting the initiative's success. Based on this study's findings, it seems essential to pay attention to the experiences and perceptions of community members themselves concerning such interventions as the Zanzibari CoFMAs. Paying attention to community members' narratives has helped to shed more light on how CBNRM is practiced in Zanzibar, how it affects community members' livelihoods, how it affects their participation in conserving the forest and its natural resources, how the initiative actually conserves the forest and how it supports community development in general. Some of the findings may reveal commonalities in many other cases of CBNRM efforts across the continent. However, there are certain findings that are unique to the experiences of Pete community members. Future research on CBNRM practice should focus more on the way local people perceive and interact with conservation efforts on their land. Considering that the practice of CBNRM is affected by historical, political, social and economic factors, local people's narratives should reflect those factors as have been revealed in studies elsewhere.

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