

**BECOMING ENDUIMET &
THE PRECARIOUSNESS OF LIVING WITH ELEPHANTS**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation follows the story of a Maasai community in Enduimet, northern Tanzania. One popular statement in Enduimet is, “our history is a history of elephants”. It denotes the community’s long entanglement with elephants and other African wildlife, especially the persistent conservation efforts to protect them, regulate the spaces they inhabit and discipline the people they live with. Situated between the Amboseli National Park in southern Kenya and Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania, Enduimet’s elephants have significantly defined the community’s place-in-the-world, whether due to the ivory hunters bent on shooting them, ‘safari’ enthusiasts wanting to photograph them, or wildlife conservationists wanting to protect them. Especially in recent times, Enduimet’s history is especially embroiled in, what can be referred to as, “making space for giants”, to borrow a concept from one popular elephant conservation NGO. It has comprised processes of “becoming wilderness”, on the one hand, while, simultaneously, “becoming safariland”, on the other. Today, the community and its traditional territory falls under the jurisdiction of a Wildlife Management Area (WMA), which is Tanzania’s latest conservation scheme. WMAs exemplify all the recent conservation trends of green economics and eco-government – what many refer to as ‘neoliberal conservation’. While intrinsically a technical project of conservation through tourism, WMAs are also fundamentally political in nature, significantly reconfiguring the organization of Tanzania’s conservation and tourism industries, transforming the authority structures and power relations of both. Tanzania’s WMAs subsequently offer new opportunities for rural communities but also present new threats. Enduimet leaders’ strategic engagement with a WMA and their corollary experiences demonstrate both: opportunities arising via leaders’ capacity to politicize technical schemes but, at the same time, threats are always present due to the looming realities of capital accumulation, an often-colluding state, powerful NGOs and certain conservation orthodoxies, which maintain that ‘a space for giants’ means ‘a place without people’. The upshot is that living with elephants is a precarious affair.



Cette thèse retrace l’histoire d’une communauté Maasai à Enduimet, localité du nord de la Tanzanie. L’affirmation suivante y est couramment entendue : « notre histoire est une histoire d’éléphants ». Elle révèle des interactions de longue date entre cette communauté et les éléphants et autres espèces de la faune sauvage, particulièrement la protection de cette faune et la règlementation des espaces qu’elle occupe et des personnes avec qui elle coexiste. Vivant entre le Parc National d’Amboseli dans le sud du Kenya et le Mont Kilimandjaro en Tanzanie, les éléphants d’Enduimet définissent la place de cette communauté dans le monde, de par les chasseurs d’ivoire qui les abattent, les amateurs de safari qui les photographient, et les écologistes qui les protègent. Plus particulièrement, l’histoire récente d’Enduimet se confond avec la « création d’espaces pour les géants », pour reprendre l’expression d’une ONG en vogue œuvrant à la conservation des éléphants. Cette histoire inclue la fabrication d’étendues sauvages d’une part, et la fabrication de territoires à safari d’autre part. Aujourd’hui, la communauté d’Enduimet et son territoire traditionnel tombent sous la juridiction d’une Aire de Gestion de la Faune Sauvage (WMA ou *Wildlife Management Area*), dernier né des modèles de conservation en Tanzanie. Ce modèle incarne les dernières tendances de l’économie verte et de l’éco-

gouvernance, en bref, la conservation néolibérale. Bien qu'intrinsèquement une démarche de conservation par le tourisme, les WMA ont une nature fondamentalement politique. Elles reconfigurent les industries du tourisme et de la conservation, transformant les structures sociales et relations de pouvoir au sein de ces secteurs. Les WMA génèrent ainsi de nouvelles opportunités pour les communautés rurales, mais aussi de nouvelles menaces, révélées par les engagements stratégiques des dirigeants d'Enduimet avec les WMA et les expériences ainsi acquises. Les opportunités émergent de la capacité des dirigeants à politiser les modèles techniques proposés. Les menaces sont toujours présentes du fait de l'imminence de processus d'accumulation du capital, des multiples collusions de l'état, de la présence d'ONG puissantes, et de l'influence d'orthodoxies conservationnistes selon lesquelles « un espace pour les géants » signifie « un espace sans gens ». La conséquence est que vivre avec les éléphants demeure une affaire précaire.

Acknowledgements

I never expected to return to academia when John Galaty showed up on my doorstep in Longido Village, Tanzania in 2008. I had been living in Longido since my Master's research in 2003. John and I met in a rural village and I recall vividly the discussion we had about his research with the Maasai and their struggle over defining, and maintaining rights to, property. He raised convincing arguments about the value of research vis-à-vis the Maasai's political struggle over land and livelihoods. He invited me to visit him in Montreal and encouraged me to consider a PhD. To be honest, I didn't entertain the idea very seriously. Academics wasn't for me, I thought. At that time, advocacy and activism were more in line with my interest and work. John convinced me, though, that all of these can be complementary and contribute to each other. A PhD was too expensive, though, so I continued to think that it wasn't for me. Subsequently, I vividly recall the day that the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada notified me that they were awarding me a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Scholarship. Shortly thereafter, I notified my family and loved ones that they could find me in Montreal, beginning in 2010. I was leaving my beloved Tanzania.

The above anecdote is a good place to start my acknowledgements. None of this would have happened without the financial support of SSHRC. I have relied on this funding throughout my PhD. The International Development Research Council (IDRC) also offered important support for my field research in 2013. Most recently, I've continued to benefit from SSHRC and IDRC funding via McGill's Institutional Canopy of Conservation (I-CAN) project, which has allowed me to continue my research and join conferences in Quebec, through several locations in the USA, even Germany and Ethiopia. These experiences have been quintessential to my learning

and academic production. I was also fortunate to receive a Wolfe Graduate Fellowship, which assisted me to conduct further field research in Tanzania.

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INTRODUCTION

Our history is a history of elephants.

(Tingatinga leader, July 2017)



Africa's dazzling parks and game reserves simply don't harbor enough terrain to sustain the large herds of elephant, zebra, wildebeest and other migratory animals that comprise Africa's unique heritage... If natural habitats are to be conserved, the people who depend on them must also survive. AWF believes that through conservation enterprise, conservation can be developed as a commercially viable land use that can leverage space for wildlife. By assisting rural communities with a few other resources to establish conservation enterprises, the presence of wild animals becomes a potentially profitable opportunity rather than a costly nuisance.

(African Wildlife Foundation, n.d.)



The following dissertation tells a story about elephants – *African* elephants, in particular. It is not directly about elephants but, rather, the social life of elephants. By this, I do not mean the actual social behaviours and life of elephants themselves, but, rather, about the human politics that surround them: the activities, discourses, ways of organizing, modes of production, and government that invariably surround these giants. Maybe better put, my interest is in the *political* life of elephants – the politics of conservation, power games, contests and conflicts that often characterize the spaces they inhabit and the human communities they coexist with.

A global movement of conservation, emboldened by a lucrative tourism industry, has been scrambling to conserve Africa's elephants, amidst growing threats of poaching and a seemingly relentless demand for their ivory. Countless efforts have unfolded to protect these majestic giants, creating protected areas for their habitation and migration while disciplining rural inhabitants to accommodate them. Put another way, there have been countless efforts to make

“space for giants”, to borrow the name of one prominent elephant conservation NGO in Kenya and Tanzania¹.

Indeed, the plot of this story may be best understood as making space for giants, by which I refer to the creation of conservation space to protect elephant habitat while simultaneously limiting, or regulating, human presence. To be fair, this story involves wildlife other than elephants, but elephants invariably loom largest – literally, but also in a figurative sense of the enormous threats they face, the discourses that surround them, the extensive efforts to protect them, and the ominous conflict that are sometimes implicated.

To be specific, the story is about conservation in a small indigenous, Maasai community and territory in Northern Tanzania, called Enduimet. In the following, I use the title, Enduimet, to refer to the Maasai community that inhabits the place of Enduimet while also using it to refer to the territory and space that it entails. It sits at the northern foot of the majestic Mount Kilimanjaro, encompassing the rolling hills of the mountain’s slopes and the savannah plains that stretch to today’s Kenya border. It is the ancestral home of approximately 50,000 pastoralist Maasai, who arrived by the early 19th Century, or even earlier (see Fosbrooke, 1948). Through colonial, postcolonial and more recent times, their traditional territory has undergone vast transformations via colonial dispossessions, postcolonial administrative orders and recent trends of privatization, subdivision and ‘greening’ (i.e. making conservation space).

It is situated in the heart of what is known as the Amboseli ecosystem, an area with a long history of conservation and tourism. The area hosts an abundance of wildlife and relatively large populations of elephants. As seen in Figure 1, Enduimet is positioned as a hub of elephant migratory routes between Amboseli National Park in Kenya and a host of sites in northern

¹ Space for Giants. See www.spaceforgiants.org

Tanzania, including the Mount Kilimanjaro National Park, Arusha National Park and the Lake Natron ecosystem.

Due to its prominent elephant populations and other wildlife, trophy hunters have traversed the area for well over a century, seeking their ivory riches. Hunters continue their exploits in today's Enduimet – now for recreation rather than riches – via Tanzania's very lucrative trophy hunting industry. Of course, Enduimet's elephants and other wildlife do not just attract hunters but also wildlife enthusiasts and photographers. These days, most tourists that visit are bent on photographing, rather than killing, Enduimet's elephants. Overall, thousands of tourists travel to

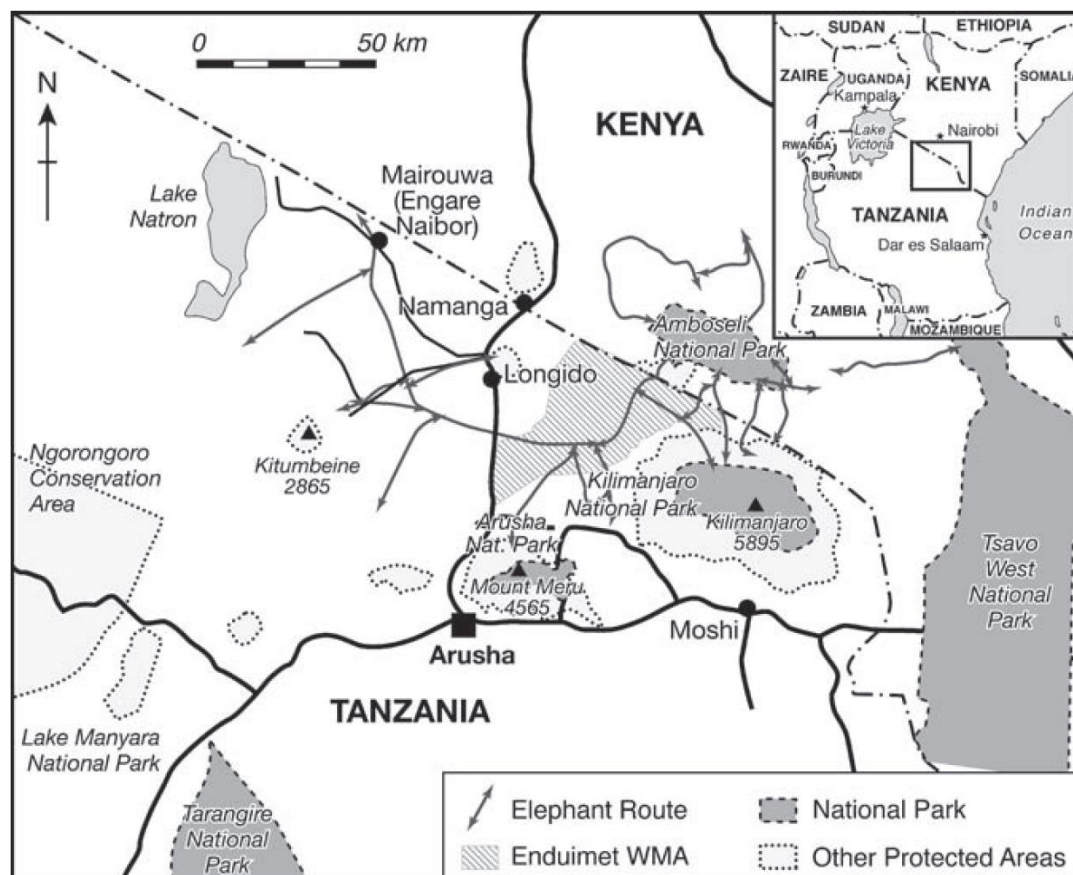


Figure 1 Map of northern Tanzania, including Enduimet WMA and elephant migratory routes. Reprinted from Homewood et al., 2009

Enduimet each year, each spending upwards of \$300,000 USD to see or shoot Enduimet's elephants and other wildlife. In short, Enduimet has become "safari land"².

Conservation has been a key driving force in terms of how Enduimet is now imagined, represented, administered and managed. The community has a long encounter and entanglement with it, one conservation initiative after another. Some of the community's traditional territory was excised for conservation as early as the 1950s when the Mount Kilimanjaro National Park was gazetted. Its status as a regulated hunting area has an even longer, colonial history, which was then carried forward into the postcolonial period, becoming a prime site for foreign tourism investment by the 1990s.

Around the same time, its elephants, and their apparently vulnerable status, were made famous by international researchers. Following on this, international conservation organizations started implementing conservation programs throughout the area. By the late 1990s, Enduimet became a "heartland", one of the African Wildlife Foundation's (AWF) landscape conservation projects. By early 2000s, at the behest of AWF, Enduimet's territory became a target for the Tanzanian government's new effort to expand protected areas in the country and bolster its lucrative tourism industry. By 2007, almost 90% of Enduimet's traditional territory had been gazetted as a new protected area (Sulle, Banka, & Ntalwila, 2014), something referred to as a Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Today's Enduimet is synonymous with conservation. Its place in the nation and in the world is defined by it. Conservation, both figuratively and literally, put Enduimet 'on the map'.

Enduimet's experience follows on a long history of conservation in Tanzania. Roderick Neumann characterizes the country's history as "imposing wilderness" (1998). By the early 20th

² "Safari" means journey in Swahili, with "safari land" being the popular title for Africa's wild spaces and wildlife tourism hotspots.

Century, under German rule, the county reached fourteen wildlife reserves, mainly for regulating the colony's trophy hunting. After becoming a British Protectorate, similar patterns of enclosures and dispossession escalated, starting what Yeager (1986) refers to as "two policy conceptions that yet prevail in modern Tanzania: consolidating local populations for economic and social reasons and denying the settlement of large tracts, set aside as game sanctuaries" (13). With independence, Tanzania's founding President, Julius Nyerere, continued colonial patterns, positioning wildlife tourism as one of the country's key industries. He famously stated that "after diamonds and sisal, wild animals will provide Tanzania with its greatest source of income" (in Honey, 2008, p. 221). In the 1990s, with Tanzania's liberalization, restructuring and emphasis on foreign investment, a new scramble for the country's wildlife and "wild" places unfolded. Drawing on MacKenzie's work (1988; 2013), one could say that, at least in part, Tanzania was first conquered then built "on the backs of its wildlife". In large part, this remains the case today.

Today, regulated spaces for wildlife conservation and tourism amount to an astounding 40% of the country's land mass – Africa's largest protected area estate (Tor A Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary, & Maganga, 2013; Brockington, Sachedina, & Scholfield, 2008). There are 16 national parks, 28 game reserves, 44 Game Controlled Areas (GCAs), 4 Ramsar sites, 2 marine parks, several marine reserves and 38 Wildlife Management Areas (Booth 2017, p.4). Accordingly, tourism has become the country's biggest foreign currency earner and amounts to 17% of the country's GDP (Booth 2017). By 2012, the number of tourists travelling to Tanzania each year surpassed 1 million (MNRT, 2013). Tanzania's place-in-the-world is defined, in large part, by its wildlife.

Conservation in Tanzania took a new direction in the 1990s, which is the primary focus of this dissertation. For many, this period represents Tanzania's "neoliberal era" (Brockington,

Sachedina, & Scholfield, 2008; Shivji, 2009; Hodgson, 2011; Igoe, 2007; Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Igoe & Croucher, 2007). Accordingly, the country's approach to protecting its wildlife becomes associated with neoliberal conservation (Bluwstein, 2017; Bluwstein, Moyo, & Kicheleri, 2016; Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Green & Adams, 2014), which refers to a bundle of processes that purportedly offer win-win solutions for state, market, society and nature (Igoe & Brockington 2007). Its defining principles are basically a deep suspicion of the state, a valorization of private actors, and a devotion to the market for solving the world's environmental problems (Ferguson, 2009). Neoliberalization is characterized by processes of privatisation, marketisation, state roll back and deregulation, state roll out and market-friendly re-regulation and, where necessary, the empowerment of civil society to fill the vacuum created by less direct state support in the social and environmental areas (Castree 2010). Democratic decentralization is also a key feature (Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Wright, 2017). Overall, neoliberal conservation comprises a dramatic reconfiguration of state, society, market and nature relations (Green & Adams, 2014). Most scholarship warns of the dire consequences of neoliberal conservation for rural communities. Scholars, like Ferguson (2010), though, challenge us to explore the "uses of neoliberalism" and how such reforms may articulate with popular struggle and lead to unexpected outcomes. As will be seen in Enduimet's story, the decentralization and democratization reforms of some neoliberal conservation models offer new political, democratic spaces for rural communities.

With these changes, the tourism market and corresponding private sector becomes paramount to Tanzania's conservation. As described by one Ministry official, through the 1990s, the country embarked on a process to "pave the way for the private sector" (Kijazi, 2012). Wildlife were repositioned and reimagined:

But to achieve this objective, we should increasingly regard conservation and protected areas as forms of activity and of land-use that should *earn their keep* against potentially competing claims such as agriculture, livestock and forestry... we must realise the full potential value of our wildlife resources to the national economy, in order to assist

Tanzania's Economic Recovery Programme. (Vice President Juma Hamad Omar 1996, 1)

Borrowing from Jessica Dempsey's work (2016), I see all of this as a culmination of Tanzania's effort to "enterprise wildlife" (p. 9), leveraging wildlife and putting it to work for national development and rural poverty alleviation.

Democratic decentralization and sharing benefits with rural communities were key components of Tanzania's restructuring (Goldman, 2001; Wright 2016, 2017). Essentially, the sustainability of conservation and tourism became conceived as reliant on three fundamental processes: it relied on the effective incentivization of rural communities to conserve wildlife, it required opening up competitive markets for foreign investment in village spaces, and it depended on self-sufficient management of wildlife by rural communities.

These became the key features of a new Wildlife Policy in 1998 (MNRT, 1998). This policy was unprecedented in Tanzania due to its focus on the private sector and communities. It sought to "create an enabling environment for the private sector" (MNRT, 1998, p.9), "ensure that wildlife conservation competes with other forms of land use" (MNRT, 1998, p.9), create more spaces for tourism outside of national parks and game reserves (MNRT, 1998, p.13), and ensure that "local people will have full mandate of managing and benefiting from their conservation efforts, through community-based conservation programmes" (MNRT, 1998, p.29).

The key vehicle for achieving all of this, as announced in the 1998 Wildlife Policy, is what is called a Wildlife Management Area (WMA). A WMA is basically a collective multi-village

enterprise. Villages designate contiguous parcels of land for the purpose of conserving wildlife and generating tourism income. A WMA application is compiled, which includes extensive maps, commitments and regulatory tools. Upon approval, the central government gazettes the area. It then awards user-rights over wildlife to the WMA's Authorized Association (AA), a representative body of elected village members. The AA becomes the managing body of conservation and tourism in the area, which includes joint-ventures with tourism investors and operators.

Typically, WMAs are mixed-use areas, prioritizing conservation and tourism while also accommodating some customary uses. Proponents argue that they offer win-win solutions for conservation and development. Critics, though, argue that there remains a significant gap between rhetoric and practice (Benjaminsen & Svarstad, 2010). In a growing number of cases, extensive exclusion of local communities and patterns of exploitation are amounting to what critics argue is merely “green grabbing” (Green & Adams, 2014), simply another part of the state's “repertoire of domination” (Goldman, 2001), a form of disciplinary exclusion (Igoe & Croucher, 2007) and a new avenue for rent-seeking and accumulation by dispossession (Benjaminsen et al., 2013). To put it simply, for critics, Tanzania's WMAs, like other neoliberal projects, amount to a certain precarity for those residents who share space with them and for whose rural livelihoods are implicated.

For better or for worse, today, there are 17 registered WMAs in Tanzania with 22 more expected to be registered in future (USAID 2013). They currently amount to 3 percent of the country's land mass but are expected to encompass up to 13 percent (Sosovele, 2015). Cumulatively, WMAs generate almost \$3 million USD annually of income from trophy hunting and photographic tourism (Booth, 2017, p. 60).

The African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) began mobilizing support for a WMA in Enduimet as early as the late 1990s. Notwithstanding early apprehensions and resistance, formal activities to register it began by 2003, launching it by 2007. The WMA now largely defines the community and the territory. At least officially-speaking, it now determines who lives where, who moves where, who uses what resources, what resources can be used, how can they be used, and when. Fundamentally, it is a technocratic project replete with extensive maps, stats, logical frameworks, threat rubrics, income generation programs and zonal management strategies. Indeed, Enduimet is now synonymous with WMA.

It is also synonymous, then, with the new ensemble of actors that have converged on the area for managing its wildlife and/or profiting from them. ‘Greening’ Enduimet has meant the emergence of new networks and power relations, new state encompassment and new roles for the private and non-government sector, whether big tourism business or big NGOs (BINGOs). Inevitably, “making space for giants” carries political implications, in terms of the new actors that converge in Enduimet and begin influencing state, market, society and nature relations. George Holmes (2011) refers to a “transnational conservation elite” (Holmes, 2011) that has begun to emerge across conservation spaces. All of these processes and corresponding new actors introduce an array of new risks, conflicts and turbulent trajectories (Wright, 2016, 2017).

Much of this dissertation focuses on Enduimet’s embroilment with the WMA and the corresponding politics and conflicts that have unfolded. Remarkably, Enduimet offers a different picture of WMAs compared to what is commonly seen in critical scholarship. In Enduimet, at least to date, there is no clear image of grabbing, domination or dispossession. I went to Enduimet expecting to find and document such patterns. As a naïve anthropologist equipped with a thorough reading of critical WMA scholarship, I went with a self-important motive of

documenting the injustices, corruption and elite capture, which I had assumed had been wrought by the WMA. When I arrived for my field research in 2013, I was immediately disoriented. One of my first substantial engagements with it was a meeting where AA leaders rebuked a foreign investor, publicly shamed him and kicked him out of their territory. This was not what I had expected. Contrary to the critical scholarship I had consumed, I witnessed a group of indigenous leaders strategically engaging WMA reforms, appropriating, redeploying, altering and articulating them. The WMA, I was to learn, intersected with a long history of grievance against tourism and struggles for indigenous sovereignty. This, it seemed, was part of Enduimet's untold story, and an untold story about WMAs, more generally.

Following on Arlin's work (Årlin, 2011), this dissertation conveys a story that is not simply about "*imposing* wilderness" (Neumann, 1998) but, more so, of "*becoming* wilderness". It is not a story of merely being made subjects of a development machine and object of conservation impositions but, rather, it is about agents who actively engage, manipulate, and cultivate its projects. It is a story about relations and social processes. For Arlin, this is the nature of making and remaking conservation spaces in Tanzania – "*becoming* wilderness", in her analysis. As indicated by my title, I conceive Enduimet's history and current struggles in this manner, always in a state of becoming.

To be clear, Enduimet's green trajectory is not a straightforward one. It is a turbulent one with an unclear future. WMA reforms have invariably spurred new conflicts, contests and power games. Historical status quos have been thrown into disarray, which has provoked new collisions and backlashes against the state, market and society actors. Ultimately, WMAs have introduced a new playing field, with new players, new rules and new play manuals. Nevertheless, while the playing field has been changed, this does not mean it is now level. Despite some achievements, I

remain concerned about the slow insidiousness of government, capital and inequalities of power. This, as my title indicates, means living with elephants always remains a precarious affair.

i. Theoretical framework

Much of my theoretical lens comes from the anthropology of development. In particular, I draw on Foucault-inspired theories of discourse and governmentality. The former captures the primacy of power and knowledge. The latter offers a framework for understanding how networks, power relations, discourses, institutions, regulatory regimes, acts, interests and values converge in such ways that “conduct the conduct” of subjects (Li, 2007a) , “enlist them in projects of their own rule” (Moore, 2007, p.3) and, in so doing, “sustain and optimize the processes upon which life depends” (Li, 2007, p.18).

In the 1990s, Escobar’s *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (1995) offered some early analysis about the role of discourse in determining how development regimes see and subject problems and people. Ferguson’s seminal work, *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1990), showed that the significance of development is not so much in its official plans, discourses and claims but in its side effects – namely, the depoliticization of phenomena (e.g. poverty) and the concurrent expansion of bureaucratic state power. Failures of development, in this perspective, are irrelevant. It is the effects that matter.

More recently, inspired by both of the above authors and focusing specifically on conservation, Arun Agrawal’s *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects* (2005) shifts important focus to how community-based conservation’s “governmentalized localities” and “regulatory communities” (p.15) facilitate the inculcation of

environmental ethics, values and practices among subjects. Agrawal stresses how eco-governmentality invariably produces eco-rational subjects.

The above scholarship is all formative to how I see and interpret Enduimet's encounter with conservation, corollary development projects and eco-government. Importantly, though, I also share the concerns of other critical development scholars who argue that the above theories tend to represent development in "mechanistic and monolithic overtones" (Moore, 1999, p. 656), overstating the effects of discourse and development, while also discounting the limits of governmentality. Donald Moore (1998, 1999, 2005) posed one of the early challenges to Ferguson's conception of development:

For Ferguson, development discourse "depoliticizes everything it touches, everywhere whisking political realities out of sight, all the while, performing almost unnoticed, its own pre-eminently political operation of expanding bureaucratic state power" (1990: xv). Yet his own analysis throws a wrench in the smooth functioning of this anti-politics machine. Ferguson's careful ethnographic investigation of a particular project in Lesotho reveals the "embeddedness in local political struggles" of development interventions (1990:87). Following this ethnographic insight, I argue, development needs to be conceptualized not as a machine that secures fixed and determined outcomes but rather as a site of contestation, its boundaries carved out through the situated practices that constitute livelihood struggles. (Moore, 1999 p.656)

In *Suffering for Territory*, Moore (2005) lays out in full detail his theory for conceiving the micro-politics of development and change. He applies theories of governmentality, but in a much more dynamic and nuanced way. Moore puts forward the concept of "entangled landscapes" (Moore, p. 22) to capture how history animates contemporary social struggle, wherein "multiple

spatialities mingle” (Moore p.22). He uses the idea of “selective sovereignty” (Moore, p.3) to convey the notion of hybrid subjectivities, or what Grossman (2013) fittingly calls “entangled subjects”. Especially in post-colonial contexts, like Africa, Moore (2005) argues, subjects are enlisted in new regimes of power but that previous forms of power relations and sovereignties are not displaced. Rather, they are remade and re-articulated. Subsequently, there is “no single sovereign or mode of subjection” (Moore, p.3). As it pertains to post-colonial land struggles in Zimbabwe, indigenous Tangwena histories, authorities, identities, and values subvert state assertions of absolute sovereignty. His work reflects much recent work on sovereignty, which decenters the state as the juggernaut of sovereignty and recognizes contesting forms of local sovereignty, popular sovereignty and indigenous sovereignty (Allen, Bird, Breslow, & Dolšak, 2017; Barker, 2005; Bonilla, 2017; Hansen & Stepputat, 2006; Kauanui, 2008). The upshot of Moore’s (2005) approach to governmentality is that it must be “provincialized” (p. 2), grounding it in the particular histories, situated struggles and micro-politics of the actual places and spaces of development and change.

David Mosse (2005) is another scholar that informs my understanding of Enduimet. In contrast to Escobar’s notion of *encountering* development, Mosse argues for one of *cultivating* development, which denotes an image of actors who strategically engage, manipulate and instrumentalize development. Development actors make, remake, appropriate and manipulate development policy and projects in unforeseen ways, directing them in unforeseeable directions. Mosse builds on this idea with Lewis (2006) in their seminal book, *Development Brokers and Translators*. They conceive development as a network of actors, all of whom play active roles as “brokers and translators” – at once brokering the objectives, plans and interests of multi-scalar actors while translating projects in manners that actually make it work in each particular context.

Importantly, the result is messy: “The double effect of ordering and disjuncture, unity and fragmentation, is at the heart of the social processes of development” (Lewis & Mosse, p.10).

I build on Lewis and Mosse’s conception with the concept of ‘bricolage’. Sally Matthews (2004, 2017) argues that post-development scholars, building on Ferguson and Escobar, offer a conception of development that implicitly amounts to ‘colonizing the minds’ of development subjects. To the contrary, she conceives actors’ engagement with development as something akin to bricolage: a sense of creative use of resources, navigating constraints and making do with what is at hand.

Matthews’ use of the concept led me to Cleaver and De Koning’s concept of “institutional bricolage” (De Koning, 2014; De Koning & Benneker, 2012; De Koning & Cleaver, 2012). Like myself, they focus on conservation reforms and explore how rural, indigenous communities strategically engage them. They demonstrate three core practices: aggregation (i.e. adopting or embedding newly introduced institutions), alteration (i.e. adaptation and reshaping of them), and articulation (i.e. a refusal of reforms and concurrent emphasis on customary rules, norms, values and beliefs). De Koning and Cleaver subsequently illustrate how state reforms that are often singularly focused on conservation become redeployed in unexpected, multi-purpose ways. For example, De Koning demonstrates how forest management reforms in the Amazon become redeployed for securing land and property rights (De Koning, 2014). As De Koning and Cleaver stress in their work, with the practices of “institutional bricolage”, the introduction of new reforms always promises unpredictable outcomes.

Tania Li’s analysis of development schemes is of particular importance to my analysis. Li (2007) effectively merges and builds on all of the above theories with her conception of development as a “the will to improve” – in reference to conservation programs, a “the will to

conserve” (Li, 2007, p.131). For Li, the “will to improve” is defined by governmentality and corollary assemblages of discourses, practices, activities and programs that seek to ‘conduct conduct’ and improve the condition of the population (Li, 2007, p.5). In contrast to sovereign power emanating forcefully from a central state, “government”, Li argues, “operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs” (Li, p.5). It strives for the “right manner of disposing things” (Foucault 1991; in Li, p. 6).

Following on Foucault, Li conceives the “will to improve” as an expansive project, incorporating a plethora of relations, subjects, phenomena, territory, customs, habits, ways of thinking and even natural or other disasters (Li, 2007, p. 5). Trustees are enlisted to facilitate such projects:

Trustees intervene in these relations in order to adjust them. They aim to foster beneficial processes and mitigate destructive ones. They may operate on population in the aggregate, or on subgroups divided by gender, location, age, income, or race, each with characteristic deficiencies that serve as points of entry for corrective interventions. (Li, p.6).

“Trusteeship”, she explains is the intent by one entity (e.g. government officials, experts, development practitioners, etc.) to develop or improve the capacities of another entity (e.g. a community, groups, individuals, etc. that are deemed in need) (Li, p.5).

Building on Nikolas Rose’s work, Li (2007) conceives the “will to improve” as comprising two constitutive elements, which merge, intersect and articulate with each other: the practice of government and a practice of politics. The practice of government is associated with what Li refers to as “rendering technical”, which is shorthand for Rose’s description of practices that cumulatively define “the domain to be governed as an intelligible field with specifiable limits

and particular characteristics . . . defining boundaries, rendering that within them visible, assembling information about that which is included and devising techniques to mobilize the forces and entities thus revealed” (p.7).

Li conceives it as characterized by three factors. First, problematization includes the framing of “problems” in such ways that are conducive to expert knowledge and amenable to technical solutions. To put it succinctly, “problems” must afford feasible solutions that can be readily managed by experts and fit into their logical frameworks.

The second factor of rendering technical is the act of rendering non-political. With this concept, Li’s conception coincides with Ferguson’s (1990) famous reference to development as an “anti-politics machine”. Development planners, experts and trustees “insistently repos[es] political questions of land, resources, jobs, or wages as technical ‘problems’ responsive to the technical ‘development’ intervention” (Ferguson, 1990; in Li, p. 7). For Li, rendering non-political essentially means sidelining issues and questions of political economy related to wealth, power and privilege, despite the fact that, often, they are actually the root of many problems.

To conceive the issues and questions of political economy, I like to recall the well-known “Marxian haiku”: who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? what do they do with it? (Bernstein 2010; in White, Borrás, Hall, Scoones, & Welford, 2013). In their work on corporate land deals, White et al. (2013) add the extra question “what do they do to each other?” (p. 621). This is an important addition as it incorporates interrelation issues and dynamics that consider the nature of relations between parties, explore how different actors treat or mistreat each other, and so on. These factors become prominent in Enduimet’s story.

In Li’s argument, political economic issues are silenced in processes of rendering technical. Ultimately, they are not amenable to the straightforward, technical fixes that development

requires, so they slip from the respective intelligible field. They become “constitutive exclusions” (Li, 2007, p. 27). They simultaneously form the official design and implementation of improvement schemes while invariably shaping their future trajectories. As in Enduimet’s case, projects can sideline and push these issues down, but they never disappear. They percolate below the surface and precipitate at different times and in unexpected ways.

Li’s third dimension of rendering political is what she describes as anti-politics. In Li’s use of this concept, she refers to strategies to suppress contestation and struggle: “the design of programs as a deliberate measure to contain a challenge to the status quo” (Li, 2007, p.8). She conceives such actions as means to placate communities, offering petty reforms, for example, to subvert resistance or coopt subversive actors. In addition to such actions, I also conceive anti-politics with a more general understanding of “politics”. Borrowing on Buscher’s conceptualization (2013), I refer to politics as discursive contests, efforts to contest decisions, pushing forward insurgent ideas, refusing orthodoxies, and so on. Anti-politics, according to Buscher (2013), is essentially a “political act of doing away with” these efforts and contests (p.21).

To try to sum up the idea of rendering technical, I find it is easier to define it by *what it is not* rather than *what it is*, meaning what it *excludes* rather than what it *includes*. What it includes can be many things and hence the concept’s difficulty and vagueness, at times. What it excludes is politics, contest and the complicated issues and questions of political economy. I sometimes conceive rendering technical as something akin to the popular idea of a “streetlight effect”, whereby development policy-makers and trustees search for the problems and solutions where it is easiest – i.e. where the streetlight sheds its light – rather than scrambling arduously in the dark

where, in fact, many of the problems and solutions are to be found³. Most often, issues and questions of political economy are not found in the lighted spaces that are conducive for easy searches. Concomitantly, rural inhabitants, who are most interested in these issues, are left scrambling in the dark.

Beyond a practice of government, the other dimension of Li's "will to improve" framework is the "practice of politics" (Li, 2007, p.12). Following on Rose's idea of a "sociology of rule", Li explains a "practice of politics" as "the expression, in word or deed, of a critical challenge" (Li, p.12). She goes on to explain:

Challenge often starts out as refusal of the way things are. It opens up a front of struggle. This front may or may not be closed as newly identified problems are rendered technical and calculations applied. Government, from this perspective, is a response to the practice of politics that shapes, challenges, and provokes it. The practice of politics stands at the limit of the calculated attempt to direct conduct.

(Li, p.12)

In large part, the following dissertation can be conceived as a story of Enduimet's practice of politics and how leaders remake an otherwise technical project into a political one.

Like Moore, with his idea of provincializing governmentality, Li's aim for introducing the idea of a "practice of politics" is to highlight the limits of governmentality (2007, p.17). For Li, as in my own analysis, the effort to delicately dispose and order things is an arduous, messy, and always incomplete affair. Human thinking, habits and practices are unruly, as are all social, political and environmental affairs. Li (2007) writes, "The relations and processes with which government is concerned present intrinsic limits to the capacity of experts to improve things.

³ See (Hendrix, 2017) for an interesting application of this to climate change research and recommendations in Africa

There is inevitably an excess. There are processes and relations that cannot be reconfigured according to plan” (p.17). She continues to argue that knowledge and available technique is always insufficient and can never encompass the total breadth of issues, especially political economic ones. Lastly, interventions produce effects, which are sometimes contradictory and perverse (p.18). As will be seen, this, above all else, makes it difficult, with any certainty, to know what the future holds for Enduimet.

Besides the above theories of development, two further concepts and theories emerge in this dissertation, which must be touched on here: “enterprising wildlife” and “world on fire”. The former has been already mentioned in the introduction and arises is due to the neoliberalizing processes that are associated with today’s conservation in Tanzania. I propose the idea of “enterprising wildlife”, which I adopt from Jessica Dempsey’s work about “enterprising nature” (2016). For Dempsey, the concept of “enterprising” represents the turn to economics, markets and the private sector in global biodiversity conservation. It can be conceived in two manners. On the one hand, elements of nature (e.g. wildlife, forests, carbon, etc.) are conceived as ‘enterprising’ in the adjective-sense of the word: i.e. they are creative, productive contributors to the world and they generate important services, which can be monetized for further value. On the other hand, in a verb-sense (i.e. to enterprise), the concept “calls attention to the productive work of creating a visible and economically legible biodiversity that can be seen and invested in by liberal institutions and within capitalist social relations” (Dempsey, p. 13). Part of Enduimet’s story is how wildlife are “put to work” for Tanzania’s national economy and the development of its rural populace. As discussed in proceeding chapters, the making and remaking of Enduimet’s WMA is indicative of such productive work.

In Part II of the thesis, I explore some of the key conflicts and politics that have arisen in Enduimet. One thing that became clear in my research is that a “will to conserve” must be understood in its intersection with capitalism. Capitalism – e.g. enterprising wildlife and the fundamental role of tourism in Tanzania’s conservation – represents the terrain in which the “will to conserve” unfolds. In other words, it is fundamentally defined by competition and conflict over tourism revenues. The following chapters outline three key cases of conflict between Enduimet leaders and foreign investors.

For the sake of conceiving these cases, I draw on Amy Chua’s thesis, outlined in her book, *A World On Fire* (2004). Chua is the University Professor of Law at Yale Law School. Her work focuses on how reforms of “free market democracy” articulate unexpectedly, and sometimes violently, in post-colonial and post-socialist settings. While some of Chua’s work is not directly relevant to Enduimet, the core tenets of her thesis are: in places that are characterized by aggrieved histories of economic inequality and injustice, reforms of “free market democracy” sometimes articulate with these histories in unexpected ways, leading to intense conflict, an array of backlashes and contested politics – in short, collisions between market and society. “Free market democracy” reforms, Chua argues, provokes a “collision course” between historically-privileged market-dominant groups and aggrieved majority populations. The conflicts are especially heated when inequalities and corresponding politics are either racialized or ethnicized, which is often the case in post-colonial contexts. The upshot of Chua’s work, which is pertinent to my research, is that history and politics always matter and reforms may articulate in unexpected ways with them.

In Chua’s analysis, the emerging collision between market and society are typically characterized by two key forms of backlash (i.e. reactions and retaliations). First, she uses the

idea of a “backlash against markets” to capture the actions taken by majority populations, or by their respective leaders, against markets generally or, more often, against unwanted market-dominant actors. Such backlashes attempt to challenge historic patterns and status quos, which are seen to unfairly favor the market-dominant minority groups and foster economic injustice. Essentially, democratization processes open up “new democratic spaces” (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007), creating new avenues to redress historical injustices. Sometimes, this may amount to genuine efforts for redress and reparation but, as seen in Chua’s work, it can also lead to violent, ethno-national populism.

The second form of backlash is what Chua refers to as “a backlash against democracy” (2004, p.10). This includes actions by an array of actors that suppress public decisions, agendas and interests. They reject and try to jeopardize the new directions that, Chua argues, sometimes arise with democratization and the empowerment of historically marginalized groups. Such actions aim to defend the market dominant-minority and corollary status quos. Often, in such contexts, market-dominant actors collude with political elites in order to overtly, or covertly, suppress populist efforts. Chua argues that such backlashes are often characterized by “crony capitalism” (Chua, p.111): i.e. the collusion that unfolds between political elites and private sector actors, which upholds the economic privilege of both parties and defend unfair status quos. She refers to such hidden collusions, actions and influences as “invisible government” (Chua, p.149). In my application, I use the idea of a “backlash against democracy” to refer to the covert and overt actions taken by tourism investors, government authorities or other actors, which actively subvert the collective decisions, interests and agendas of Enduimet’s Authorized Association (AA).

ii. Matters of methodology and positionality

The research that underpins this dissertation is ethnographic in nature. Where it begins and where it ends is sometimes difficult to determine. Originally, I began living and conducting research in Longido District, where Enduimet is situated, when I began my master's research in 2003. I began living in the community shortly thereafter, helping found an indigenous Civil Society Organization (CSO) and working on matters of public health and education.

Conservation and land issues were initially far from my purview. However, in time, I began getting pulled into discussions about WMAs, always with the pressing question, “were WMAs friend or foe of communities?” While staying in Tanzania, I spent time with a host of land rights advocates and some well-known critical WMA scholars, not to mention Maasai leaders intimately embroiled in WMAs across Tanzania and Enduimet's WMA. The accounts I received about WMAs and their threat to indigenous livelihoods led me to my current interest and focus. After a fortuitous meeting with John Galaty of McGill University in Longido in 2008, I decided to embark on the research that now informs this thesis, as part of a larger project on property, conservation and land dispossession. Starting in 2010, I began reviewing critical scholarship about conservation, WMAs, tourism, indigenous peoples and the Maasai. Given my ongoing work with civil society groups in Longido District, I have been fortunate to visit Longido and Enduimet on an annual basis. I have done this consecutively since 2010 to the time of writing, which has allowed for ongoing research, follow up and dissemination. In 2012, my first formal research engagement began with participation in a national level meeting about Community Wildlife Management, where I was thoroughly introduced to the intense politics that surround conservation in Tanzania and cultivated relations with an array of relevant stakeholders, from national land rights groups, to international conservation organizations, foreign aid agencies and

government authorities. This positioned me well for the multi-sited nature of my research, from local village context in Enduimet, to tourism business and conservation NGO offices and events in Arusha, to government Ministry boardrooms, USAID offices and workshops in Dar es Salaam.

The bulk of my findings arise from 12 months of field work from January to December 2013, which involved participant observation, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Most was facilitated in Swahili, which I am relatively fluent in. I worked with a Maasai youth from Enduimet for the duration of my time, which offered opportunity to conduct interviews in Maa with translation support, when necessary. Interviews were typically audio-recorded, with key parts transcribed to document quotes and key statements. Field notes formed the basis of most the research.

I stayed predominantly in the Enduimet WMA, splitting my time between Olmolog Village, where the WMA office is, and other villages. A lot of time was spent in Sinya village, given the village's distinct history and politics. I immersed myself as much as possible in the daily life of the WMA, which ranged from spending time observing mundane office activities and participating in meetings, to joining WMA rangers in their daily scouting activities. I joined village meetings as well as village demonstrations against investors. I hung out with traditional leaders, herded livestock with *ilmurran* and sold vegetables with women, all the while trying to get an understanding of their perspectives on government, wildlife, conservation, tourism and the WMA. I stayed in temporary herding settlements, conducting focus group discussions and mapping out their perspectives on village versus traditional regimes of government. I spent a lot of time with Enduimet leaders and WMA executives, getting insights into the history of conservation in Enduimet and the making and remaking of the WMA. I scrutinized maps and

documents, from WMA and village meeting minutes to policy documents and constitutions. I joined District meetings and deliberations, where I was fortunate to have amicable relations with key officials who offered important insights. I was fortunate to join some of USAID's WMA evaluation activities in Enduimet, as well as other WMAs. In 2015, I spent two months visiting other WMAs, so I could understand Enduimet's uniqueness. In Arusha, I spent time with my official host, the national NGO, Tanzania Natural Resource Forum. I interviewed NGO personnel in Arusha, especially AWF. I joined tourism events, from cocktail parties to lodge openings and "elephant marches" (i.e. anti-poaching street marches, organized by conservation and tourism groups). I visited Dar es Salaam on several occasions, to join national WMA workshops and interview donors and government officials.

Methodologically, my research is distinct in a few ways, introducing both opportunity and limitations. During annual visits, I was offered unique opportunities to follow up on my findings and continue following key events, such as lengthy, ongoing conflicts with investors. As Lund and Saito-Jensen (2013) demonstrate, when it comes to projects, like the WMA, that include democratization processes and participatory initiatives, these are always dynamic and change over time. "Snapshot representations" sometimes do more harm to our understanding than good: "[they] may gloss over the dynamic nature of social relations and ongoing power struggles among social groups" (Lund & Saito-Jensen, p. 27). A picture of the Enduimet WMA in 2008 is very different than in 2013 and may be quite different in 2020.

This is the nature of such projects. Hence, while all research will be limited, thorough understandings require longer-than-normal studies with successive assessments.

My history in Longido District and my long-time relations with some of the key stakeholders offered obvious help. It likewise made some moments complicated, like when government

officials began calling me to gain insights into WMA decisions and activities. Undoubtedly, my history in the community biases my perspective. I have spent over a decade allying with Longido community groups and NGOs, so I cannot feign any impartiality concerning some of the blatant exploitation and disregard that I confronted, at times, in my research.

One last distinction relates to the nature of researching what Chua (2004) refers to as “invisible government” (p. 149) or what Martin Walsh (2013) refers to as the “hidden histories and invisible hands” (p.323) of Tanzania’s rural tourism. By this, I mean the behind-the-scenes, hidden activities that generally characterized many of the conflicts that I tried to document: the hidden relations, lobbying, and so on, between tourism investors and government authorities or judiciary judges and officials. How do you study and document the invisible and hidden? This is mainly the case in Part II of this thesis, wherein I document conflicts with trophy hunters, powerful photographic tourism investors and the ongoing legal battle with a German investor, all of which allegedly entail hidden dynamics and collusions. Given their hiddenness, my accounts are solely based on small glimpses of my own and on the experiences/perspectives of Enduimet leaders and residents, who also have only partial knowledge and insights. What are the implications for ethnography? There is certainly adequate information to know that these are important stories to tell and implicate discussions that need to happen, but what are the ethics around relying on partial perspectives and the limited insights of research participants? What are the concerns in terms of the tourism investors who are implicated? How do we weigh such factors?

As I compiled the chapters in Part II, I took some solace from Martin Walsh’s work (2012). He documented the hidden collusion and manipulation of private investors that amounted to

displacing 300,000 livestock from contested tourist sites in Ruaha. He offers the important caveat to his documentation, which I share at length and apply likewise to my own:

I refer to these as “hidden histories” because they reveal the importance of interventions by agents whose role has generally been hidden from view or misunderstood. The main protagonists have all had good reason to conceal or downplay their influence, and it is not surprising that many aspects of their... involvement in these events remain hidden. My access to these histories has been both privileged and partial... However, the complexity of events and the nature of their temporal and spatial extension precluded the kind of participation that conventional ethnography demands... I make no apology for writing from a personal perspective, and acknowledge that my description of these episodes is provisional and open to challenge.

iii. Organization of the thesis

Chapter One offers an introduction to the place, space and history of Enduimet. It begins with a general overview of some key geographical attributes of the area and its new status as a WMA. It then turns to a look at some of Enduimet’s history and the territorialities that constitute it, with a special look at the arrival of ecotourism in Enduimet and its beginnings as “safari land”.

I then turn to the first of two key parts. In Part I, I consider Enduimet’s history of making space for giants and, concomitantly, becoming wilderness. It includes three chapters. The first chapter (i.e. Chapter Two of the thesis), focuses on Enduimet’s encounter with conservation, from the arrival of early elephant researchers to AWF’s entry and the subsequent conservation initiatives that begin to engulf Enduimet. This all culminates in the formation of the Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Chapter Three looks in detail at some of the processes that were

involved in making the WMA. It focuses on the early planning and implementation phase, which was characterized, in my analysis, by a practice of government (i.e. rendering technical) and a relatively passive engagement by Enduimet leaders who seemed, at that time, “just along for the ride”. Everything changed in the WMA’s second phase, when Enduimet leaders began actively driving the WMA. This is the focus of Chapter Four, wherein I argue that a practice of politics (i.e. rendering political) begins defining the WMA and repositions Enduimet leaders vis-à-vis the state and the tourism market. This is a period that especially demonstrates leaders’ bricolage, appropriating WMA structures and institutions to protect pastoralism and redress historical grievances against tourism. This includes an effort to implement accountability and surveillance mechanisms, which illuminate the hidden economy that has historically characterized rural tourism and had been a source of exploitation and resentment.

Part II turns to a more detailed focus on the various conflicts that have emerged in Enduimet, as leaders attempt to redress historical grievances. It reflects the conflicts that emerge at the next of a “will to conserve” and “enterprising wildlife” (i.e. capitalism). As the title of this part conveys, it reflects turbulent times for the WMA and corresponding community. As a framework, I draw on Amy Chua’s thesis about the conflicts – or better put, collisions – that sometimes arise with so-called “free market democracy” reforms. Chapter Five looks at the history of trophy hunting in Tanzania generally and Enduimet specifically, outlining Enduimet’s recent backlash against the industry and some dubious actors within it. Chapter Six explores the history and nature of the Noombopong crisis, a luxury hotel project that Enduimet was part-owner of, placed a lot of hope in, started to build but, then, was shockingly terminated, supposedly by a group of neighboring tourism investors who were displeased. According to Enduimet leaders, their crushing disappointment is related to the “dirty games”, “hidden histories

and invisible hands” that characterize much of Tanzania’s rural tourism. It all amounts to a backlash against democracy, in Chua’s terms. Chapter Six focuses on Enduimet’s longest and tumultuous conflict with a German investor, who arrived prior to the WMA’s inauguration and has caused contempt ever since. The saga includes Enduimet’s backlash against the company but then a backlash against democracy, as the German investor deploys dubious strategies to subvert the WMA’s decision to evict the company. He ultimately enlists Tanzania’s judiciary, amounting to what I refer to as “rule by law” and the “judicialization of politics”.

I conclude the thesis with some further reflections on how we can conceive Enduimet’s “will to conserve” and corollary processes. I also return to my statement about the precariousness of living with elephants via the question “where is the WMA now headed?” I share some recent developments that are cause for concern and which, potentially, may overturn Enduimet’s laudable achievements thus far. Making space for giants, I conclude, is always a precarious affair.

CHAPTER 1

SITUATING ENDUIMET

We have been divided into villages. Today, we say I am from Olmolog or Sinya or another village. In the past, we said we are all from one area. We call it an enkutoto. We were from Enduimet. This has changed because of villages. But, even today, if you look below, we are all still Enduimet. We are one community. How many? One. It is still one enkutoto. Our history has not been lost, even if, these days, we stay in villages.

(Elerai village resident, August 2013)



Introduction

What is this place called Enduimet? What is its current status as a Maasai community in northern Tanzania? Its place-in-the-world? What is its history? Its transition from traditional to modern regimes of rule and territory? This chapter engages these questions, aiming to contextualize the proceeding sections of this dissertation. It follows the premise that the past is always in the present (Ellis, 2102; Moore, 2005).

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I provide a brief overview of some key geographical characteristics that constitute contemporary Enduimet, including a look at its current status as a WMA. Second, I turn to a look at Enduimet's history, outlining some key landmarks in the precolonial, colonial, postcolonial and neoliberal eras. I adopt a focus on territoriality, concluding with some reflection on Dawson, Zonotti and Vaccaro's (2014) idea about transitions and dialogues between traditional and modern forms – essentially, processes of “negotiating territoriality”.

i. Introducing Enduimet

There are three key referents of the name, Enduimet. In historic and traditional terms, it refers to a territorial sub-section (i.e. *enikutoto*) of the Ilkisongo section of Maasai. I describe this in proceeding parts of this chapter. In government-administrative terms, Enduimet refers to a Division within the Longido District of the Arusha Region⁴. The Enduimet Division encompasses 1,282 km², stretching across the northern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, across the area to the west of the mountain (known as the West Kilimanjaro basin) and across the low-lying, dry savannah that stretches across this whole region of northern Tanzania. It is bordered by Kenya in the north and the Kilimanjaro National Park and Siha District to the south (see

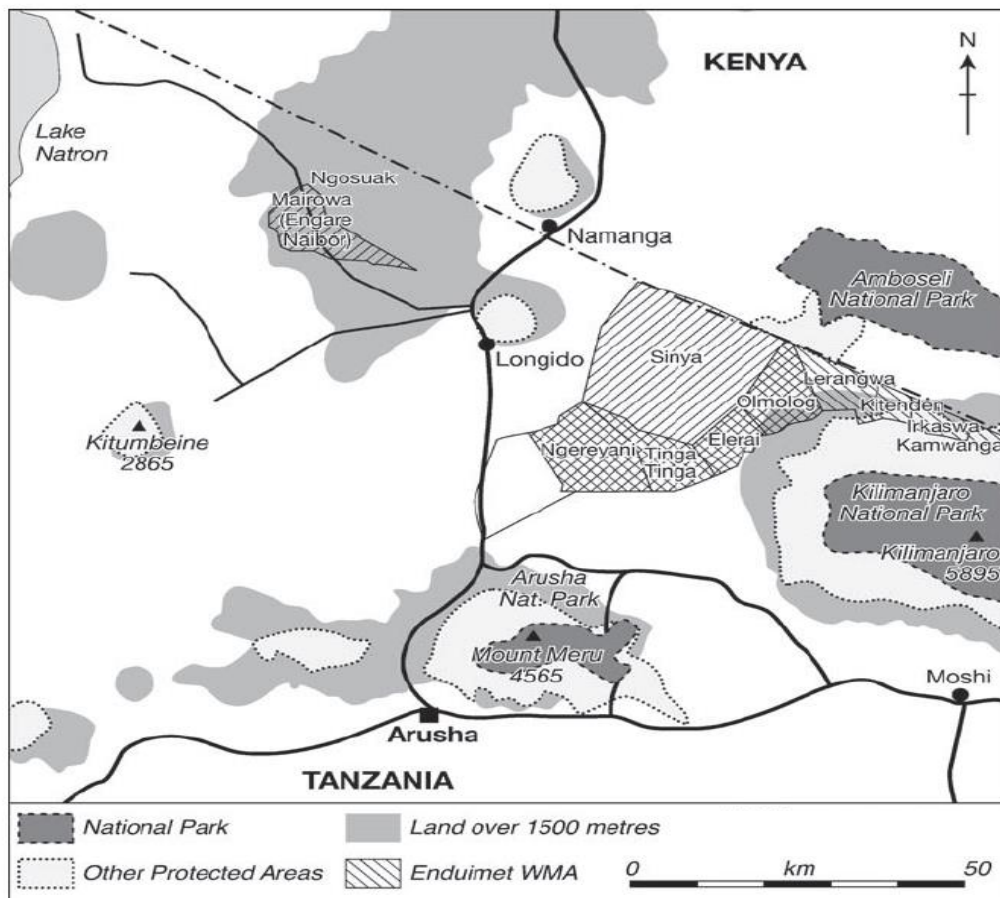


Figure 2 Map of Enduimet Division and corresponding WMA (Reprinted from Homewood et al. 2009)

⁴ In Tanzania, the political, administrative order is broken down into the following constituencies, listed from the smallest to largest: sub-village, village, ward, division, district and region.

Figure 2 above). With its proximity to the famous Amboseli National Park in Kenya, it is considered part of the greater Amboseli ecosystem (Longido District, 2018).

At the time of my research in 2013, the Division comprised two wards. Tingatinga Ward lies to the west and north of the mountain and includes the villages of Ngereyani, Tingatinga, and Sinya. Olmolog Ward lies on the northern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro and includes the villages of Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa, Kitendeni, Irksaswa and Kamwanga. I often refer to these latter villages as “highland villages”, given their higher elevation (e.g. see “Land over 1500m” in Figure 2) and distinct economies.

In addition to its reference as a government Division, most recently, Enduimet refers to a Wildlife Management Area (WMA), called the Enduimet WMA, which now encompasses 751

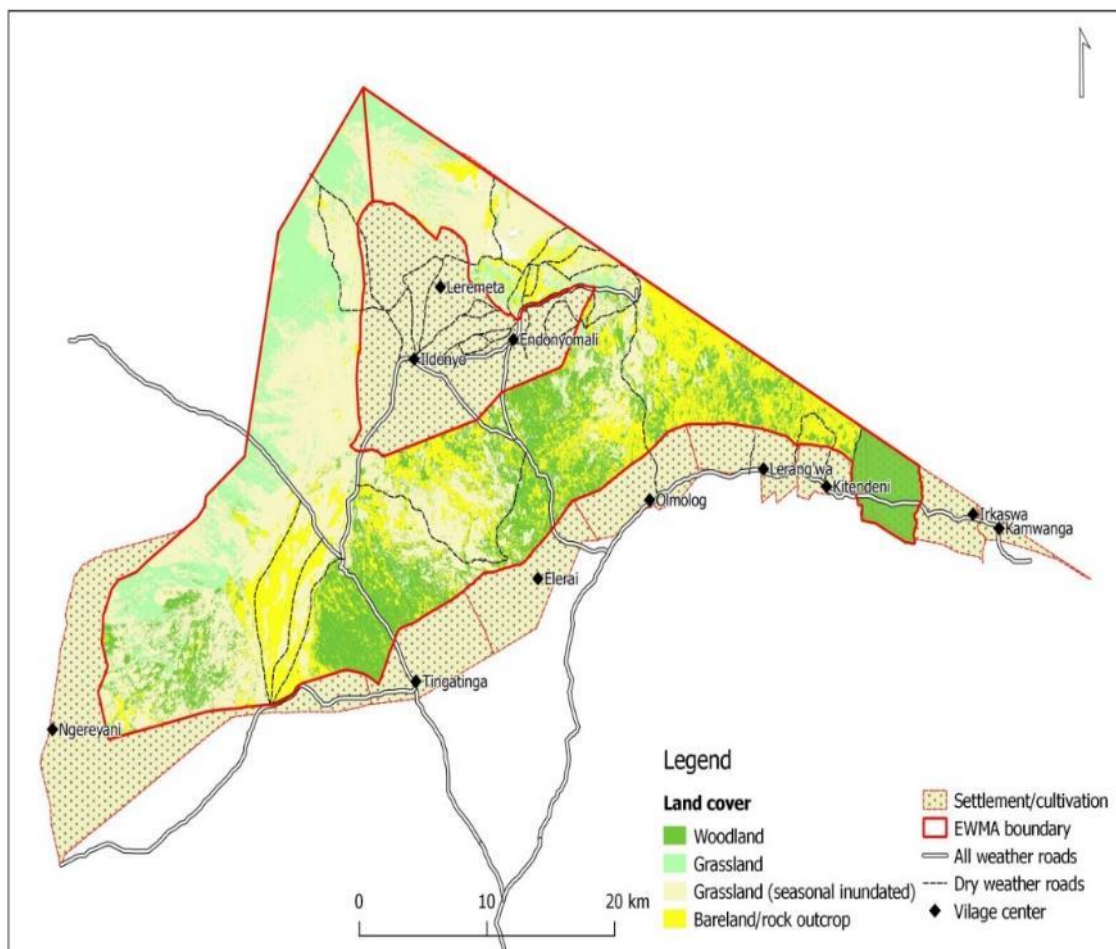


Figure 3 Enduimet WMA, including land cover types (Reprinted from Longido District, 2018)

km² of the Division's territory. Nowadays, it is this reference that is especially common. In unprecedented fashion, the WMA has brought Enduimet into the purview of Tanzanian ministries, government autocrats, international conservationists, land rights advocates and scholars alike. Subsequently, the name Enduimet has become synonymous with the WMA that now defines it.

Accordingly, throughout this thesis, my reference to Enduimet, unless otherwise specified, refers to the territory of the Enduimet WMA, the villages therein and the leaders and residents that constitute it. I often refer to "Enduimet leaders" as a catch-all reference to the various traditional leaders, village leaders or WMA leaders who, in one fashion or other, are part of governing today's WMA territory. I disaggregate and specify leaders and groups when it is important to my analysis.

Ecologically-speaking, Enduimet mostly comprises a dryland ecology with patchy, bimodal climate patterns. Figure 3 above offers an overview of the area's vegetative composition, from open woodlands, bushlands and grasslands. The figure illustrates Enduimet's vast rangeland, which serves as the basis for the area's pastoral livelihoods. Enduimet's more elevated areas receive higher rates of annual precipitation and, in recent times, are mostly used for small-scale cultivation (see, for example, the "cultivated land" in Figure 3). This ecological factor divides Enduimet into distinctly low and highland areas (Trench, Kiruswa, Nelson, & Homewood, 2009), with corollary livelihood patterns of diversification (e.g. cultivation) and specialization (e.g. livestock production).

Recent population figures of Enduimet are presented in Figure 4. It is estimated that the total population is upward of 50,000 (Mbilyi, Kashaigili, Mwamakimbullah, & Songorwa, 2012). The area is rather sparsely populated in much of the low, dry regions. More dense populations

are congregated around village centers in the higher areas, where households have easier access to water infrastructure, government services (e.g. health and education) and, importantly, small plots of fertile land for cultivation.

Ethnically-speaking, Enduimet is predominantly comprised by Ilkisongo Maasai. As discussed in more detail below, the title, Ilkisongo, refers to a section of the larger ethnic group, Maasai. The details of their arrival in Enduimet remain uncertain. Based on oral histories and colonial records, H.A. Fosbrooke (1948), a British colonial officer, suggests that, by the beginning of the 19th Century, the Maasai had already made contact with the Wahehe people of central Tanzania, indicating their early arrival and settlement in northern Tanzania. In specific reference to the Enduimet area, in his historical account, Spear (1997) refers to violent conflicts around the northern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro that were occurring in the late 19th Century between Ilkisongo Maasai and the Parakuyo Maasai. It is likely that today's Ilkisongo inhabitants of Enduimet began to dominate the area at this time and have maintained their dominance since. While in-migration to some of the village centers, especially in Kamanga and Irkaswa, have invariably introduced new ethnic groups to the area (WaArusha, WaChagga, WaPare and

Table 3.2.1: Population data for Enduimet WMA member villages

S/No.	Village	Males	Females	Total
1.	Kamwanga	3,335	3,385	6,720
2.	Tinga Tinga	1,653	2,225	3,878
3.	Elerai	1,578	2,378	3,956
4.	Kitendeni	1,825	2,027	3,852
5.	Irkaswa	3,415	3,445	6,860
6.	Sinya	2,242	3,416	5,658
7.	Ngereiyani	2,209	2,627	4,836
8.	Olmolog	2,251	2,267	4,518
9.	Lerang'wa	3,305	3,520	6,825
Total		21,813	25,290	47,103

Source: Enduimet WMA Office as collected from Village Executive Officers (2011)

Figure 4 Enduimet population figures (Reprinted from Mbilinyi et al., 2012)

WaMeru), today's Enduimet still remains vastly Ilkisongo Maasai (Homewood, Kristjanson, & Trench, 2009).

S/No.	Village Name	Cattle	Goats/Sheep
1	Kamwanga	450	470
2	Tinga Tinga	4,250	600
3	Elerai	5,300	12,450
4	Kitendeni	4,800	7,500
5	Irkaswa	1,200	800
6	Sinya	5,200	12,000
7	Ngereiyani	2,845	12,300
8	Olmolog	5,120	11,200
9	Lerang'wa	5,180	9,500
Total		34,345	66,820

Source: Enduimet WMA Office as collected from Village Executive Officers (2011)

Figure 5 Approximate livestock numbers in Enduimet (Reprinted from Mbilinyi et al. 2012)

Accordingly, pastoralism and livestock production remain the backbone of Enduimet livelihoods (Hartwig & James, 2010; Trench et al., 2009; USAID, 2013). The continuing prominence of livestock production, despite trends of diversification, reflect general patterns across Maasai areas in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania. Homewood et al. (2009) refer to this persistent pattern as “staying Maasai” (p.374). Enduimet households embody such patterns. Trench et al. (2009) found that 95% of households own livestock (p.226). The authors also found that the average livestock holdings for a household are 51 tropical livestock units, with an average amounting to only 4.2 tropical livestock units/adult unit⁵ (TLU/AU) (p.226). Notably, though, ownership is highly skewed across socio-economic groups and across different villages, with 85% of households owning less than eight (TLU/AU) (Trench, et al., p.227). The size of herds across different villages correspond to ecological differences – e.g. access to fertile lands for cultivation. Where households have been able to diversify into cultivation, livestock numbers are generally lower. The TLU/AU in the highland village of Elerai, for example, is 2.4 (Trench et

⁵ TLU/AU is a common measure to assess the economic status of pastoralist households (i.e. asset-based poverty). Little et al. (2008) argue that <4.5 TLU/AU represents a highly vulnerable threshold of poverty.

al., p.226). In the lower lying village of Ngereyani, where cultivation is less, it is 6.4 (Trench et al., p.226). As seen in Figure 5, the total numbers of livestock across Enduimet villages, according to reported numbers in 2011, amount to approximately 100,000 (Mbilyini et al., 2012)⁶. As will be seen, these numbers become very important vis-à-vis the livestock grazing regulations that emerge in the WMA.

Assessing the status of wealth and poverty is notoriously difficult in pastoralist communities (Little, McPeak, Barrett, & Kristjanson, 2008; Homewood et al., 2009). Nevertheless, some studies suggest that many Enduimet households are ‘poorer’ (e.g. in terms of income and assets) than surrounding communities, and they often lack sufficient food security, especially in dry season periods (Lawson et al., 2014; Trench et al., 2009). In their study, which covered Longido District generally and included villages in Enduimet, Trench et al. (2009) report that “The population of Longido is poor by any standards, with gross annual income averaging \$809, for a mean household size of 8.9 adult equivalents (considerably less than the poverty datum line of \$1/person/day), and livestock holdings averaging 4.3 TLU per adult equivalent” (p. 230). In terms of child nutrition levels, some studies indicate that households in Enduimet are disadvantaged compared to neighbouring agricultural-based communities, mainly owing to shrinking land access across northern Tanzania, subsequent patterns of sedentarization and a general history of marginalization in Tanzania (Lawson et al., 2014).

Customary transhumance remains the norm in Enduimet (Trench et al., 2009). Like other pastoralists across the region, moving with their livestock is paramount for Enduimet livelihoods – a key adaptation to the area’s dryland ecology (Homewood, 2008). In dry seasons, and

⁶ It is worth noting that determining actual livestock numbers in pastoralist areas is very difficult (McCabe, 2004), given certain socio-cultural institutions that dissuade households from being open about such matters. Nevertheless, while there is reason to be suspicious of the numbers in Figure 5, they serve as a helpful estimation and offer a general picture of livestock in Enduimet.

especially in periods of drought, some members of the family travel with herds to temporary camps. The locations of camps vary, in accordance with each year's rains and each families' social networks (often established via marriage institutions), but may extend as far as southern Kenya, Tanzania's Maasai Steppe in Simanjiro and Kiteto Districts, or Manyara District – e.g. sometimes distances of a hundred kilometers or more. During rainy seasons, mobility is permitted to closer ranges and may not require residence elsewhere. Village residents typically stay within their respective village boundaries during these periods. In dry seasons, though, most households split their livestock across different camps outside of Longido District (Trench et al., 2009, p. 227).

Similar to trends elsewhere in Maasailand, Enduimet households have diversified their livelihoods (Homewood et al., 2009). Of course, opportunities vary quite widely according to ecological and other variables (e.g. access to markets, government services, infrastructure, etc.). Given its relatively isolated context, diversification beyond natural resource-based livelihoods has been limited, for most households. However, small amounts of off-farm income and remittances characterize up to fifty percent of households (Trench et al., 2009).

The most significant form of diversification in Enduimet is the adoption of small-scale cultivation, for both subsistence and commercial production. Most livelihood portfolios in Enduimet include some cultivation. Of course, this pattern is highly specific to village location (e.g. elevation) and corresponding patterns of precipitation. The more elevated villages (e.g. Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa, Kitendeni, Irkaswa and Kamwanga), situated on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro (>1,500 m a.s.l.), receive up to 600 mm mean annual rainfall (Trench et al., 2009, p. 224). Figure 6 below illustrates some of Enduimet's villages and their corresponding agro-climatic potential (Trench et al., 2009). In the highland villages, most households are agro-

pastoralist, relying, at least to some degree, on cultivation. In Olmolog, for example, 93% of households cultivate. Similarly high rates of cultivation characterize the other highland villages (Longido Council, 2011; Hartwig & James, 2010). For those situated in the relatively fertile West Kilimanjaro basin (e.g. Tingatinga and Ngereyani), up to half of households incorporate cultivation into their household economies.

Nature of cultivation in each study site, including percent households cultivating and mean area cultivated per household in different agroecological zones								
Site	Upland		Lowland		Irrigated		Agro-climatic potential	Wildlife constraints to agriculture
	Per cent hh	Area (ha)	Per cent hh	Area (ha)	Per cent hh	Area (ha)		
Sinya	0	0	4	0.05	0	–	Too dry	very high
Elerai	81	1.90	0	0	0	–	Mostly arid lowland, with small area of high potential	Minimal
Ngereyani	0	0	43	0.68	0	–	Little irrigable land	High (elephant)
Olmolog	95	1.86	3	0.03	0	–	Good rainfed	Minimal
Tinga Tinga	5	0.04	65	2.17	5	–	Half and half	High
Mairowa	10	0.23	93	3.89	0	–	Good rainfed	During dry periods

Figure 6 Agro-climatic potential in some Enduimet villages (Reprinted from Homewood et al., 2009)

Notably, illustrating the rather vast differences across Enduimet, cultivation in Sinya is negligible due to agro-climatic factors. Generally-speaking, households in the highland villages and many in the West Kilimanjaro basin are characterized by diversification (e.g. mainly cultivation) while households in lowland villages, especially in Sinya, are characterized mainly by specialization (e.g. a focus primarily on livestock production).

The differences arising between Sinya and its highland neighbours cannot be overstated. Indeed, it is important to recognize that one of Enduimet's more recent defining features is the identity politics that are arising between Sinya and its immediate neighbours in the highland areas, namely in Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa and Kitendeni villages. In recent decades, Sinya has become a distinct entity in Enduimet, whether in cultural, social, economic or political

domains. To put it one way, while the highlands villages have been characterized by diversification (e.g. cultivation), land privatization, Christianization and other trends associated with so-called “modernization”, Sinya has generally remained a mainstay of so-called “tradition”. Highland households are largely “agro-pastoralist” while Sinya residents remain “pure” pastoralists. Of course, such concepts, typology and simple binaries are problematic, but this is how such differences are popularly conceived in Enduimet. This is especially the case in the eyes of Sinya leaders and residents who have begun to differentiate themselves and, as discussed below, carry some resentment toward their highland counterparts. Suffice it to say that such identity politics sometimes animate today’s conflicts and struggles over resources.

The last, defining characteristic of Enduimet, which must be highlighted, is its wildlife. Enduimet is home to much of Africa’s iconic wildlife. Much of Enduimet’s landscape reflects all the most stereotypical visions of “wild Africa” (Adams & McShane, 1992): e.g. vast savannahs spotted with iconic acacia trees, inhabited by large herds of wildlife and iconic predators. The area is home to elephant, lion, leopard, cheetah, buffalo, giraffe, oryx, lesser kudu, eland, gerenuk, zebra, klipspringer, hartebeest, bushbuck, wildebeest, hyena, Thomson gazelle, Grants gazelle, impala, dikdik and many other animals (Mbilinyi et al., 2012). Figure 7 illustrates the density and distribution of large herbivores in Longido District, noting the relatively large populations of elephant. Enduimet represents an important breeding ground especially for buffalo, elephant, wildebeest and zebra (Mbilinyi et al., 2012).

As highlighted in the introduction, elephants loom large across the Enduimet territory. Enduimet commonly hosts over 600 elephants (Longido District, 2018). As seen in Figure 7, the area’s large elephant and other wildlife populations are owed especially to its location between

pastoralist movement and livelihood can enhance dry savanna ecosystems (Niamir-Fuller et al., 2012; Reid, 2012). I stress this point, here, in anticipation of discussions in Chapter Three, where dominant discourse about livestock degradation and corresponding efforts to reduce livestock begin to characterize the WMA's early planning meetings.

As stressed in the introduction, since Enduimet's beginning, it is its wildlife, especially elephants, which has defined the community's entanglement with the rest of the nation and world. First Arab and then white European ivory hunters crossed its territory in precolonial times, in search of the riches promised by the lucrative ivory trade. Trophy hunting continued throughout colonial and postcolonial times and has become one of Enduimet's most promising sources of foreign revenue (Wright, 2016; Longido District, 2011). Additionally, photographic tourists now number in the thousands each year and represent a source of growing revenue (Longido District, 2011).

Wildlife tourism is now a defining feature and key force in Enduimet. The space of Enduimet has become synonymous with "safari" ⁷, associated, at least by the hundreds of foreign tourists that visit it, by its wildlife and 'wildness'. One of Enduimet's tourism investors represents the area as follows on their website:

The Amboseli National Park lies at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro near the border of Tanzania and nearby Shu'mata Camp. The elephants of Amboseli have a legendary story. This barren land scattered with "islands" of old acacia forests and seasonal swamps flank the pans of the 'embosel' ecosystem stretching to the lower slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. It is this region, away from the busy tourism areas of northern Tanzania, where the elder

⁷ Most readers are probably familiar with the concept of the African "safari". For those that are not, it is the common way of referring to a trip through Africa's rural spaces and protected areas, associated with hunting or photographing the continent's iconic wildlife. "Safari", in Swahili, is the noun for "journey", derived from the verb, "kusafiri", or "to journey/travel".

elephants retreat to live out their final years – in peace and harmony away from the madding crowds. On foot with Maasai warriors or in open top game drive vehicles, we get within meters of Africa’s largest mammals creating timeless moments. Sensing the great peace and beauty of these magnificent creatures and calmly sharing the habitat of the Maasai and their cattle, a true original part of Africa. (Shu’mata Camp, n.d.)

This excerpt offers a glimpse into how Enduimet is imagined and marketed. It illustrates the primacy of its elephants. Interestingly, it also shows how the Maasai’s indigenous identity has also become commodified in the new trends of cultural and “eco” tourism. These days, if they remain in the right places (e.g. out of the core wildlife areas), act in the right way (e.g. exclusive focus on livestock production), dress in the right way (e.g. in their traditional, colorful blankets), and carry the right weapons (e.g. the long spear historically associated with the youth “warriors”), the Maasai themselves are part and parcel of the desired tourism package. They just must remain photogenic and not get too much in the way of tourists’ wildlife-photo priorities.

Of course, living with elephants and other wildlife implicates more than tourism revenue. It implicates many costs for livelihoods and human life. Human wildlife conflict has become another defining feature of Enduimet (Longido District, 2011). During the duration of my research, I witnessed elephants trample vast swathes of maize fields, walked through fields where herds of zebra and eland consumed large areas, heard devastating stories of lion, leopard and hyena killing large numbers of livestock and, most sadly, I sat with families who lost children to marauding elephants. Human wildlife conflict remains one of Enduimet’s most significant challenges – its Achilles heel, if you will. Residents’ grievances, which remain unaddressed, represent a major threat to wildlife conservation objectives. This can be seen in the retaliatory killings that have arisen in recent times across the region (Mariki, Svarstad, &

Benjaminsen, 2015), including several elephant and lion killings that occurred during my research.

Enduimet's coexistence with wildlife has led to its multiple entanglements with global conservation and "powerful environmentalisms" (Brockington, 2008). Becoming safariland and becoming wilderness always go hand in hand. They are necessary bedfellows and nurture each other. Most recently, Enduimet's engagement with conservation includes the formation of a

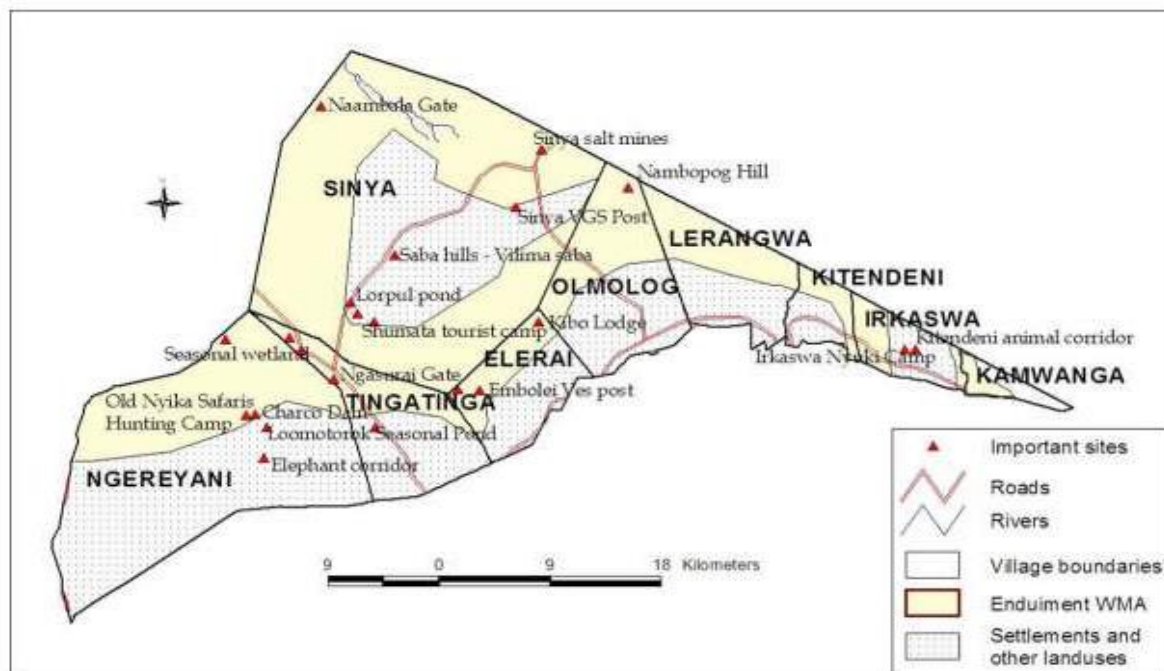


Figure 8 Enduimet WMA (Reprinted from Mbilinyi et al., 2012)

Wildlife Management Area (WMA), Tanzania's most recent attempt to expand wildlife conservation and tourism. Some comments about the WMA are pertinent here. Undoubtedly, the WMA defines today's Enduimet. At the time of my field research, the WMA included membership of the nine villages of the Enduimet Division, including Ngereyani, Tingatinga, Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa, Kitendeni, Irkaswa, Kamwanga and Sinya (see Figure 8)⁸. As

⁸ Recently, Sinya subdivided into three villages, now comprising a new ward by the same name. For simplicity's sake, though, and to reflect the status of the WMA during my field research, I will continue to refer to the original nine villages through this dissertation.

shown in Figure 8, each village, with the exception of Kamwanga, contributed a portion of its land to the WMA. Overall, almost 90% of the villages' land is now encompassed by the WMA. Put another way, the WMA now encompasses almost all of Enduimet's traditional territory, the *enkutoto* that I describe below.

Formally-speaking, this land remains under the legal jurisdiction of village authorities, namely the Village Councils and their respective General Assemblies (which include all adult members of respective villages). Informally-speaking, certain dimensions of traditional territoriality and management persist, with village leaders respecting and deferring to traditional leaders in matters associated with grazing, access and movement.

Importantly, though, with registration of the WMA in 2007, and the subsequent gazettement as a new conservation space, the land now also falls under the jurisdiction of WMA policies, regulations and associated governing bodies. See the WMA's organogram in Figure 9 below, which illustrates the key entities that are involved in WMA governance⁹. In general, the WMA territory falls under the authority of the WMA's Authorized Association (which is comprised of elected representatives from each village), respective WMA policies (e.g. its land use regulations) and the heavy influence of central government authorities – namely, the Wildlife Division and Director who maintain significant powers of oversight. It all represents a complex and sometimes ominous ensemble, often replete with contradictory processes of decentralization and *recentralization* (Wright, 2017).

⁹ It is worth noting that the organogram in Figure 9 mistakenly identifies the Authorized Associations as "Authorized Authorities".

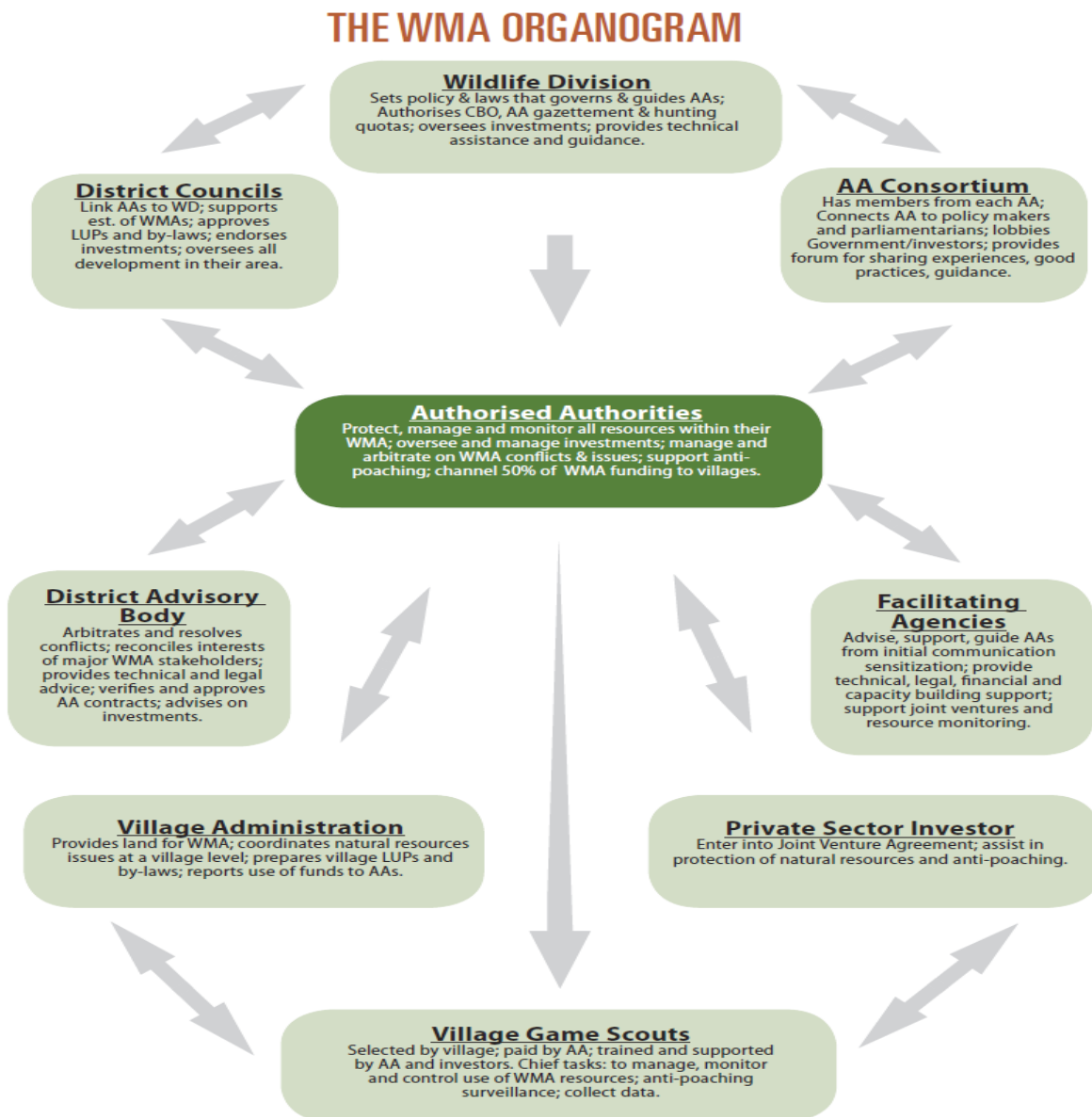


Figure 9 WMA Organogram (Reprinted from AWF, n.d.)

At least to date, the area of the WMA remains a mixed-use area that restricts permanent human habitation but permits customary resource use (e.g. livestock grazing, firewood collection, herb collection, water collection, and so on). It reflects an integrative model of wildlife conservation, tourism and customary land use. While this has been a laudable achievement thus far, it must be stressed that the ongoing status of customary resource use, especially livestock grazing, is a point of contention and paramount concern vis-à-vis evolving

WMA policies. Customary land use in Enduimet's WMA is under persistent threat from central government authorities, international conservation agencies and tourism investors (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012; Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary, & Maganga, 2013; Wright, 2016; Wright, 2017).

How has the WMA actually performed? This question is difficult because it depends on how we define 'good performance.' This is a contentious issue. Here, let me focus on the officially stated purposes of the WMA: to conserve wildlife while simultaneously contributing tourism revenue to communities – a so-called “integrated conservation and development” approach (Hutton, Adams, & Murombedzi, 2005). In terms of the former, the Enduimet WMA, by all accounts, has apparently proven effective. According to discussions with the area's Village Game Scouts (VGS), who conduct wildlife surveys, wildlife populations continue to increase. Researchers of a USAID-funded WMA Evaluation in 2013 concluded that wildlife numbers in Enduimet “show clear increases in numbers of species over time” (USAID, 2013, p.15).

On a development and economic front, success is less apparent, and, for many, the WMA reflects a major failure. This said, WMA revenues have increased since its inception, reaching up to \$180,000 USD in 2015 from less than \$6000 USD in 2007 (pers. communication, WMA accountant, July 2016). Figure 10, from Homewood et al.'s study in 2016 (PIMA, n.d.), illustrates the WMA's consistent growth. This amount is expected to almost double in the coming years, with expected increases in trophy hunting revenues and the expected resolution of a long-time conflict with one investor (pers. communication, WMA accountant, August 2017).

While this growth is laudable, it must be emphasized that it falls far from achieving the WMA's official goals of creating independently responsible and self-sufficient communities. It is

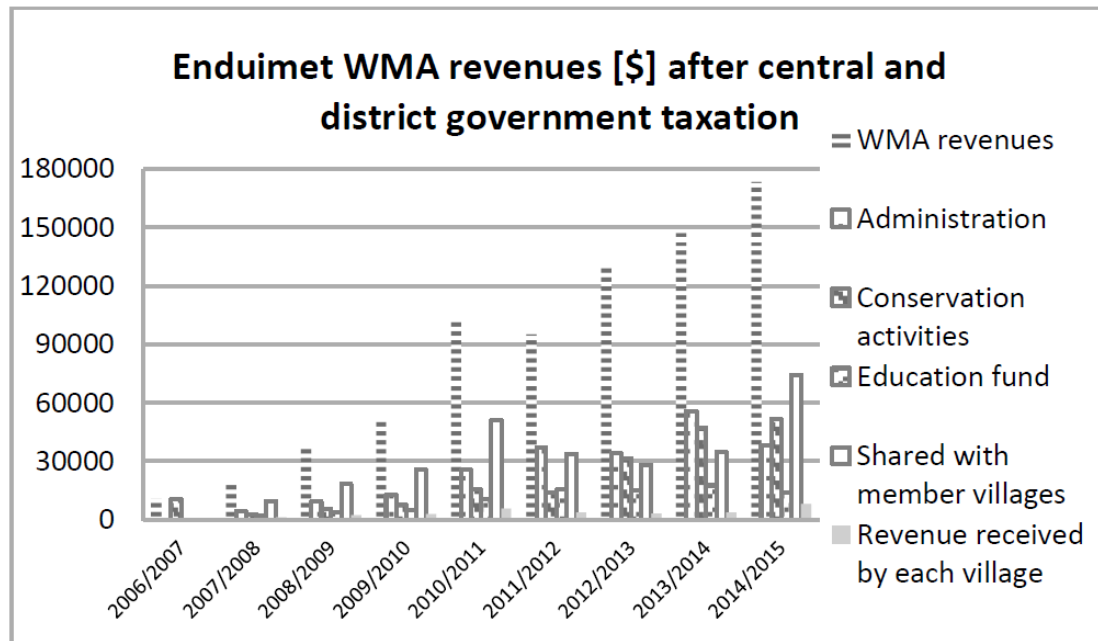


Figure 10 Enduimet WMA Revenue (Reprinted from PIMA Dissemination Note, n.d.)

important to note that the tourism revenue generated by the WMA is divided between the WMA's managing body, the Authorized Association (AA), and respective village members. The AA receives only half of the total tourism earnings, with the other half being divided evenly among villages. To put it frankly, the AA cannot pay its bills, nor will it likely ever be able to do so (e.g. given the revenue expected from existing and proposed tourism facilities). Subsequently, the AA depends heavily on international aid agencies to meet its operational costs. Money from USAID – via its NGO partners, like AWF and The Nature Conservancy – essentially runs the WMA. This reflects other trends across WMAs in Tanzania. With the exception of maybe one WMA (e.g. Ikona WMA, near the Serengeti National Park), all WMAs rely heavily on donors

for well over half their operating costs (NTRI, n.d.). Of course, this raises important concerns about the AAs' autonomy and self-determination.

The revenue that is shared with village members is also disappointing. The revenue is managed by Village Councils, reserved for public uses and investments, such as for public infrastructure, like roads, buildings, water systems, as well as scholarship programs for promising youth. After covering the costs of WMA operations (i.e. 50% of overall revenue), Village Councils earned \$8,250 USD in 2015 (PIMA, n.d.). On a per capita basis, considering the population figures in Figure 4, this amounts to between \$1-2 USD per year. Considering an average household size of 8.9 adult equivalents in Longido, a household may expect up to \$18 USD/year from the WMA – a rather paltry figure, given that a single cow may cost upwards of \$200 USD and even a single goat upwards of \$40 USD. It should also be noted that Trench et al.'s study (2009) reports that very few households gain any income from tourism employment. Given all of the above, I do not think there is any way of escaping the implication that, essentially, if conservation and tourism agendas are ever fulfilled (e.g. reducing, if not eliminating, livestock from the WMA), Enduimet residents are being asked to displace themselves from their traditional territory, significantly compromise their traditional use of resources, and jeopardize their household economies for negligible benefit. This will continue to be a significant conundrum facing Enduimet WMA, not to mention other WMAs throughout Tanzania.

Not surprisingly, most residents in Enduimet argue that they have seen little benefit from the WMA or tourism. Studies continue to demonstrate that tourism offers little to household economies (Trench et al., 2008; Longido District, 2018). Given the high costs (e.g. crop damage and human fatalities due to wildlife) and such low returns, it should be highlighted that there is

much criticism and disillusionment among Enduimet residents concerning the WMA's economic value. In stark contrast to the expectations often set by the WMA's donor agencies and facilitating consultants (e.g. in planning meetings in 2011, it was suggested the income could reach up to \$1 million USD), the WMA has neither offered much income nor tangible benefits to member villages.

USAID's WMA Evaluation in 2013 found that many Enduimet residents "are becoming impatient with the lack of individual and even community social benefits" (USAID 2013, p.21). Anger and frustration toward the WMA run high. The following quote from one Tingatinga leader captures the comment sentiment throughout Enduimet: "We bear the costs of conservation, but we benefit nothing". This all said, it should be noted that while grievances and disappointments are significant, most residents – 81% according to one study (USAID, 2013) – still hold out faith in the prospect of revenue from conservation and tourism and, subsequently, view the WMA positively. As put to me by one Enduimet youth, "people still have faith in wildlife and tourism".

Time will only tell how popular sentiments – i.e. the resiliency of their "faith" – unfold. Economically-speaking, it is reasonable to suggest that the WMA's economic legitimacy will continue to erode. What will continue to matter most, then, is how the WMA will intersect with traditional, pastoralist livelihoods and territoriality – the opportunity costs, if you will, of wildlife conservation.

This all said, it is important to note, and is one of this dissertation's key points, that issues of revenue and economics are only one dimension of satisfaction with the WMA. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the WMA has provoked not only issues about economics, but also about politics. As stated above, reflecting on the value of the WMA depends on how you define 'good

performance'. In contrast to the focus on wildlife numbers and money, which pervades the views of government, NGOs and tourism investors, many Enduimet leaders will argue that, on a political front, in terms of repositioning the community vis-à-vis unjust histories of tourism and conservation, the WMA holds much value and has performed somewhat satisfactorily, at least to date. This is the focus of later chapters.

ii. Enduimet's territorial histories: from *enkutoto*, to villages, to safariland

A look at Enduimet's history is important. The parameters of this thesis do not permit a detailed overview, but an outline of key events is helpful to situate today's politics and struggle. In the following, I use the idea of territoriality to refer to "the whole set of socio-spatial relations resulting in modes of resource management, actions, practices, motives, intentions, genesis, personal histories and cognitive recitals that lead to the production of territories" (Gonin & Gautier, 2015, p.2). The concept implicates an array of issues, including identity, politics of belonging, sovereignty, regimes of access and, most importantly, issues of authority over resources (Dawson et al., 2014, p. 21). Following on Dawson, Zonotti and Vaccaro's (2014) work, Enduimet's history can be conceived as a transition, dialogue and negotiation of traditional and modern territorialities. Present forces do not occlude the past but become "entangled landscapes" (Moore, 2005). For heuristic purposes, I divide the following discussion into four key eras: precolonial, colonial, postcolonial and neoliberal.

a. The precolonial era & emergence of traditional territoriality

Enduimet's traditional territoriality begins well over a century ago. In the late 19th Century, Ilkisongo Maasai migrated into today's Enduimet area, displacing other Maa-speaking groups

and establishing its own Ilkisongo territorial subsection. Their first arrival is remembered by today's Enduimet residents in the following 'arrival and conquer' legend:

A long, long time ago our people moved from what is now Kenya toward the great mountain of Kilimanjaro in search for better grazing and water. Upon approaching, they came upon the grazing area east of Mount Longido and Namanga. Lush grasslands seemed to stretch as far as the eye could see, from the low dryer rangelands of today's Sinya all the way up the slopes of the great Mount Kilimanjaro. The people all settled north of the Ing'arambuni kopje where they grazed their cattle on the extensive rangelands.

Their further descent toward Mount Kilimanjaro though was halted by an alarming phenomenon: every time the *ilmurran* were sent further south to graze their livestock, they were all killed. This created much panic in the community. There was much confusion and alarm because there were no other people to be seen anywhere in the vicinity of the area. The area was believed to be empty, as the previous inhabitants had already dispersed south at the threat of the encroaching, mighty Ilkisongo Maasai. The people all asked themselves, what could be the source of this atrocity? Rumors had begun to spread that a great ostrich with unparalleled ferocity was the source of the *ilmurran* terror and deaths. It was said that upon entering the southern area a great ostrich tore through the collection of herding *ilmurran* and with amazing speed, cut them all down one by one. The area was said to be red with the *ilmurran's* blood.

A large meeting of elders was called to discuss the phenomenon and deliberate on how to proceed. After all, the area was much needed for the people's

starving livestock. At this time, an aged, blind elder came up with a plan. He selected one of his warrior sons and advised him on a deadly mission. Upon proceeding south, he advised, enter the area of the *ilmurran* deaths. Continue with caution and watch carefully for this feared ostrich. As soon as you spot this ostrich, lay down. Pretend to be dead. With one eye open, watch this animal as it slays the other *ilmurran*. Stay down until long after the ostrich has departed, and when safe, return to us and tell us what you see. Tell us about this great ostrich and its source of such strength.

The *olmurrani* did as he was told. He proceeded south. And surely, upon arriving near the Ing'arambuni kopje, the ostrich came down in ferocious fashion, killing the *ilmurran*. As instructed, he laid down, playing dead, with one eye open. To his utter surprise, as the ostrich approached him, he learned of the bird's true identity: a Lumbwa warrior masquerading in the feathers of a great ostrich. The *olmurrani* returned to his people's encampment, reporting his astonishing findings.

Another great meeting of elders was gathered. A strategy needed to be devised. The warrior was obviously of unparalleled skill, and so a devious intervention was needed to defeat him, they concurred. The elders thus deliberated and chose a way forward that would surely be the overthrow of any warrior: a young, beautiful *endito* [a young, unmarried girl] was selected to seduce and betray the feared foe.

The *endito* was accompanied by the people's most skilled and courageous *ilmurran*. They set up an *orpul* [an isolated, often hidden area usually used for

meat feasts and ceremonial gatherings] near the kopje, where they patiently waited for three months in anticipation of killing the great Parakuiyo warrior and finally inhabiting the fruitful plains and water refuge of Mount Kilimanjaro.

On the first day, the *endito* approached the feared kopje. As expected, the Parakuiyo warrior quickly donned his feathers and swooped down toward the girl. Upon realizing it was a beautiful *endito*, the warrior didn't kill her. Instead, he took her with him to his dwelling in the kopje. She was kept captive and in a separate place from the warrior, only permitted to leave for her daily chore of water collection. Her only daily engagement with the warrior was in the evening when he would throw her some meat for her dinner. She persisted to build a relationship during these daily events. In time, she succeeded to join the warrior in his bed following each meat feast. She learned at this time of the warrior's key weakness: after the daily consumption of meat and sexual relations with the girl, he would fall into a very deep sleep. The girl knew this was the opportunity her people were waiting for – a vulnerability that could be exploited.

At the first opportunity, the girl deviated from her daily water collection chore to enter the *orpul* of the waiting *ilmurran*. She eagerly told them about her experience and the vulnerability she had learned through her exploits. The *ilmurran* arose with anticipation, promising the girl that they would enter the dwelling at the girl's advised time, following the daily habit of meat consumption, sex and deep sleep.

On the day of the warrior's final defeat, the girl continued as normal, pursuing her daily chores and awaiting the evening's rituals. In normal fashion,

the warrior came to her restricted area. They feasted on meat as usual, with the girl ensuring he ate as much as possible. She then embarked on the daily sex ritual. Following, she patiently waited until the great warrior reached his deep, deep sleep. She then quickly descended from the kopje to find the *ilmurran* waiting eagerly outside. She led them to the great warrior's dwelling, where he continued to be in the deepest of sleeps. The warriors made quick work of killing the much feared warrior. It is said that as the *ilmurran* made their final cut that pierced the warrior's heart, the great Parakuiyo warrior cried out, "all the men of the world have been defeated by my power, and all of this only to amount to being killed by a woman".

This story was told and retold to me through the duration of my fieldwork. This version is my own, put together from the various tellings I have heard over the years. It is an origin myth, of sorts, told by Enduimet residents about their first arrival on the plains and slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. There is much to be analyzed in such a story, not least of which includes some interesting issues and imaginations of gender. But, for our purposes here, it simply illustrates a significant, remembered history of conquering and settling in the place that became Enduimet. The story continues to ground Enduimet's sense of place and their indigenous narratives of ancestral origins. In my analysis, it forms the basis of the indigeneity that has become instrumentalized in today's struggles.

The actual details of Ilkisongo Maasai's arrival, who resided there before them, and so on, are debated by scholars (Jennings, 2005; Spear & Waller, 1993). I cannot delve into that debate here. Suffice it to say that, as popularly conceived, today's Ilkisongo inhabitants displaced the "Lumbwa", a pejorative reference to the Parakuyo, agro-pastoralist Maasai, who historically

resided in the area (Jennings, 2005). Some also use the name, “Loogolala” (Spear, 1997; Jennings, 2005). Bernstein (1976) states that “The [Parakuyo] were forced from the steppe by the

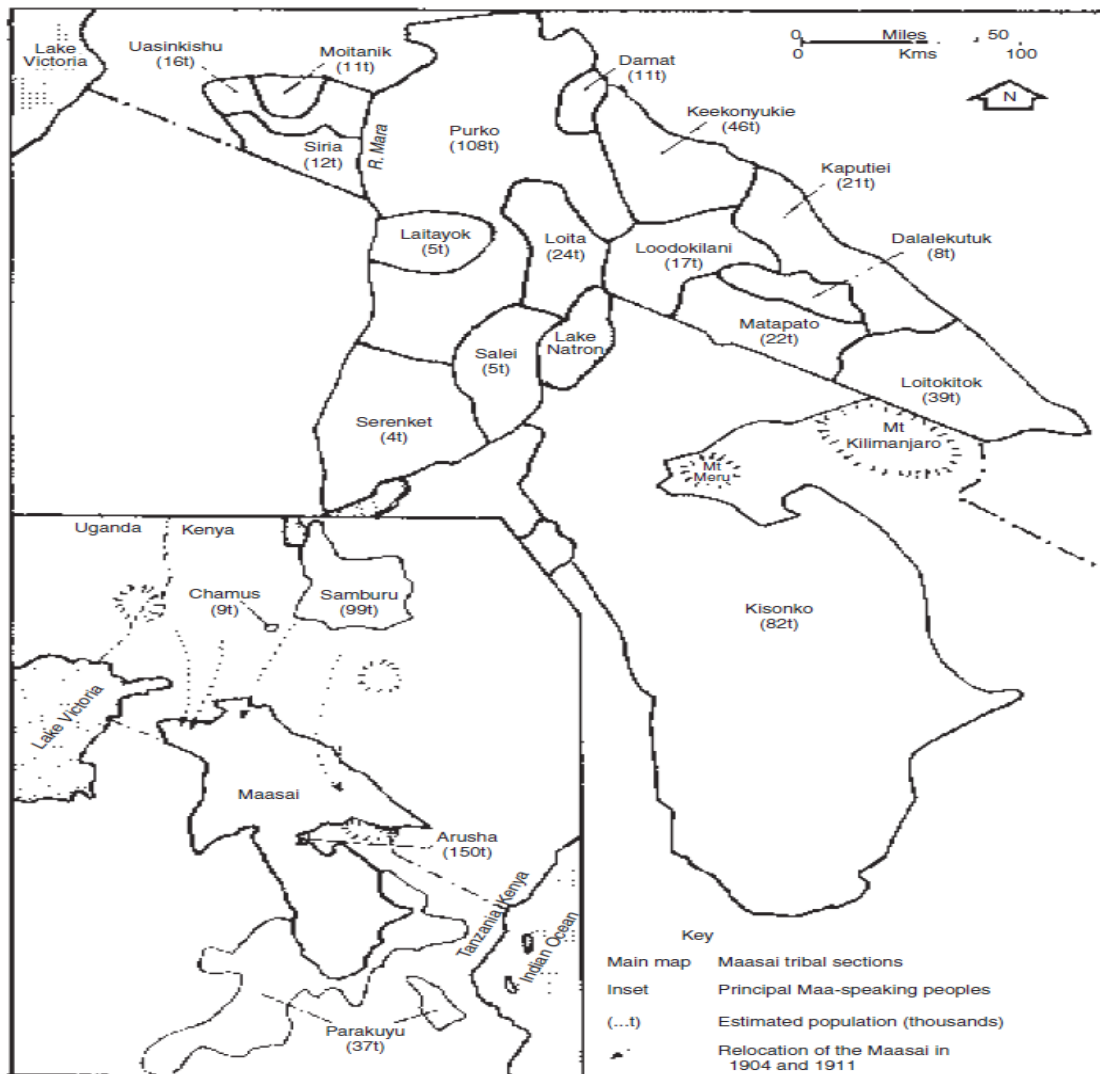


Figure 11 Map of the Maasai and Maa-speaking in 1977 (Reprinted from Spencer, 2004)

raids of the Kisongo Maasai during the course of the nineteenth century” (p. 6). We can reasonably assume that the Ilkisongo moved into the area during the many conflicts, movements and displacements that characterized the pastoral territories of today’s Kenya and Tanzania, during the 19th century. Historical accounts suggest that the plains, of what is now northern Tanzania, were characterized by much conflict and displacements during this time, with different

Maasai groups vying for grazing and water resources (Spear, 1997; Hodgson, 2001; Spear and Waller, 1993).

When asked the historic meaning of “Enduimet”, those I spoke with typically pointed to a small hill on the upper slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, near today’s villages of Olmolog and Elerai. Enduimet was displaced from this hill, and surrounding area, by white settlers during the colonial era. It is now encompassed by large, privatized, commercial barley farms. The hill, now inaccessible, is popularly remembered as the key site for ceremonies, meetings and the collective deliberation of Enduimet elders, during the pre-colonial period. Expectedly, it has also become symbol of the community’s history of dispossession. One leader from today’s Elerai village captured these sentiments: “It is where the elders used to meet, before the white people came and took the land”.

Beyond reference to this historic meeting place, the title, “Enduimet” came to refer to a subsection or locality, called *enkutoto* in the Maa language, situated within the larger Ilkisongo Maasai territorial section (s. *iloshon*; pl. *oloshon*). The Ilkisongo territorial section is one among many territorial sections that make up the broader territory of the Maasai, commonly referred to as Maasailand. Figure 11, from Spencer (2004), illustrates a map indicating the historic distribution of the Maasai and the various sections that comprise the greater Maasai ethnic group. Today’s Maasailand, which has shrunk significantly since precolonial times, encompasses a territory of about 250,000 km² (Homewood et al., 2009).

As an aside, it is worth noting that one section that is absent in the above map (Figure 11) is Sigirari. This is due to the time of the map (e.g. 1977), when this section had already been excised by the colonial regime’s Maasai District and the residents of the area were dispersed and integrated into larger sections. The Sigirari section historically inhabited the Sanya Corridor

between Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro, including some of the south-western area of today's Enduimet (Spencer & Waller, 2017). Its legacy remains present today, with one prominent hill, *oldoinyo lol muruak*, in today's Hai District, continuing to be a very prominent center for one of the Maasai's most important ritual ceremonies, *olng'eshar*.

Suffice it to say that the Sigarari section represents a unique and very important component of Maasai socio-political organization and cosmology: the section comprises the Loonkidongi, who are "a dynasty of diviners whose speciality is in sorcery, which is perceived as some malevolent supernatural intelligence" (Spencer & Waller, 2017, p. 465). Without going into detail, the Loonkidongi serve as 'prophets' (s. *oloiboni*, pl. *iloibonok*), who hold "unique insight into the intangible forces that threaten the Maasai within his domain" (Spencer & Waller, p.474). With the exception of three Maasai sections, each section adopts a Loonkidongi diviner as their Prophet, serving as a key advisor and protector. Today, while the Sigarari section no longer exists in any territorial sense, the Loonkidongi dynasty remains significant and the 'prophets' continue to play significant roles in the lives of the Maasai, especially among the IIKisongo Maasai of Enduimet and throughout northern Tanzania, where it is believed that most Loonkidongi are concentrated (Spencer & Waller, 2017).

In terms of the Maasai's socio-spatial system of managing and accessing rangelands, the *oloshon* is paramount. The *oloshon* represents the largest unit of traditional, territorial administration, bounded solidarity and collective belonging. At least in theory, all members are permitted access to the respective rangelands in the *oloshon*. Membership in the *oloshon* legitimates one's claims to resources in the respective territory. It is "*en-kop ang*" (our land), as generally conceived by respective *oloshon* residents (Spencer, 2003). Ecologically-speaking,

sections cover large geographical areas, which accommodate the patchiness and vicissitudes of dryland ecology and attempt to provide sufficient access to resources across wet and dry seasons.

Below the territorial section, the *enikutoto* is foundational to social-spatial institutions and practices. It represents a key space of broader cooperation, affiliation and social cohesion – in short, a strong sense of community. Notably, it is at the scale of the *enikutoto* that local grazing and water management is controlled and managed. The *enikutoto* comprises the Maasai's traditional management system and spatial practices of mobility between collectively demarcated areas for dry season and wet season grazing, as well as areas for sick, young and pregnant livestock.

Each *enikutoto* comprises its own traditional authorities (pl. *ilaigwenak*; s. *olaigwenan*), who determine who can access the grazing areas (e.g. membership claims or negotiated access by non-members) and further, the temporal use of dry and wet season areas. Following on Maasai age structures and gender institutions, these authorities are exclusively male and represent their respective age-sets, from a warrior groups (pl. *il-murran*; s. *ol-murran*) to successive elder age-set groups. It is worth noting that, while under the authority of specific elder group, the *il-murran*, and their respective *ilaigwenak*, play a significant role in defending, policing and managing the rangelands of the *enikutoto* (Spencer, 1988, 2003; Talle, 1998; Hodgson, 2001).

Enduimet's traditional territoriality persisted relatively undisturbed through the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. By then, though, colonialism emerged and began to change things.

b. The colonial era & “modern” beginnings

First, Tanganyika, as it was then called, was subjugated under the Germans in the late 19th Century and then, in 1916, it became a Protectorate under British colonial administration.

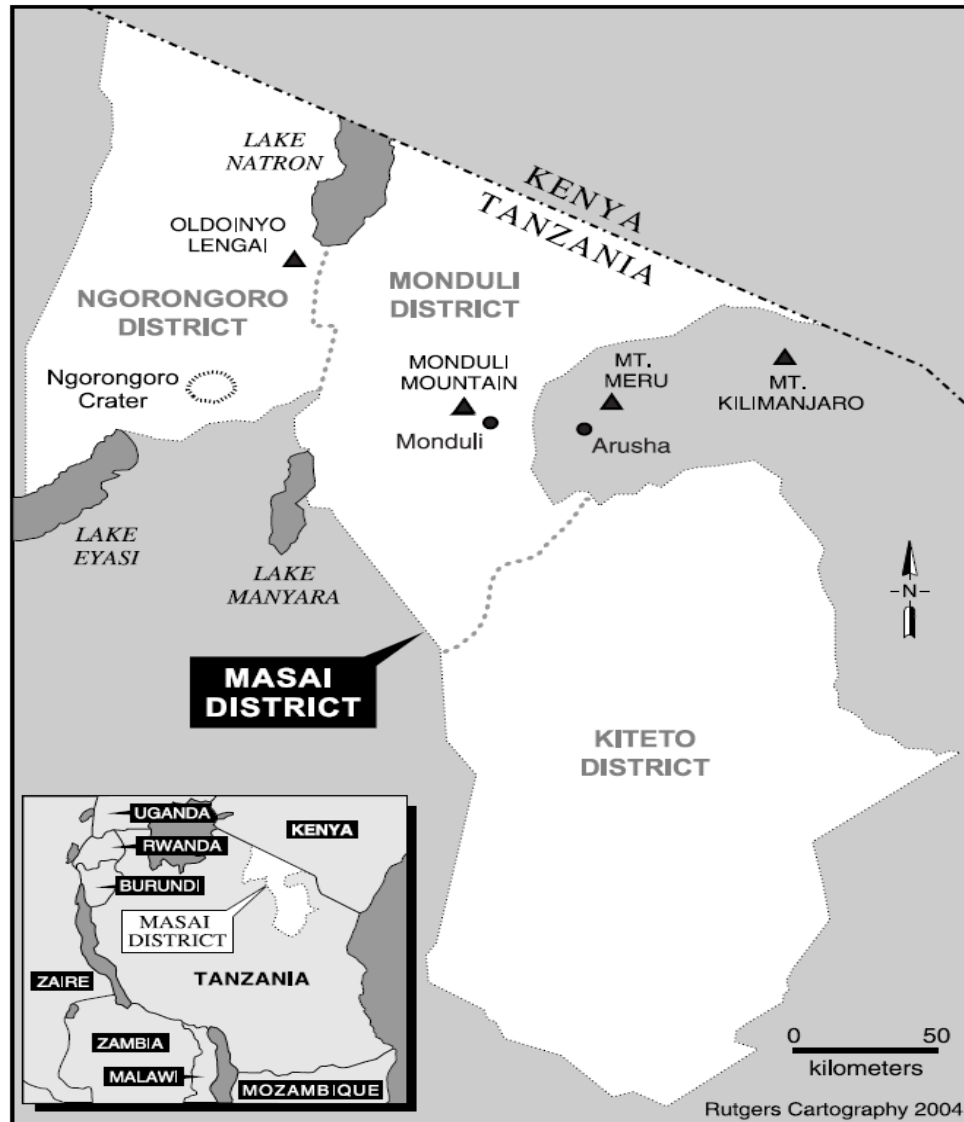


Figure 12 Masai District, ca. 1950 (Reprinted from Hodgson, 2001)

Colonialism introduced many changes to Maasailand, as documented by a long list of scholars (see, for example, Arhem, 1985; Hodgson, 2001; Homewood & Rodgers, 1991; Ndagala, 1982; Talle, 1988).

The Maasai were a target, if not obsession, of colonial development schemes and reterritorialization. Many authorities lamented the Maasai's "barbaric" ways, using their perceived "backwardness" as justification for alienating them from any fertile land that could otherwise benefit large-scale, white settler farms. The prevailing logic of the period is captured in the following statement by a District Officer in Moshi. Notably, this statement was in response to concerns about alienating much of Enduimet's traditional territory along Mount Kilimanjaro's northern, fertile slopes – what became known as the "Olmolog farms":

Is it sound and right that [Maasai] should be given land... which can be put to greater economic use by Europeans, for no better reasons, than the preservation of barbaric customs; which should in my humble opinion be persistently steadily and gradually discouraged... No, for the sake of the Masai (*sic*), peace and tranquility let us keep the Masai where they are. We cannot establish good grounds for resisting the alienation of these farms. (in Mbogoni, 2013, p.65).

Without going into too much detail about the colonial period, let me simply say that it included a host of enclosures and dispossessions for the Maasai, generally, and Enduimet, specifically. The creation of the Maasai Reserve in 1905 by the Germans, was the most significant transformation. It was later re-gazetted and called the Masai District by the British in 1926 (Ndagala, 1990, Hodgson 2001). Essentially, the District, which became popularly known as Maasailand, tried to restrict Maasai settlement and land use to the less fertile, dryland areas of the Maasai's historic territory. Concomitantly, it alienated all the fertile, higher elevated areas for colonial settlement and large-scale farming enterprise (Ndagala, 1990; Hodgson, 2001). Specifically, for Enduimet, the District alienated fundamentally important grazing areas in the

Sanya Corridor, between Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro, as well as all the fertile, upper slopes of both mountains.

By 1951, the first permanent white settlements began occupying Enduimet's traditional territory. They were spread across the western and northern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Eight highly-valued pieces of "virgin land" were demarcated by colonial administrators for settler farming (Mbogoni, 2012). Those immediately bordering Enduimet became known as the Ol-Molog settler farms (Johnston, 1971). After a highly competitive selection process, eight British dignitaries and colonial civil servants were issued the farms. One of the white settlers, Erika Johnston (1971) memorialized this piece of Enduimet's history in her memoir, *The Other Side of Kilimanjaro*. The memoir is a testament to colonialism's re-territorialization of Enduimet's southernmost territory – what Johnston refers to as Ol Molog in her account. Reflecting all the modernization discourses and prejudices that ruled the day, Johnston (1971) describes the area as follows:

Ol Molog has a haunting beauty all of its own. No one who sees it is ever likely to forget it. Even those who have heard its praises sung and arrive sceptical fall under its spell. To approach it from the north requires driving or flying across the *wastelands of Masailand* and, if these are anything to go by, a certain amount of doubt as to what Ol Molog is going to be like must arise in the minds of visitors. Then, perched like an eagle's eyrie on the mountain slopes, are a small group of beautiful, *well ordered farms* backed by forest and the huge mountain itself.

(p.11; my emphasis added)

Enduimet contested the dispossession of their traditional lands, but to no avail (Hodgson, 2001; Mbogoni, 2012). Resistance mounted to violence, at times, with one white farmer accidentally killed in one altercation (Mbogoni, 2012).

Hopes of repatriating the farms continued for Enduimet Maasai through the 1950s and 60s (Mbogoni, 2012). With independence and the promises of the postcolonial era, there were new hopes for returning the land to its traditional owners. Unfortunately, such hopes were dispelled rather quickly.

c. Postcolonial era & modernization

Mainland Tanzania gained independence in 1961, and then united with Zanzibar in 1964 to create the Republic of Tanzania. Led by Tanzania's first President, Julius Nyerere, the early postcolonial period launched Tanzania's period of African socialism (Barkan, 1994; Coulson, 2013; Hodgson, 2001; Shivji, 2009). It is a distinct period in Tanzania's history that launches a host of vast changes to Tanzania's state, society and economy – legacies of which, for better or for worse, persist today.

The period sees three key, further transitions in Enduimet's territoriality. First, under the auspices of Nyerere's socialist vision, the large, colonial farms in Olmolog were nationalized. This meant the demise of Olmolog's white-settler farms. By 1970, they were nationalized and taken over by the government (Simpson & Cheong, 2014). As may be imagined, this was met with much opposition from colonial settlers. One of the white farmers, David Read (2005), wrote a memoir of this experience entitled, *Another Load of Bull*, clearly indicating Read's feelings. Johnston's memoir (1971) also berates Nyerere and laments the loss of their cherished farms. After compensations were settled on, the farmers were given until April 5, 1975 to evacuate

(Read, 2005, p.223). The farms became part of the government's Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) assets shortly thereafter.

Notably, the nationalization of these farms doused any of Enduimet's hopes of repossessing them. It was clear in my discussions with some Enduimet elders that Nyerere's appropriation of the farms became symbolic of the postcolonial government's macro-economic priorities and, concomitantly, the subordination of Maasai interests and livelihood. This entrenched perceptions about the state's illegitimacy and malfeasance in the eyes of many Enduimet leaders and residents – a legacy that continues to underlie today's politics.

Nyerere's effort to create commercial ranching initiatives also affected Enduimet¹⁰. These initiatives took on two forms: ranching associations and the national ranches, run by the National Ranching Company (NARCO). The former did not reach Enduimet, as the project, prior to its termination in the late 70s, focused on developing associations in Kiteto District and in the vicinity of the Monduli District headquarters (e.g. Konyokio Association and Talamai Association) (Parkipuny, 1975).

The development of NARCO ranches, though, did affect Enduimet. These ranches aimed to generate revenue for the state and feed the nation, while simultaneously demonstrating modern ranching techniques to the Maasai (Benjaminsen, Maganga, & Abdallah, 2009, Parkipuny, 1975). Like the colonial regimes before, the postcolonial state was bent on modernizing Maasai livestock production and land use. Some of NARCO's ranches were started on colonial ranches in the previously mentioned Sanya Corridor, the basin between Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro (Parkipuny, 1975). As already stated, historically, these were important grazing

¹⁰ Notably, two different ranching projects in Maasailand defined this period: the creation of ranching associations as well as the national, commercial ranches. I discuss only the latter. The former intended to create livestock cooperatives among Maasai across Maasai territory, but the project was short-lived and did not reach to Maasailand peripheries, such as places like Enduimet (Arhem, 1985; Hodgson, 2001; Ndagala, 1982).

lands for Enduimet and other Maasai across Tanzania's northern region. As with the nationalization of the Olmolog farms, the imposition of NARCO ranches reinforced the dispossession and restriction of movement originally brought on by the colonial government. Remarkably, as seen by many leaders, with such developments, the source of Enduimet's alienation and dispossession simply changed hands.

Nyerere's modern territoriality really began threatening Maasailand with his notorious villagization efforts, what became known as "*ujamaa* villagization" (Arhem, 1985; Coulson, 2013; Hodgson, 2001; Ndagala, 1982, Scott, 1998). *Ujamaa* denotes unity, familyhood or brotherhood. Nyerere had a vision for re-ordering Tanzania's rural spaces into village entities that would form the basis for collective ownership and production, achieving, according to Nyerere's vision, rural empowerment, effective production and, ultimately, Tanzania's food sovereignty (Coulson, 2013; Garnder, 2016). James Scott (1998) argues that Tanzania's villagization epitomizes the "authoritarian high modernism" and massive social engineering schemes that characterized many parts of the world in the mid 20th Century. As early as 1962, Nyerere began presenting his ideas about villagization and persuading rural Tanzanians to begin settling accordingly (Coulson, 2013).

Although villagization was originally intended as a volunteer resettlement program, by 1973, Nyerere made it an order and forced resettlements began (Coulson, 2013; Hodgson, 2001). In 1974, Operation Imparnati (permanent settlements) began compulsory villagization in Maasailand (Ndagala, 1982; Parkipuny, 1975). In some cases, there were violent, forced resettlements, and government officials burned down previous houses so as to prevent people from returning to their historic homes (Hodgson, 2001). In many other cases, villagization processes in Maasailand remained rather incomplete and innocuous. Most residents largely

ignored government instructions (Ben Gardner, 2016; Hodgson, 2001; Katherine Homewood & Rodgers, 1991; Ndagala, 1982). Furthermore, in many cases, intensive villagization efforts did not reach many of Maasailand's peripheries. These areas were simply not a priority for the government and were beyond the reach of under-resourced departments (Gardner, 2016; Hodgson, 2001; Homewood & Rodgers, 1991). Writing in 1975, Parkipuny notes that only 2000 Maasai of Monduli District were moved into villages (p.112). Overall, he laments how poorly the government engaged the Maasai communities and the overall failure of efforts to mobilize them effectively: "It is precisely an operation – a program implemented by government and Party Officials and not a systematic programme to enable the people be it in Maasailand or elsewhere in the country to undertake their own all round development" (p. 112).

As recalled to me by elders, Enduimet escaped any substantial engagement with Operation Imparnati. At least in part, this is owed to Enduimet's relatively isolated location, beyond the reaches of the then administrative center in Monduli, over 100km away. The District was horribly under-resourced (Hodgson, 2001; Parkipuny, 1975) and, like most peripheries during this time, there were no all-season roads that reached Enduimet. In popular memory, elders merely recall some visits from a Maasai Member of Parliament, who tried to entice residents to settle near village centers. Residents were told that they would gain access to government services (e.g. education, water and health) if they moved to designated centers. Interestingly, some elders also remember being told that if they do not create villages, the government may turn Enduimet into a national park. Some families complied and began settling near village centers, but most continued customary patterns. By 1978, most of Enduimet's villages obtained official registration status. In practice, at this time, this meant little more than nominal recognition in some government documents and surveys.

Ultimately, irrespective of some changing settlement patterns, village boundaries meant little during much of the postcolonial period, beyond some abstract concept in official documents. As Parkipuny once argued, in reference to his homeland in Loliondo,

Villagization was a national policy, and it would have been futile to try to resist it.

But what does it really mean in terms of land use? If you look at a map, this *mbuga* [plain] has been divided into villages. Each village stretches to Serengeti, but when it comes to land use, grazing rights, the division separating one village from another is a formality. When it comes to salt licks like here, these village boundaries disappear. (as cited in Ben Gardner, 2016, p.50)

As I see it, traditional territoriality continued despite Nyerere's village reterritorializations. Modern, village territoriality may have begun to formally characterize the state maps, administrative orders and ways of seeing rural spaces, but traditional territoriality continued, nevertheless, to define the country's peripheries. In Enduimet, specifically, while residents began identifying with respective villages, and some began to settle around designated centers, the *enkutoto* continued to be most salient in everyday life, continued to define 'community' and belonging and continued to underpin resource management.

In general, Nyerere's experiment with African socialism proved to be a failure, at least in an economic sense. By 1985, Nyerere resigned and a new President, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, took Tanzania on a completely new path. This included the structural readjustment programs of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). It also included a shift to liberal democracy and the growth of a dynamic civil society. Suffice it to say that international financial institutions, international donor agencies, international NGOs and foreign investors all flocked to Tanzania, as a new scramble for power and the country's resources unfolded.

d. Neoliberal era and the rise of enterprise

The well-known Tanzanian scholar, Issa Shivji, refers to the 80s as a “lost decade” (2009, p.26). He refers to the following period as the “age of globalized neo-liberalism”, which he harshly characterises as a period of “imperialist accumulation under globalized neo-liberalism” (Shivji, p. 26). Shivji follows on many scholars who refer to the 90s as Tanzania’s neoliberalization (Brockington, Sachedina, & Scholfield, 2008; Hodgson, 2011; Igoe, 2007; Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Igoe & Croucher, 2007). The processes that unfolded reflect the hallmarks of neoliberalization, which Noel Castree (2010) identifies as privatisation, marketisation, state roll back and deregulation, state roll out and market-friendly re-regulation and, where necessary, the empowerment of civil society to fill the vacuum created by less direct, state support in the social and environmental areas that it used to be prominent. James Ferguson (2009) succinctly sums it up as “a valorization of private enterprise and suspicion of the state, along with what is sometimes called ‘free market fetishism’” (p. 170). As constitutive part of Tanzania’s restructuring, the country faced a proliferation and scaling up of non-government organizations (NGOs) in Tanzania, both national and international ones (Hodgson, 2011; Sachedina, 2011). International NGOs became key entities in governing and “preserving the new Tanzania” (Brockington et al., 2008). Alongside the rising influence of private business, it all reflects what some of have come to call the “privatization of sovereignty” (Ferguson, 2006; Ferguson, Akhil, 2002; Igoe, 2010).

Beyond some of these negative processes highlighted by Shivji and others, it should not be overlooked that the period also introduced many positive developments. Multi-party democracy was introduced and civil society actors began to proliferate. A free press began to emerge.

Opening up markets offered new opportunities. Overall, Tanzania's socio-political terrain changed dramatically, often countering the state repression that sometimes characterized much of the socialist period.

The 90s brought unprecedented changes to Enduimet's traditional territoriality: the privatization of the historic Ol-Molog Farms; privatization, subdivision and diversification in highland village areas; and the arrival of ecotourism enterprise. Each of these processes is elaborated below. Overall, I conceive the period as a major transition from what James Scott (2010) differentiates as a non-state space, a state periphery and administered state space. By the 1990s and into the 2000s, Enduimet becomes more and more incorporated into national and international markets and encompassed by the state in more significant ways. This corresponds to the creation of more secure road infrastructure and a vast increase in movement in and out of the area, transporting goods and tourists. Government infrastructure also begins to develop further. It all represents a shift from the non-state space of traditional territoriality to the state administered space of modern territoriality. Certainly, Enduimet remains on the state's margins but is certainly transformed and integrated in new ways through the neoliberal era.

(i) Privatization of the Ol-Molog Farms

First, the historic "Ol Molog Farms", which were first appropriated by white settlers in the colonial era and then nationalized under Nyerere, are privatized in the 90s. In accordance with Tanzania's restructuring, and in the interests of bolstering foreign investment, the farms were handed over to foreign investors – mostly, white Europeans and South Africans.

One of Enduimet's largest, immediately bordering farms was taken over by South African Breweries International, which bought out Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL). South African Breweries International is now SABMiller, the powerful, international conglomerate, which now

holds a monopoly over barley production and beer brewing in Tanzania and is one of the world's biggest brewing companies. In 2000, a joint venture partner company of TBL, Mountainside Farms Limited (MFL), gained proprietorship of a vast stretch of the historic Olmolog farms (Simpson & Cheong, 2014). MFL is seen as responsible for the notorious electric fence that, according to popular sentiments, now divides Enduimet between the haves (i.e. foreign investors) and have-nots (i.e. indigenous inhabitants).

For Enduimet, the privatization of the Olmolog farms entrenched grievances toward historic dispossessions and the perceived malfeasance of the Tanzanian government. With the entry of new, private investors into Enduimet's space, boundary conflicts have heightened. Under national ownership, conflicts existed but, very often, the government had few resources to enforce boundaries and survey encroachments. With private investors, in contrast, boundaries were more solidified and enforced. Private security companies began policing borders and, most significantly, MFL built an electric fence to ensure that no livestock, people or wildlife trample the farms' fields. Tensions have heightened in recent years, as a result, with the fence becoming a further symbol of alienation for Enduimet (Longido District, 2011). The fence's impact on wildlife movement has essentially caused further devastation of Enduimet residents' attempts to cultivate, escalating Enduimet's crisis of human-wildlife conflict (Longido District, 2011).

In 2013, I found myself unexpectedly in the middle of a mass demonstration by hundreds of Enduimet residents, seeking to protest the fence and demand government authorities to hear their pleas. The protests were to no avail, provoking the following sentiments, as described to me by one demonstrator:

Here in Tanzania, we have two laws. We have the one for foreign investors and we have another for Tanzanians. The government always agrees with the

investors. The investors control them. Our government loves money and foreign investors more than its own citizens. The government gains from the foreign investors, while we are just left with the bad results of investors. The investors are here to exploit us. What makes us angry is when our government helps them.

(ii) Village privatization, subdivision and diversification

Beyond the privatization that unfolded in the historic Olmolog farms, around the same time, privatization also began characterizing many of Enduimet's highland villages. Parcels of land were privatized and subdivided as many village residents began diversifying into crop production. Undoubtedly, these processes in the highland areas represent one of the most significant drivers of changes to Enduimet's traditional territoriality. Nyerere's postcolonial regime typically dissuaded and prohibited agriculture in Maasai districts (Hodgson, 2001) registering most Maasai villages as strictly "herding villages". By the 90s, though, government and NGO actors began pushing for cultivation in Enduimet, at least in those areas that were ecologically conducive. Diversification and a focus on agricultural entrepreneurialism began to spread across the elevated areas of Kamanga, Irkaswa, Kitendeni, Lerang'wa, Olmolog, Elerai and Tingatinga. For these areas, government officials and NGO actors argued that cultivation was the most productive use of village lands. Persisting modernity discourses about the 'backwardness' of pastoralism underpinned such logics. Accordingly, subdivision of village land and allotment of small *shambas* (small, household areas of cultivation) to respective village residents escalated through the 90s and into the early 2000s.

Indeed, the highland village areas of Enduimet look vastly different today than they did just two decades ago. Before the 90s, with the exception of the farthest eastern area that faced agricultural encroachment in the early postcolonial era, much of the highland village areas

remained as rangeland and the pastoral commons (Noe, 2003). At this time, only small concentrations of Enduimet households had begun congregating in designated village centers and only small numbers of cultivated plots spotted the landscape (Noe, 2003). All of this changed through the mid-90s and into the early 2000s. Charles Foley, the elephant researcher who worked in the area in the late 80s and early 90s, recalled to me that,

Driving from the Simba farm [one of the old settler farms in the southernmost area of Enduimet] to the Kitenden corridor¹¹, you would see the large farms on your right, and little agricultural settlements in the close vicinity to the villages, but most of the land along the road and to the west was just open grazing land... It is astonishing how it has all changed so rapidly. I don't even recognize it. It's a completely different place from when I first began going there for my research in the late 80s.

By 1999, Tanzania's Village Land Act devolved power in unprecedented ways to village assemblies and councils (Coldham, 1995; Odgaard, 2002; Shivji, 1998). Village chairmen and councils became more prominent and were instructed by central government authorities to begin subdividing and allotting private lands to village residents. Enduimet residents, at least those that had begun to settle in highland villages, began identifying with their respective villages and lobbying village chairmen to designate land to them for cultivation.

The whole highland area of Enduimet is now under small-scale cultivation. Private plots of agriculture now cover Enduimet's elevated area. The area looks like a checker board of small crops of maize, beans, potatoes and other staple produce, spotted with colorful Maasai *shukas*¹² that are worn by the young male cultivators – cultivators, who have largely traded their herding

¹¹ The Kitenden Corridor refers to an elephant migratory route between Amboseli National Park in Kenya and the Mt. Kilimanjaro forest in Tanzania. By the 90s, the corridor became a high conservation priority, which is discussed in the next Chapter.

¹² The iconic blankets traditionally worn by the Maasai.

sticks and spears for hoes and sickles. While livestock continues to be seen migrating through the area along the government road, the area is essentially devoid of any grazing land. It represents a complete turnaround from the status of grazing and cultivation in the early 90s: from a landscape devoid of cultivation to one that is devoid of rangeland, it reflects a dramatic erosion of Enduimet's historic commons. Reflecting privatization trends, the following proverb now defines the highland village areas, "a hoe (*jembe*) is *mine* but a place to graze animals is *ours*". Hodgson (2011) writes about such transformations in Maasailand in the following statement:

Ideologies of *ujamaa* (familyhood), economic nationalism, protectionism, communal patrimony, and collective well-being have been replaced by the neoliberal ideal of the entrepreneurial individual who has internalized the values of profit maximization, self-motivation, and desire for self-advancement. (p. 1)

Not surprisingly, these changes in the highland Enduimet villages affected relations with their counterparts in Sinya. The lands that were historically used for grazing were now transformed for agriculture, almost exclusively benefitting the residents of highland villages. Most Sinya residents were simply displaced from their historic commons. The changes furthered certain identity politics. Sinya leaders and residents began criticizing highland villages for "giving up tradition and becoming Swahili¹³". One memorable comment from a Sinya leader, which sums up emerging identity politics is as follows: "they have become people of the hoe, while we remain people of cattle".

(iii) The arrival of ecotourism & making "safari land"

¹³ The title, "Swahili" is sometimes used among Maasai as a pejorative name, indicating an adoption of dominant culture in Tanzania and, likewise, associated with Swahili people, which is a general referent to non-Maasai Tanzanians.

Wildlife tourism has always been a major part of Tanzania's integration into the world economic system, from colonial to postcolonial times. Since the country's independence, Julius Nyerere, had positioned and marketed the country as a destination for the world's globetrotters, wildlife enthusiasts and trophy hunters. In 1961, flanked by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Nyerere, presciently oriented the country's tourism trajectories toward the "strange urges" of the international community:

I personally am not very interested in animals. I do not want to spend my holidays watching crocodiles. Nevertheless, I am entirely in favour of their survival. I believe that after diamonds and sisal, wild animals will provide Tanganyika with its greatest source of income. Thousands of Americans and Europeans have the strange urge to see these animals. (as quoted in Honey, 2008, p. 221)

Indeed, if anything has transformed Enduimet's traditional territoriality the most, and contributed further to the social fragmentation just mentioned, it was the arrival of international, private tourism enterprise in the mid-90s – specifically, a new kind of tourism that engaged villages in new ways and shared benefits. One of the key targets of Tanzania's economic restructuring was the tourism industry. Since the 60s, and until the late 80s, the country's hunting and photograph tourism was nationalized and part of the strictly centralized, planned economy (for a full history of Tanzania's tourism and conservation, see Nelson, Nshala, & Rodgers, 2007). Like many other Tanzanian industries, tourism suffered under nationalization and, concurrently, wildlife conservation faced crises, with many wildlife numbers dropping and some prized species facing dramatic decline, mainly due to a proliferation of poaching. Elephants, for example, went from a population of 110,000 in 1976 to 22,000 in 1991 (Nelson et al., p. 241). As Nelson et al. (2007) write,

Despite the protection given to wildlife, illegal use as well as human-wildlife conflicts increased in the 1960s and 1970s, and by the 1980s species like black rhino and elephant had been widely over-exploited. These problems served to move Tanzania's wildlife sector towards a process of legal and policy reform which began in the late 1980s. (p. 234)

By the 1990s, USAID and other international donors facilitated tourism's restructuring. This led to an opening up of Tanzania's borders, deregulation, privatization and, ultimately, an influx of foreign tourism investors. Essentially, the period launched a new scramble for Tanzania's wildlife and corollary rural spaces. As one Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) official aptly put it to a group of international investors in the UK, "we are paving the way for foreign investors and tourism" (Kijazi, 2012). Tourism revenues subsequently grew at a rate of 10 per cent annually through the 90s; the industry earned only \$60 million in 1990 and over \$725 million annually by 2001 (World Bank 2002; in Nelson et al., 2007, p. 234).

To be clear, tourism existed in Enduimet a long time before this period. In 1960, the area was gazetted as a Game Controlled Area (GCA) under the colonial government, which sought to regulate trophy hunting and bolster state revenues through hunting tourism. The GCA first hosted colonial-era tourists and then the international clients of the government's tourist company, the Tanzania Wildlife Company (TAWICO). Indeed, there are some old, time-worn brick structures still strewn across Enduimet's landscape, which stand as symbols of Enduimet's long history of hosting international hunters. By 1988, the GCA was carved up into private hunting blocks, which were assigned to international companies.

What made the 90s distinct was the introduction of photographic tourism companies and a new model of tourism ventures. With the tourism industry's liberalization through the 90s, there

was a proliferation of private, photographic tourism companies in Tanzania. Many of these companies sought peripheral areas of the country, which were outside the national park system and remained relatively unexploited by tourism. They brought with them a new approach: a joint-venture type approach that, today, is typically referred to as ‘ecotourism’: “tourism that does not result in the negative environmental, economic and social impacts that are associated with mass tourism. Ecotourism is promoted as a form of travel that brings only benefits to the host societies” (Duffy, 2013, p. ix). In Tanzania, it included, among other criteria, participation with local village entities, formalized joint-venture agreements and most importantly, benefit sharing.

Government policies emboldened such new approaches and encouraged the expansion of tourism into rural spaces. The government intended to take pressure off national park systems, on the one hand, and enhance rural development, on the other (Nelson et al., 2007). To achieve such an expansion, as the logic went, tourism would have to “compete adequately with other forms of land use, especially to the rural communities” (MNRT 1998, p. 6). Accordingly, in the new Wildlife Policy of Tanzania, released in 1998, the government emphasized a focus on allowing rural communities to become managers and benefactors: “It is the aim of this policy to allow rural communities and private land holders to manage wildlife on their land for their own benefit (MNRT, p. 7).

The upshot of all this is that, for the first time, Enduimet was to become a partner in tourism ventures, sharing in its revenue. To put it succinctly, Enduimet was to become a “safari land” in new ways, to borrow from Devin Smart’s similar analysis of Kenya’s history (2018). By the year 2000, a few foreign companies began tourism ventures in Enduimet, with at least three having some formal agreement with various villages. Some villages began accruing unprecedented

amounts of wealth from tourism, reaching up to \$30,000 USD per year, which was a significant amount for a rural village during this period (Benjaminsen, 2013; Honey, 2008; Trench et al., 2009).

The first such company arrived in 1995. The company was called Hoopoe Safaris. Its arrival introduced many unprecedented questions and conflicts in Enduimet. The company's approach provoked difficult questions for Enduimet leaders about who owns wildlife? Who holds the legitimate rights to wildlife benefit streams? Who is the rightful owner of the land where it resides? In short, it provoked many questions and politics surrounding property, property relations and benefit streams. None of these questions proved simple and the answers caused unprecedented social fragmentation in Enduimet.

Hoopoe, as it is popularly known, is a longstanding tourist organization in Tanzania. Founded in 1988, the company emerged immediately following Tanzania's liberalization of the tourism industry. It is a prominent company in Tanzania, hosting famous clients like Bill Clinton and others (Hoopoe Safaris, n.d.). It was one of a handful of organizations at that time that trail blazed new models of rural tourism and ventured into the most rural spaces to offer unique experiences to its guests. Amidst stereotypical photos of Mount Kilimanjaro, sunsets, elephants and lions, their website promotes the company as "A leader in the field of luxury photographic safaris and remote adventures" (Hoopoe Safaris, n.d.).

The business is most commonly associated with its founder, Peter Lindstrom, who has played a prominent role in the industry's neoliberalization and expansion in rural parts of the country. Lindstrom was born and raised in Kenya, turning to conservation and tourism in his later life, reflecting some common characteristics of white settler histories and belonging

(Hughes, 2010; McIntosh, 2016)¹⁴. His marketing partner, Rupert Finch Hatton, brings in a longer line of settler history: his great grandfather, Denys Finch Hatton was the famous big-game hunter from the early 20th Century, memorialized in Karen Blixen's "Out of Africa". Denys Finch Hatton is also recognized as one of the influential conservationists behind the gazetting of Serengeti National Park in 1960 (Hoopoe Safaris, n.d.). The other founder of Hoopoe is a Tanzanian Maasai, Steven Laiser, who left government service in Tarangire National park in the 80s to start a more lucrative career in tourism. He became Lindstrom's right-hand man, especially helping Hoopoe build legitimacy in rural communities and navigate state structures and relations.

Following popular trends in the field of tourism and the country's restructuring, Hoopoe introduced so-called "ecotourism" to Enduimet's landscape (i.e. tourism that claims to benefit both conservation and local communities, through economic contributions). The company purports to be, "dedicated to the protection of the environment by supporting effective community partnerships and sustainable tourism projects" (Hoopoe Safaris, n.d.). Reflecting popular tropes (and prejudices), the company's website goes on to say,

The great spectacle of wildlife in East Africa is a natural wonder that exists in few places in today's world. Preserving this great natural resource for generations to come can only be realized through sustainable tourism, wherein the local populations and communities are stakeholders... Wildlife, flora and traditional cultures are under threat as never before from shrinking land resources, human population growth, and the migration of people from areas no longer able to support them... At a local level the pastoral way of life can

¹⁴ In terms of 'belonging', I have in mind Hughes' and McIntosh's stories/analysis of white settlers in Zimbabwe and Kenya, whose struggles to belong, and their growing feelings of unsettlement, lead to an identification with Africa's rural landscapes, conservation and, subsequently, tourism.

continue to be practiced if herds can be limited in size and become part of the mainstream economy so that development needs can be met by rearing livestock for the market... The needs of pastoral people following age old traditions of livestock rearing cannot be met, leading to over grazing, erosion and pressure on parks and game reserves. (Hoopoe Safaris, n.d.)

As an aside, I must comment on the prejudice against pastoralism that pervades the above quote. Such veiled criticism and prejudice are a common part of tourism discourses among companies like Hoopoe. It goes without saying that there is something oddly reminiscent of colonial discourses in their perceptions. As seen in the quote, “age old traditions” of pastoralism are incompatible with today’s world and blamed for environmental degradation. This, then, necessitates modernization (i.e. sedentarization and fewer livestock) and a turn to the market (i.e. commercialized production). Essentially, “sustainable tourism”, such as what Hoopoe apparently achieves, becomes positioned as the “only” saviour of Africa’s wildlife and wilderness.

By the mid-90s, Lindstrom began cultivating relations with the then village chairperson of Olmolog. Olmolog village is situated relatively high up on Mount Kilimanjaro’s northern slopes, along the only, partly maintained, government road to Enduimet. Given its accessibility, the village has always been a major administrative center for the area. Hoopoe personnel made successive trips to the Olmolog village offices, carefully cultivating the relationships that Hoopoe’s vision and legitimacy relied on. During these trips, Hoopoe visited the lowland area with Olmolog leaders, surveying it for a suitable luxury tourist camp. The foot of a hill, Noombopong, was settled on for obvious reasons: the snow-covered peak of Mount Kilimanjaro looms above, seemingly in reachable distance; elephants are abundant, giraffes saunter through the iconic acacias and the open plain areas are covered with eland, zebra, gazelle and so on.

Before long, Hoopoe began discussing financial arrangements with the Olmolog chairperson. The details of this agreement are unclear but suffice it to say that Hoopoe agreed to pay the Olmolog village an annual sum for leasing the Noombopong site, establishing the luxury camp and for photographic safari use of the surrounding area. Other expectations of the joint venture included cultural tourism opportunities, wherein Hoopoe would pay households and individuals for hosting guests, performing dances and permitting guests to capture the experience via photography. More informally, popular stories suggest that Lindstrom began paying for the education of the chairperson's child – a common, hidden dimension of building legitimacy in rural tourism.

It must be emphasized that this arrangement between Hoopoe and Olmolog village authorities provoked a defining moment for the traditional Enduimet locality (*enkutoto*). Ultimately, village structures and their purported geographical boundaries became salient in unprecedented ways. It must be understood that the area that Hoopoe desired for its camp, Noombopong hill, had not previously been defined as the property of one village or another. Village boundaries had never been formally demarcated. Indeed, villages had existed as government, administrative units but not as bounded, geographical units per se. The Noombopong site had always simply been part of a shared grazing area, a piece of Enduimet's traditional territory and commons. With the arrangement with Hoopoe, it emerged as property, purportedly under the legal title of Olmolog village authorities, who claimed authority to transfer property rights (e.g. exclusive user-rights) to an investor. This was a new phenomenon, for Enduimet.

Rather expectedly, a conflict soon erupted. Once leaders from Sinya village learned of Hoopoe's intentions, questions were raised about whose land this really was: did Noombopong

hill lie in Olmolog village or Sinya village? Who has rights to lease this site to Hoopoe? Who was entitled to the revenue generated? A fight between Olmolog leaders and Sinya leaders ensued. At times, violent clashes almost erupted between the *ilmurran* from the respective villages. Much of the original conflict is remembered by Sinya leaders in the following anecdote, which was shared by one, evidently aggrieved Sinya leader in 2014:

It was in 1995, if I'm remembering well, when the conflict really began. We had learned about Hoopoe Safaris and seen their vehicles passing through our land. We learned that the leader of Hoopoe, Peter, intended to build a camp at the foot of Noombopong hill. This is where much wildlife stays and elephants migrate on their way to Kilimanjaro and back to Amboseli. Hoopoe didn't know that the land was not Olmolog land. The land had always been Sinya village land, which covers all the dry, lower area of Enduimet. Olmolog village ends higher up. This is what we always believed. But, to say the truth, the issue of borders never arose before Hoopoe. We all used the area as we did since a long time. None of us were concerned about village borders and we didn't know where they were.

Hoopoe had friends in Olmolog that deceived them. They told Hoopoe that the land was in Olmolog because the leaders wanted money. I don't know why Hoopoe never talked to us. When we learned that Hoopoe was making an agreement with Olmolog village, many Sinya leaders were angry. Therefore, the *ilmurran* had meetings and agreed to prohibit Olmolog *ilmurran* from bringing their cattle into the lowland grazing areas. Violence nearly arose between the two groups.

To avoid violence, a large meeting was organized for all the Enduimet leaders. The meeting was held near the Noombopong hill. We went to the meeting expecting to resolve the conflict. We expected to inform everyone that the proposed Noombopong camp was in Sinya land. We thought Hoopoe would build a relationship with us. Make an agreement with us when they knew the land was ours.

This didn't come about. You see, during that time, the *olegwanani* of the *ilmurran* was from Lerang'wa. He had the authority to determine boundaries. His friend was the Olmolog chairperson. Lerang'wa and Olmolog have always been close neighbors and friends. They helped each other to take our land. In the meeting, the *olegwanani* surprised all of us.

The meeting began with a lot of discussion about where the village boundaries are. We argued that all the lowland is Sinya village. Olmolog leaders argued that their border extended to the Kenya border in the low area. There was much fighting. The *olegwanani* then stood up. He walked over to a large rock. He picked it up and carried it to a place near the meeting area. He threw it on the ground. He put his foot on it, and then he stated that this rock was the border from Sinya and Olmolog. Much arguing arose. But the *olegwanani* repeated his decision. We left the meeting because there was nothing to be done. The *ilmurran* wanted to bring more violence but the leaders convinced them to leave this behavior.

You now see why there is conflict between Sinya and the highland villages.

The conflict has a long history, but I'd say it began with Hoopoe. Investors always divide us.

Ultimately, Hoopoe proceeded in its arrangement with Olmolog village, despite the contention surrounding village boundaries. It is unclear whether Hoopoe was aware of this conflict or cared about it¹⁵. Whatever the case, Sinya accepted its fate, as imposed by the *olegwanani*. In my assessment, this historic conflict continues to underpin some tensions between Sinya and its highland village neighbours. “We will never forget what happened with Hoopoe”, stated one Sinya resident.

In general, following on Galaty's seminal work (2014) concerning property transitions in Maasailand, one way of conceiving this event, and its corresponding processes, is that it reflects a fundamental shift from traditional ideas of 'territory' to conceptions of 'property'. Traditionally-speaking, Galaty explains, land was understood by Maasai as an inalienable thing, firmly embroiled in metaphysical ideas about the connection between land, people and divinity. Galaty (2014) writes: “A famous aphorism, ‘land and sons cannot be given out’, speaks of two un-severable bonds. Most importantly is the ‘internal relation’ between territory and community, each defined by and identified with the other” (p. 4).

In contrast to this traditional conception, through the 20th Century, land became conceived as ‘property’: e.g. something ‘owned’ by individuals or collective entities (e.g. villages) and something ‘alienable’. Of course, in Tanzania, where all land is owned by the state, the concept of ‘ownership’ and ‘alienability’ must be qualified carefully. ‘Ownership’ refers to ‘granted rights of occupancy’. I use ‘alienability’ here not to refer to the capacity to transfer the actual

¹⁵ Despite attempts, I was unable to meet with any Hoopoe representatives who were with the company at the time of this conflict.

property (e.g. land) but, rather, the capacity to transfer the property rights associated with it (e.g. in the case of tourism, the right to lease and right of exclusive use).

Simultaneously, I would add, processes of commodification emerged, wherein land – or, at least, the user-rights of it – became a source of revenue that can be exchanged in a market (e.g. in theory, leased to the highest bidder). I contend that all such processes can be observed in Enduimet’s engagement with Hoopoe.

Ben Gardner’s recent work (2012; 2016) in Loliondo also helps conceive Enduimet’s experience with Hoopoe and other ecotourism groups through the 90s. Gardner’s work demonstrates the rise of village territoriality and corresponding property relations in Loliondo. At the same time that Hoopoe was inadvertently creating conflict in Enduimet, similar types conflicts were emerging in Loliondo, also via the arrival of ecotourism companies. Similar to my argument, Gardner argues that village territoriality was not salient through much of the postcolonial period. Rather, village boundaries and leadership structures have become politically and economically salient more recently, incited by tourism investors’ scramble for “pristine”, rural tourism spaces and their reliance on clear property delineations and leaseholds. Gardner (2016) uses the concept, “neoliberal villagization” (p.144), to capture how village entities emerge in the 90s as property holders and become key stakeholders in rural tourism business, leasing their land for tourism infrastructure development and wildlife safari use. Like in Enduimet, villages and their geographical boundaries, at this time, become politically salient:

Market-led globalization has intensified the importance of delineated property rights. In order for investors to participate in economic projects, they require clear property regimes. In places like northern Tanzania, where property rights have remained somewhat flexible, as well as contested, neoliberalization encouraged efforts to clarify

and codify property relationships... In Loliondo, villages, as territorially bound units of production and belonging, became important sites for the Maasai to organize their cultural and economic claims to land and natural resources. As a legible symbol of community, the village became the material representation of Maasai society through which the Maasai could interact with national and international groups. (p.152)

He likewise writes,

As an instrument of state power, the village in Maasailand was in many cases rather inept at promoting collective forms of labor or consciousness in the manner envisioned by national leaders and international consultants. However, early resistance to the Maasai village as a representation of a meaningful Maasai community was turned on its head in the 1990s. When Maasai communities in Loliondo entered into contractual agreements with ecotourism companies, the history of the village as a marginally functional site of community articulated with an emerging idea of the Maasai as members of a transnational indigenous community...Loliondo Maasai came to see the village as a legitimate form of local-state authority. (p.144)

Suffice it to say that the village and its corresponding property became a defining organizing principle and fundamental to engaging ecotourism business and generating revenue.

I contend that such transformations and “neoliberal villagization”, as Gardner calls it, are a helpful way of conceiving what has occurred in Enduimet, starting with Hoopoe in Olmolog and then continuing with the other ecotourism companies in other villages. Sinya, for example, was the next village to begin such relations with the arrival of the company, Tanganyika Wilderness Camps (TWC), in 1998.

Another similarity between Enduimet and the Loliondo case relates to the conflict and social fragmentation that has occurred, alongside the arrival of tourism investment and development. This has especially been the case in the conflicts surrounding Thompson Safaris and their Enashiva Nature Refuge (Gardner, 2016, p.101). Thompson Safaris has bred significant division in the local community by strategically building relations, mobilizing support from and funneling benefits to one section (*oloshon*) of Maasai, the Laitayok, at the expense of other sections that inhabit the area. Thompson Safaris has used this alliance in their attempt to maintain their legitimacy and deflect opposition – something akin to ‘divide and rule’ type politics. Ultimately, the result has been an intense conflict between the Laitayok and other sections (e.g. Purko and Loita). Sectional difference and identity have been politicized, amounting to what Gardner refers to as “re-ethnicization” (p. 114).

The situation in Enduimet is different from Loliondo and the above case, given that all the respective leaders and residents are part of a single section (e.g. Ilkisongo). Nevertheless, I raise it to draw attention to some general parallels: with the arrival of ecotourism, different groups reposition themselves vis-à-vis new investments and sources of revenue, spurring new property formations and relations. This is never a simple process and never one without conflict. It restructures communities, often leading to new forms of social fragmentation. The conflict between Olmolog leaders and residents and their counterparts in Sinya illustrates all this. As illustrated in an earlier quote, the idea that “Investors always divide us” has become a common sentiment.

Before closing this section, it is worth emphasizing that, with the arrival of tourism, not only did ways of seeing and relating to *land* change, but also ways of seeing and relating to *wildlife*. Discursively-speaking, “wildlife” – in terms of how they are seen and engaged today

(i.e. meaning something associated with tourism and something that generates income) – only emerged with tourism in the 90s. The following quote from one youth in Elerai village captures some key changes associated with how wild animals have been imagined in Enduimet:

In the past, wild animals were conceived as simply “animals of the wild”, or in Maa, “*ilowuarak le ndim*”. They were part of the land, like we are part of the land. Like our livestock is part of the land. Wildlife wasn’t anyone’s property. In Maa, historically, we just say “*ingishu engai*”, which means “god’s livestock”. More recently, I’ve heard people referring to wildlife as “*ingishu e serikali*”, “the government’s livestock”. This statement indicates the frustration people feel because the government owns the wildlife and doesn’t share benefits from them. Now, these days, you can also hear reference to “*ing’wesi aang’*”, meaning “our wildlife”. In reaction to the government, these days people argue that we own it. People want to share in the financial benefits of wildlife... people see wildlife as our property now.

As made clear in this quote, similar to how land became conceived as property and commodity, so too does ‘wildlife’. Essentially, with the rise of tourism, wildlife became conceived as property (e.g. “government’s livestock” or “our wildlife” and “our property now”) and it has been commodified (e.g. seen as something that generates “financial benefits”). In short, wildlife is conceived as something that can be ‘owned’ for the purpose of generating revenue. Such new ways of seeing and utilizing wildlife in Enduimet are captured in the following comment from one leader. Notably, it also indicates the conflict that often accommodates commodification processes:

Our perceptions of wildlife have changed a lot. Do you think we saw them as money in the past? No. They were just in our land. We lived with them. Our

livestock grazed with them. They were just wild livestock. They were our neighbours. Now, people see them as money. We look at them differently. And now, we fight over them.

Conclusion

As observed in this chapter, Enduimet has faced many changes since Ilkisongo Maasai's arrival in the 19th Century. From a traditional, Maasai territory, it became articulated with new colonial forms of territoriality and government in the 20th Century, including a Maasai District that excised key parts of Enduimet's territory to serve the interests of white farmers on Mount Kilimanjaro's west and northern slopes. With independence, modern forms of state territoriality further transformed Enduimet and also reinforced Enduimet's status of marginality vis-à-vis the Tanzanian state. The historic Ol Molog farms are privatized and given to white South African investors and Nyerere's villagization attempts to discipline and modernize the Maasai. In the neoliberal era, villagization takes on new forms. Highland villages undergo massive changes via privatization, subdivision and diversification. With the arrival of ecotourism, Enduimet became safariland in new ways, provoking a shift from Maasai territoriality to village territoriality.

Overall, the history of Enduimet can be conceived as a history of transition between, and articulation of, early traditional territoriality and modern territoriality, from non-state space to state administered space (Scott, 2010), from territory to property, from being "the other side of Kilimanjaro"¹⁶ to becoming 'safari central', from a coexistence with "wild livestock" to utilizing "wildlife" as property and commodity.

¹⁶ As seen above, this is the title of Johnston's colonial memoir. She used this to denote the isolated, northern frontier qualities of Olmolog through the colonial period.

It is important to stress that although I sometimes refer to transitions and transformations in my above account, I conceive Enduimet's changing nature of territoriality as more of an articulation of the old and new, of traditional and modern, rather than a displacement or eclipsing of one over the other. In large part, I conceive of Enduimet's history in similar fashion to Dawson et al. (2014) in their book, *Negotiating territoriality: spatial dialogues between state and tradition*. This book contributes significantly to conceptualizing 'territoriality' and most importantly, it wrestles with how territorialities emerge, submerge, converge and articulate through space and time. Importantly, for Dawson et al., successive forms of territoriality do not displace one another, but, rather, they continually articulate in new ways. "Spatial dialogues" is how they conceive the dynamic between old and new, especially between the traditional territoriality and the modern state territorialities that have come to define rural spaces in today's world. They observe "the social process triggered when different forms of territoriality are pushed by history to share the same space" (Dawson et al., p.1).

As mentioned when discussing my theoretical framework, this way of understanding shifting and articulating territorialities is akin to Donald Moore's (2005) idea of "entangled landscapes" (p.4), whereby new regimes of power and administrative configurations do not occlude old ones, but merely articulate each other in dynamic ways. With this in mind, the upshot of the history I outline in this chapter is a combination of the persisting threats (and opportunities) of modern territorialities yet, at the same time, the persisting resiliency of traditional territoriality – following on Moore (2005), their combined "entanglements". The corrosive power of modern territorialities goes without saying. Under auspices of development and modernization, accompanied by prejudices against the Maasai, land alienations under colonial and then postcolonial regimes excised major pieces of Enduimet's historic territory. Nyerere's modernist

order rewrote Enduimet's trajectory, as village regimes began fragmenting traditional lands and traditional social collectivities. Subdivision, privatization and diversification in the highlands further eroded Enduimet's traditional commons. More recently, with Enduimet's integration into the global tourism market and subsequent commodification of its abundant wildlife, villagization re-emerged as village elites vied for wildlife rents, representing some new opportunities whilst also tearing apart historical alliances and territory in the process.

Traditional territoriality, though, continues to underpin and articulate all of these modern forms and processes, as does the subjectivities implicated. Indeed, there is more of a spatial dialogue between these forms than there is any absolute displacement. Ultimately, despite state regimes of village administration and, most recently, today's WMA zoning, traditional territoriality continues to percolate below the surface and emerge at key junctures. Irrespective of village boundaries and new settlement patterns, livestock continues to follow traditional grazing patterns. Despite the boundary conflicts that have been sometimes generated by tourism, for the most part, livestock still move across the *enikutoto* as they did a century ago. Although formally, village leaders are responsible for land use, traditional leaders of the *enikutoto* continue to be paramount and, informally, they still rule most decisions about grazing and conflict resolutions. As will be seen in later chapters, beneath village land use plans, WMA zonal maps and limits of use, traditional areas of dry season and wet season grazing continue to define the landscape. Furthermore, notwithstanding recent divisions and some social fragmentation, at important junctures, Enduimet residents still see themselves as one, united collectivity. The *enikutoto* still defines sociality in significant ways. This will especially be seen in later chapters that describe conflicts between Enduimet and foreign investors. Rather unexpectedly, the WMA has become a source of reuniting the historic Enduimet community and territory, offering a new

united front. In short, Enduimet continues to maintain a strong identification as the historic *enkutoto* and it continues to be the basis of belonging and social struggle.

With this history in mind, I now turn to one of Enduimet's most significant encounters and entanglements: the community's engagement with 'conservation' and the corresponding new regime of actors, discourses and governance reforms that has reconstituted the territory since the 1990s. Building on the idea of territoriality, one can say that Enduimet's most defining feature since the 90s is a green territoriality – a constellation of new rules, institutions, reordering and subjectivities that are all bent on conserving the area's wildlife. Today, Enduimet is synonymous with conservation space, with green territoriality, making space for giants, and becoming wilderness. Enduimet's process of becoming safariland, as just discussed, goes hand in hand with becoming wilderness – put simply, 'making space for giants'.

PART I:
MAKING SPACE FOR GIANTS

PROLOGUE

As seen in the last chapter, by the mid-90s, with Tanzania's restructuring and a proliferation of private tourism enterprise in the country's rural spaces, Enduimet became safariland, a tourism site and destination for international travellers. The arrival of (eco)tourism introduced new opportunities for monetary gain from Enduimet's lands and wildlife, provoking processes of making property and commodities. "Enterprising wildlife" became a defining feature of Enduimet's global entanglements, which continues to arise as Enduimet's story unfolds.

At the same time, Enduimet ramps up its processes of making space for giants. It reflects Enduimet's long road of "becoming wilderness" (Arlin, 2011), wherein a "will to conserve" (Li, 2007) emerges, practices of government become articulated with practices of politics and a rendering technical with rendering political. With the development of the WMA, "government" is re-inscribed in Enduimet's space in a new form: "government through community".

This part of the dissertation is organized as follows. The first chapter, Chapter Two, outlines Enduimet's encounter with conservation. It looks at AWF's entry onto the scene and corollary efforts to protect Enduimet's elephants. With funding from USAID, AWF 'helps' Enduimet become, first, a "heartland" and, then, a WMA. Chapter Three and Four focus on the making and remaking of the WMA. In these chapters, I adopt Li's concepts of a practice of government and practice of politics. As will be seen, *making* the WMA, as outlined in Chapter Three, illustrates early processes, prejudices and biases of a practice of government. Chapter Four, illustrates the *remaking* of the WMA whereby politics resurface in the second phase when Enduimet leaders begin driving the process and repositioning themselves vis-à-vis conservation and tourism.

CHAPTER 2

ENCOUNTERING CONSERVATION

*So Geographers in Afric-maps
With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps;
And o'er uninhabitable Downs
Place elephants for want of Towns*

(Jonathan Swift, On Poetry: A Rhapsody)



Sometimes I wonder, what our history would look like if we didn't live with elephants? Everything today is determined by elephants. Our land use planning. Our regulations. Our business plans. Everything comes down to elephants. Of course, there's other wildlife. But if you look at history and look at why people still come here or want to conserve the area, it really comes down to elephants. We don't have a WMA because of gazelle or zebra. We have the WMA because of elephants. I think many people here wish we didn't have elephants.

(Interview, Lerangwa youth, August 2015)



Introduction

What would Enduimet's history look like if there were no elephants? The youth's question in the above quote is a rhetorical one. There is really no answer to it. Its subtext is what is important: it conveys some popular perceptions and sentiments about living with elephants, subsequently, Enduimet's seemingly endless entanglement in conservation and, lastly, the ambivalent feelings that surround it all. This chapter looks at Enduimet's encounter with global conservation, exploring some of this history and politics.

I start the chapter above with Jonathan Swift's famous poem and critique of colonial ways of seeing and making territories in Africa. Critical historians have used the poem to denote the violence, illusions and ignorance that surrounded the making of colonial geographies and, more

generally, the politics of cartography in colonial spaces, such as Africa (Neill, 2002, p. 83). I interpret the poem as a profound critique about the illusions and ignorance of Africa that have defined colonial (and postcolonial) map making, a way of ‘seeing Africa’ in terms of empty wilderness and wildlife rather than people and lived landscapes. Maps, in such analysis, are fundamentally social constructs, inscribe power-knowledge complexes and practices, and, often, they facilitate a certain violence on Africa’s people and landscapes (Crampton, 2001).

While the poem’s application to contemporary Enduimet may be limited, I offer it here to highlight some key processes that constitute Enduimet’s entanglement with conservation and making conservation spaces. Indeed, part of Enduimet’s encounter with conservation includes endless maps. One can track this period by the maps upon maps upon maps that begin to represent and construct Enduimet, produced mainly by the international conservation NGOs that plant themselves into Enduimet’s history and landscape. As alluded to in Swift’s poem, I especially emphasize the fascination and focus on elephants that characterize such productions of rural space. The maps that characterized this period of Enduimet’s history are primarily maps of elephants, their locations, their migrations and their threats. Indeed, the Enduimet WMA is recognized as “the most researched WMA for elephants in Tanzania” (Monduli District, 2005 p.vi).

Enduimet’s substantial encounter with conservation begins especially in the 90s. A green territoriality emerges that becomes a defining feature of its recent history and future trajectory, with the WMA being the ultimate culmination of a decade or more of ‘greening’ Enduimet.

Certainly, conservation affected Enduimet prior to the 90s. Conservation was not new, *per se*. The creation of Mount Kilimanjaro National Park in 1973, and a long history of protective measures in the Kitendeni Corridor from around a similar period, reflect previous encounters and

a long history of conservation. Like tourism trends, though, the 90s is distinct due to how conservation began engaging rural communities. A new form of conservation emerged, called “community-based conservation” (CBC) (Goldman, 2003, Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). With CBC, Enduimet leaders and residents became actual stakeholders and participants. Systematic efforts were made by the government and international NGOs, like AWF, to engage Enduimet leaders and community members. How “community-based” and “participatory” any of this has been is a matter of debate but suffice it to say that it all represented new encounters and engagements.

This chapter describes Enduimet’s encounter with conservation through the 90s and beyond, looking especially at the entry of the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) into Enduimet and the organization’s efforts to protect elephants and ‘green Enduimet’. The chapter is organized as follows. First, I provide some brief insights about AWF. I then look at AWF’s successive efforts to conserve elephants in Enduimet. I consider early initiatives to register and protect the Kitendeni Corridor. I then look at AWF’s “heartland” approach, before looking at the emergence of the WMA. I use this chapter to delve into some reflections about the reasons for accepting the WMA. In an effort to preface the next sections, the last part of the chapter introduces the new ensemble of actors, groups and organizations that have come to comprise the new, green Enduimet. I conclude with some insights from Tania Li’s work and her concept, the “will to conserve” (Li, 2007, p. 131).

i. AWF & greening Enduimet

As already highlighted, AWF is an American-based international conservation NGO. It was started in 1961, under the original name, African Wildlife Leadership Foundation (AWLF).

Sachedina (2011) describes its early values and characteristics as “a love for African big-game hunting, a conviction that Africans could destroy wildlife in newly independent countries, and close connections to the US political establishment” (p.139). Today, AWF has become a large NGO with over \$50 million in assets and has been integral to conservation trajectories throughout the Global South (AWF, 2017).

By the 90s, the organization became especially influential in Tanzania, and globally, largely due to its support from the US Agency for International Development (USAID). In Tanzania, the organization started with a \$3.5 million, multi-year, USAID-supported project in 1989, growing to a \$10.5 million project by the late 90s (Sachedina, 2011, p.139). By the early 2000s, USAID funding amounted to 74% of AWF’s budget (Sachedina, p.139).

AWF’s influence in Tanzania began with its participation in the construction and operation of the College of African Wildlife Management (CAWM) in the 60s. CAWM was established in 1964 to train the leaders of Africa’s newly independent nations. It has had significant influence on many African countries’ conservation politics and trajectories, especially Tanzania’s (Garland, 2008, 2006).



Figure 13 Photo of AWF sign in Tanzania (Reprinted with permission from Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2010)

In its early years, AWF was a bastion of “fortress conservation”, but, following on larger, general trends in conservation, it shifted its approach by the 90s. In fact, backed by USAID funding, AWF was at the forefront of Tanzania’s restructuring of conservation and tourism. It played a major role in the shift of focus to more community-based models of conservation, including WMAs. The photo in Figure 13 depicts one of AWF’s billboards that tourists meet on their arrival at Tanzania’s international airport. As illustrated, AWF promotes itself by the tripartite epithet, “Conserving Wildlife, Protecting Land, Empowering People”.

Beyond community-based models, it has been a prominent figure in promoting the “win-win

Overview of the main events in AWF’s conservation enterprise model development	
Year	Main event
1961	Launch of the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation (AWLF)
1962	Founding of the College of African Wildlife Management, Tanzania
1983	Name change into African Wildlife Foundation (AWF)
1987	‘Neighbours as partner’ programme, focusing on community conservation in Tsavo National Park
1989	Launch of parastatal Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), replacing Kenya’s Wildlife and Conservation Management Department
1992	Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) project (until 1998)
1996	Il Ngwesi community lodge opened for business
1997	Commerce, Economics and Conservation (CEC) project
1998	Heartlands programme
1998	Wildlife Enterprise and Business Services (WEBS) project
1999	Conservation of Resources through Enterprises (CORE) project (until 2005)
1999	AWF brokers a fair deal between community and operator at Klein’s Camp, Tanzania
2001	Koiya Starbeds lodge opened for business
2007	The Sanctuary at Ol Lentille opened for business
2011	Launch of the African Wildlife Capital (AWC)

Figure 14 Evolution of AWF (Reprinted from van Wijk et al., 2015)

discourse” of neoliberal conservation in Tanzania (Benjaminsen & Svarstad, 2010). As described in the introduction, neoliberal conservation promotes tourism markets as the driver for conservation, supposedly creating a win-win for wildlife and communities. Figure 14 offers a chronology of AWF’s engagements in Kenya and Tanzania. It reflects AWF’s growing focus on

tourism enterprise and markets, as the basis of conservation. Notably, I turn back to this topic in Chapter 6 when I look at one of AWF's "conservation enterprise" attempts in Enduimet.

As an aside, it is worth noting that AWF's reputation has declined in recent times. It has faced much criticism for its approach to conservation (e.g. its focus on big enterprise), their management of donor funds, the agency's apolitical stance toward patterns of dispossession, and its often-tokenistic relationship with communities. In his work, Hassanali Sachedina charts the rise and demise of the organization (Sachedina, 2011; Sachedina et al., 2010; Sachedina & Trench, 2009; Sachedina, 2008), showing, among other things, the pitfalls of fast growth, donor dependency, intimacy with government and weak relationships with local communities. As of 2016, AWF's trajectory in Tanzania took an about turn: USAID shifted its funding from AWF to the American-based NGO, The Nature Conservancy, one of the world's largest NGOs. With this move, almost overnight, AWF was relegated from one of Tanzania's most significant NGOs to a relatively insignificant one.

a. Making the Kitendeni Corridor

Enduimet has a long history with conservation, mainly due to the migration of Amboseli's elephants through the area and into the Kilimanjaro forest. We've always lived with these elephants and so we've always lived with conservationists. Researchers have come from everywhere to study them and protect them. Originally, most interest was in the Kitendeni corridor, which was the only remaining area without cultivation and through which elephants could reach the forest. For many years, conservationists and government officials tried to protect the corridor. They had some success although the area has shrunk a lot with more and more cultivation. The Kitendeni conflicts were Enduimet's early encounter with conservation.

AWF arrived in the 90s and started meeting with leaders, in order to protect the corridor. I remember meetings with Kikoti, [who worked with AWF] ... Enduimet's biggest encounter comes later in the 90s when Enduimet became part of AWF's Kilimanjaro Heartland. It was at this point that lots of money and conservationists began targeting the community for larger efforts. Workshops were held. Wildlife were counted. Leaders were sent for training in conservation. Some young men were sent for game scout training.

(Interview, Kitendeni leader, June 2016)



It is difficult to pinpoint the exact time of AWF's entry into Enduimet but, as shared by a leader in the above quote, AWF's presence was especially felt by Enduimet leaders and residents in the late 90s. At this time, while much of its work had been across the border in Amboseli, Kenya, the organization began ramping up its conservation efforts in Enduimet. Its target was primarily elephants, which they identified as a "keystone species" (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006) – i.e. a species that affect the ecosystem in disproportionate ways and, hence, is deemed a priority for conservation. The organization began initiatives to count and survey elephants, mapping out the places they reside, where they breed, birth and migrate through.

First, the organization began targeting the Kitendeni Corridor. As mentioned in Chapter One, this corridor is a key migratory route of elephants between the Amboseli National Park in Kenya and the Kilimanjaro National Park. Since 1952, there have been attempts to protect the corridor, but by the 90s, growing rates of agricultural encroachment and cultivation began seriously threatening it. Christine Noe's work (2003) demonstrates the extent of these changes:

The size of the corridor between Lerang'wa and Kamwanga villages, which was approximately 21km² in 1952, has been reduced to a narrow strip of approximately 5km². Apart from reduction of the size of the corridor, the new type of land uses particularly settlements and agriculture, which have emerged in the area, have led to massive destruction of natural vegetation and reduction of the area available for livestock and wild animal grazing, migration and dispersal. (p.23)

Figure 15 illustrates the status of the corridor in 2000. The light green area (spotted with small tree images) represents the remaining Kitendeni Corridor. The surrounding beige area represents active cultivation.

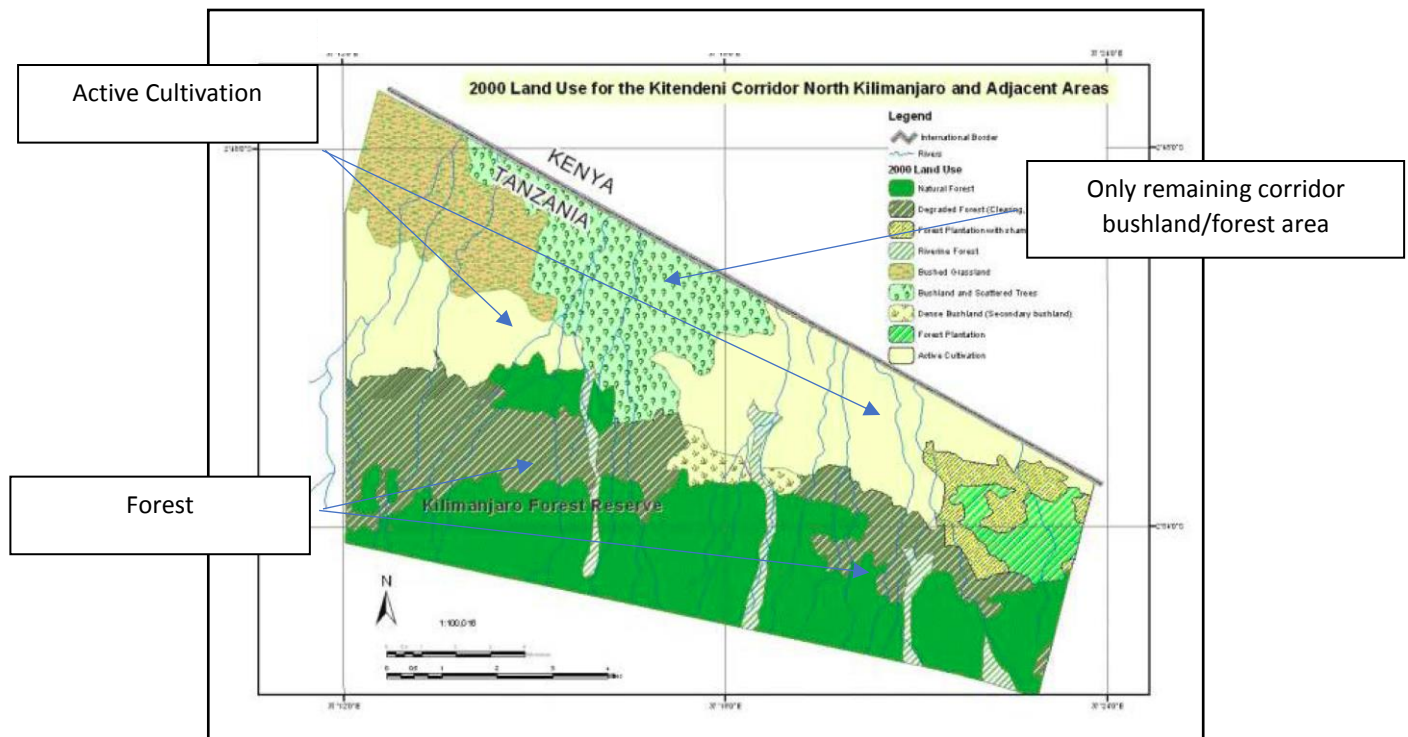


Figure 15 Map of Kitendeni Corridor in 2000, indicating the significant encroachment of cultivation and subsequent shrinking of the corridor area (Reprinted from Noe, 2003)

Starting in 1987, the elephants of Kitendeni Corridor, and the significance of it for elephant migration, gained international fame and attention via the research of John Grimshaw and Charles Foley (Grimshaw, Cordeiro & Foley, 1995; Grimshaw & Foley, 1990). Their research tracked and counted Kitendeni's elephants, reinforcing the theory about their migratory patterns and the devastation to their population that would be caused if the corridor shrunk further and the elephants could, therefore, not reach the Kilimanjaro forest. Their research also documented 154 other mammal species in the forest and confirmed the extinction of the black rhinoceros, which used to inhabit the area (Grimshaw, Cordeiro & Foley, 1995).

Grimshaw and Foley's research renewed attention to the corridor, calling for immediate conservation measures to protect the increasingly threatened corridor and respective elephant populations. In 1988, AWF launched its own research to determine the extent of elephant use, map out their movements and determine the degree of human encroachment and conflict

(Kikoti123, Griffin, & Pamphil, 2010). They employed the famous elephant researcher and Tanzanian activist, Alfred Kikoti. Kikoti and colleagues began conducting interviews with community members while conducting hilltop surveys and systematic observations of elephant populations and movements. Their study concluded similar to previous studies: the corridor was used extensively by relatively large populations of elephants, as they moved between the respective parks in Kenya and Tanzania. Figure 16 illustrates a map that was generated from the study¹⁷, plotting out Kitendeni's elephant populations and making their migratory routes legible via maps, statistics, and so on.

Shortly thereafter, AWF launched into activities to formalize and officially register the corridor. I spoke with several leaders who participated in these meetings. According to my

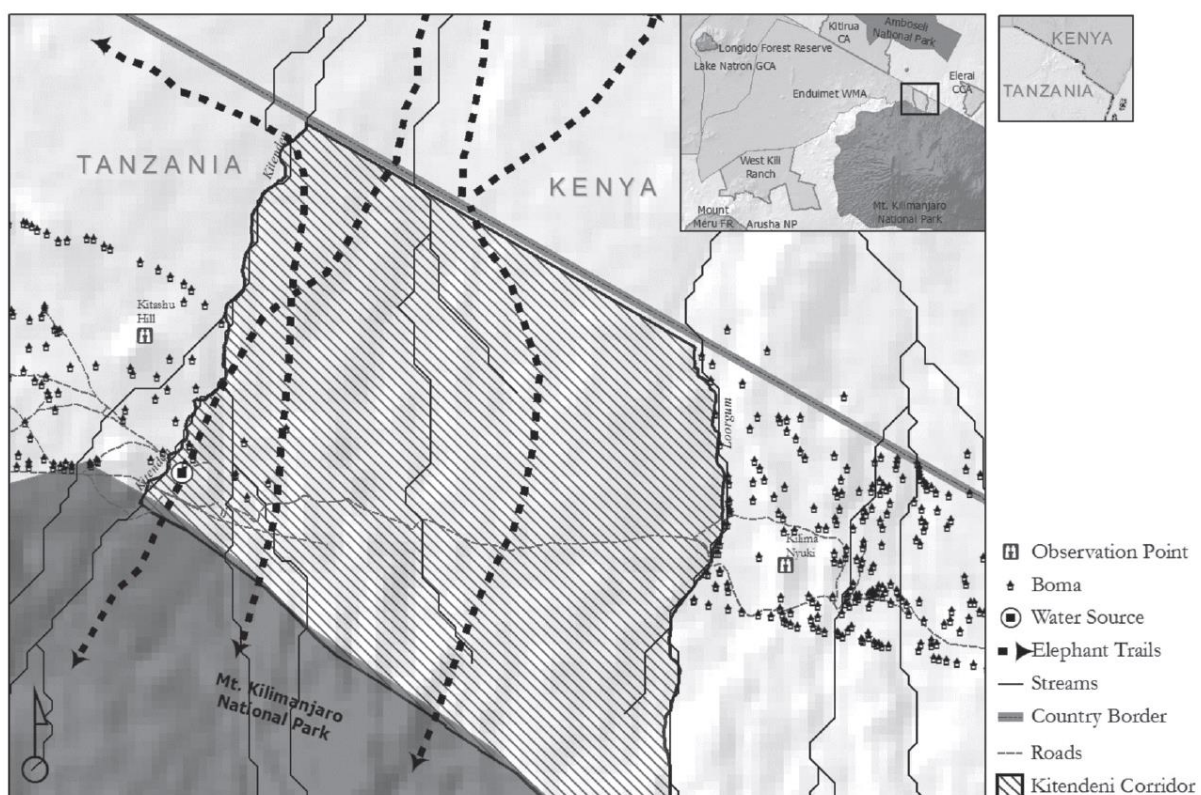


Figure 16 Map of Kitendeni Corridor, including elephant migratory routes (Reprinted from Kikoti, Griffin and Pamphil, 2010)

conversations, it was clear that, while some village members in the surrounding villages of

¹⁷ Regrettably, the quality of the map is poor. Nevertheless, it offers an example of the study's focus and output.

Irkaswa and Kitendeni opposed the corridor due to agricultural interests (i.e. cultivation), most were supportive. Interestingly, they saw the corridor as potentially protecting this important grazing and watering area. AWF facilitators were always adamant that only cultivation would be prohibited in the corridor. As will be seen, similar sentiments and rationales continue to characterize Enduimet's ongoing engagements with conservation – i.e. as long as conservation does not disturb customary grazing patterns, it is generally supported; in fact, it can be a protective measure, facilitating rangeland security rather than threatening it.

Over a period of almost two years, Kikoti and his colleagues held meetings with respective District, Division and Village government authorities (Kikoti et al., 2010, p.63). A task force was then created, and a Corridor Management Plan formed, which demarcated the corridor boundaries and established prohibited uses, such as permanent residence, tree cutting and cultivation. After gaining approval from District authorities and the National Land Commission, beacons for the corridor boundaries were installed. The corridor was finally registered in 2002 (Kikoti et al. 2010; Mariki, Svarstad & Benjaminsen, 2015) and Enduimet's first, so-called "community-based conservation" initiative came into being.

b. Becoming a Heartland

AWF's Kitenden Corridor initiative, and its respective engagement with Enduimet leaders, unfolded in parallel with a larger conservation initiative of AWF: the creation of, what they call, the "Kilimanjaro Heartland". In the late nineties, AWF shifted much of its resources to so-called "African Heartlands". The concept of "heartland" represents one of AWF's key innovations in their approach to conservation. It is referred to as "A Science-based and Pragmatic Approach to Landscape Level Conservation in Africa" (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006). A "heartland", and AWF's corresponding approach, is captured in the following excerpt:

Heartlands are large African landscapes of exceptional wildlife and natural value extending across state, private, and community lands. AWF works with these landholders (e.g., government, local authorities, individuals, communities) and others in the Heartlands to conserve wild species, communities, and natural processes. Because Africa's wildlife cannot be conserved everywhere, the great majority of AWF's resources and efforts are now invested in these Heartlands. (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006, p.6)

The upshot is that heartland areas represent vast stretches of rural landscapes. Substantiating this landscape-based approach, AWF argues that "Scale is important in conservation (Levin 1992, Forman 1998, Noss 2000) and working at large scales has certain ecological and economic benefits including maintaining ecological connectivity and integrity of systems: species, habitats, communities, and processes (Taylor et al. 1993, Dobson 1996, Forman 1998)" (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006, p.6). Of course, elephants determined the scale of AWF's approach:

The primary determinants of the spatial extent of the landscape are the ranging patterns, key habitat areas, and movement corridors of elephants. By using elephants as a proxy indicator of the conservation landscape extent we were able to plan strategies with stakeholders that would address threats to elephants and other conservation targets. (Henson et al. 2009, p. 510).

As seen in Figure 17, Enduimet falls into the so-called Kilimanjaro Heartland, which encompasses the area of Mount Kilimanjaro in the east, Mount Meru in the south and Lake Natron to the west. In Kenya, it covers much of Kajiado District and the Amboseli area. It amounts to 23,000 km² (Henson, Williams, Dupain, Gichohi, & Muruthi, 2009, p. 511). It was based primarily on its "single species approach to conservation", with the key objective to "maintain elephant population(s) and secure their range in as natural a state as possible"

(Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006, p. 17). It prioritized the principles of “community conservation and enterprise support”, reducing the “costs of living with wildlife” by helping facilitate private business ventures and bringing together foreign investors with local communities (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2016, p.19).

With the help of Alfred Kikoti, and a succession of other AWF personnel, AWF began documenting the status of elephants in the area and mapping their movement. Concurrently, workshops and campaigns were organized to build legitimacy and win support from “relevant

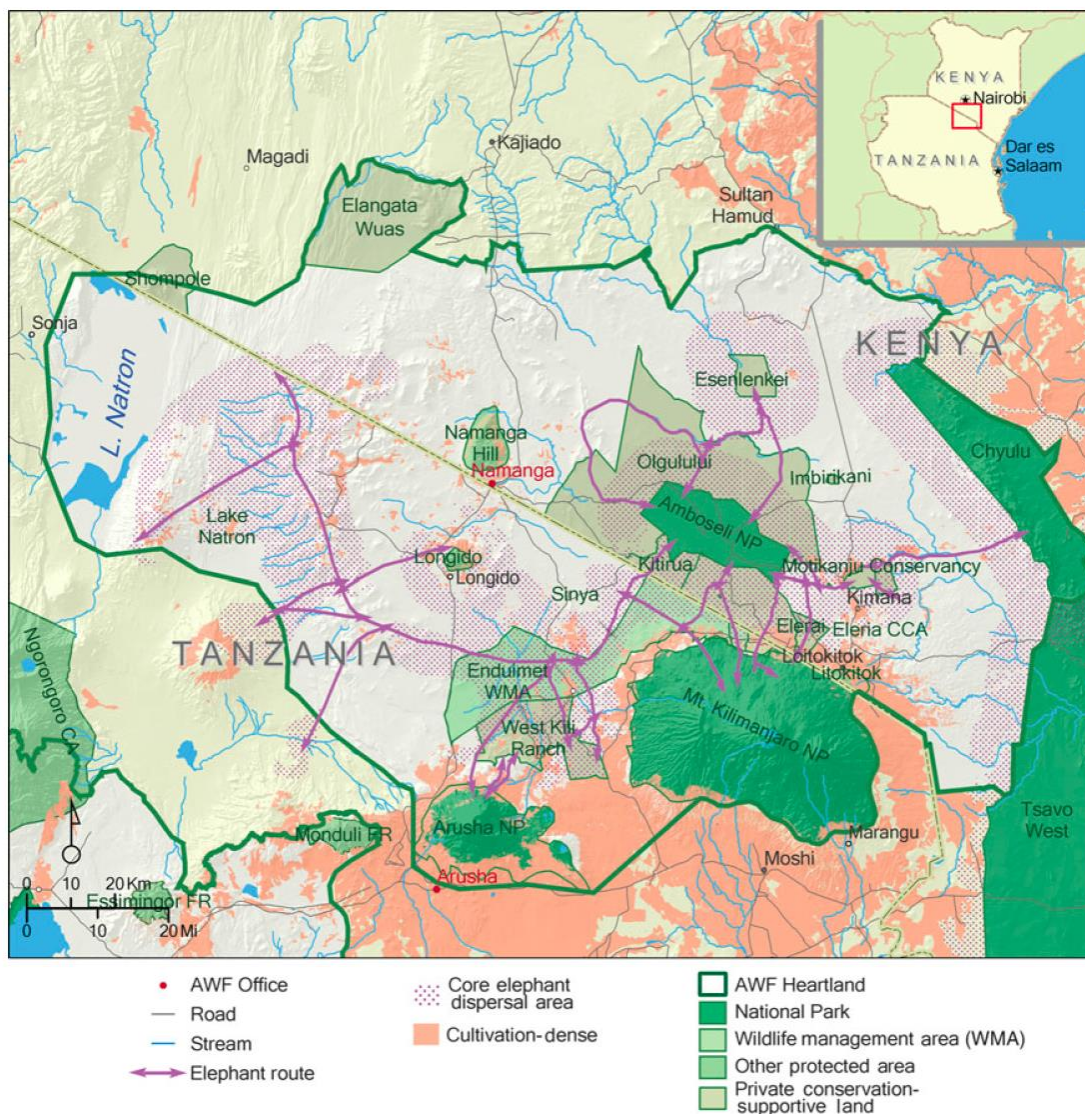


Figure 17 Map of AWF's Kilimanjaro Heartland (Reprinted from Henson et al., 2019)

statutory authorities, landowners and other stakeholder groups” (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2016, p. 22). In effect, with big promises of tourism revenue opportunities, AWF mobilized and won support, for the most part, from Enduimet’s economic and political elites. They then embarked on “participatory planning” processes, which they refer to as Heartland Conservation Planning, borrowed from The Nature Conservancy’s similar approach (Muruthi & Frohardt p. 23). Henson et al. (2009) describe the process as comprising the following eight components. I share it in full, so as to highlight the technical nature of AWF’s approach:

The main components in this landscape-scale planning process are: (1) identify biodiversity conservation targets, (2) conduct a socio-economic analysis of the landscape, (3) identify critical threats to conservation targets, (4) design threat reduction strategies while taking full advantage of opportunities available to strengthen livelihoods of local people, (5) apply conservation zoning that prioritizes interventions geographically and temporally, (6) compile these planning results into a 10-year strategic plan for the Heartland that are then divided into 3-year and annual implementation plans, (7) systematically measure performance towards achievement of conservation goals and livelihood impacts for local people, and (8) utilize performance measures to inform adaptations to AWF’s goals, strategy and interventions. (p.509)

Figure 18 illustrates one rubric from meetings in 2000, which illustrates some of the key foci and initiatives that arose at this time. The rubric and the above description really capture the ‘rendering technical’ that began to characterize Enduimet’s encounter with conservation: the “problem” of conservation is fit into simple rubrics of threats, stats and GIS maps, all of which are amenable to expert knowledge, simple regulatory interventions and 3-year plans.

Remarkably, a key theme that emerged in many of AWF's meetings at this time focused on the importance of "conserving Maasai cultural practices" concurrent with the conservation of wildlife resources (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006, p.25). Going against the grain of Tanzania's

Critical Threats	Strategies
Sub-division of land (land privatization)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land-use planning at district level as opposed to national level. • Promote national policies to allow land owners to keep wildlife on their lands • Develop incentive structures to maintain habitat and wildlife areas • Encourage cross-border cooperation
Conversion to cropland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote conservation-related enterprises for alternative land uses • Encourage development of land-use plans and zoning • Income diversification
Incompatible human settlements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory land-use planning across sectors • Community based natural resource management and benefit sharing • Tourism development
Incompatible grazing practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve range management • Coordinated policies between Kenya and Tanzania • Facilitate cooperation between Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Group ranches
Incompatible forestry practices/ Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct forest inventory • Develop forestry management plans • Silviculture, tree nurseries • Improve extraction techniques
Charcoal production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income diversification • Agroforestry, woodlots • Identification of fuel alternatives
Change in traditional pastoral systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordination between the different land-use systems • Recognize and maintain interdependence of traditional pastoralism and wildlife management in this ecosystem • Improve equitable distribution of water sources
Human/wildlife conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify, demarcate and map migration corridors and dispersal areas in relation to human settlements • Utilize participatory land-use planning and zoning • Institutionalize and expand consolation schemes
Water diversions for agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen water regulation mechanisms • Improved coordination among water users

Figure 18 Matrix of threats and strategies in the Kilimanjaro Heartland (Reprinted from Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006)

orthodoxies, the Maasai stakeholders of the Kilimanjaro Heartland emphasized their opposition to fortress conservation, their role as traditional guardians, the symbiosis of pastoralism and wildlife management and, ultimately, the necessity of "integrating traditional pastoralism with wildlife management practices" (Muruthi & Frohardt, 2006, p. 25). Whether through these

consultations or otherwise, what became apparent in AWF's approach was a "greater appreciation of Maasai culture and land use practices" (Muruthi & Frohardt, p. 25).

In my discussions with Enduimet leaders, who participated in these meetings, this appreciation was quite significant. One leader argued to me that "AWF has always respected our Maasai customs and land use. The AWF workers saw cultivation, subdivision and fences as the main threat to wildlife, not livestock. This helped AWF build support a lot in Enduimet and elsewhere in Maasailand". In my analysis, similar to this leader's perspective, I believe this perception and approach built important trust in Enduimet. I share this here because, in my analysis, this positive relationship may explain the support AWF continued to gain in Enduimet and the positive dispositions toward conservation that emerged among Enduimet leaders. Essentially, AWF's early engagement built a foundation for combining traditional and green territorialities, which is currently a unique feature of Enduimet's conservation engagements.

As a last note, in reference to this period of greening Enduimet, another important development that unfolded was the recruitment and training of Village Game Scouts (VGS). The vision of producing and regulating conservation spaces included the need to police them, reflecting trends of what critics refer to as a "green militarization" (Lunstrum, 2014). In the late 90s, with funding from AWF, a few dozen Enduimet residents were selected. They were sent to a training college in southern Tanzania, where they learned the military basics of being a wildlife ranger. Training included anti-poaching techniques, as well as wildlife surveying techniques (e.g. maintaining wildlife counts and GPS coordinates). By the early 2000s, a number of VGS began surveying wildlife and conducting anti-poaching activities in Enduimet, under the supervision of District authorities, namely the District Game Officer. Today, the WMA officially employs them.

Their numbers have grown to upwards of one hundred, supported mainly by international donor groups and conservation NGOs, including the well-known Big Life Foundation, which was started by the famous elephant photographer, Nick Brandt and his associate, Richard Bonham, a white settler and, historically-speaking, a well-known trophy hunter from Kenya. In Enduimet, Big Life partners with the Honey Guide Foundation, a popular NGO started by another white settler who, after a lucrative career in Tanzania's luxury tourism business, turned to conservation. As the story goes, the founder of Honey Guide and Nick Brandt had a serendipitous meeting during the production of Michael Jackson's Earth Song video, which was done partly in Loliondo, Tanzania. Brandt fell in love with elephants through this experience and a friendship emerged between Brandt and the Honey Guide founder. They inspired each other to turn their attentions to protecting Africa's wildlife. In large part, Enduimet's history of green militarization is the result.

ii. Encountering the WMA

I think AWF's vision in Enduimet was always a WMA. They began mobilizing leaders to accept a WMA before anyone even knew what a WMA was, before regulations were even released. They have been very successful with their Kilimanjaro Heartland vision. First Enduimet, now Lake Natron. The whole Longido District is a WMA now. And in Kenya they've created many conservancies. Most of Kilimanjaro's heartland is now either a WMA in Tanzania or a conservancy in Kenya. They have been very successful.

(Interview, Tinga Tinga leader, August 2015)



As seen in the above quote, AWF's efforts in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania have been exceptionally successful. All of the historic heartland is, essentially, now under the jurisdiction of formalized protected areas. In Enduimet, AWF's focus became the WMA.

Before discussing the WMA in Enduimet, it is helpful to turn our focus to the larger policy changes that brought it all about. As mentioned above, Tanzania's approach to conservation took an about turn in the 90s, shifting to a more community-based approach that aimed to create financial incentives in rural communities. Under the direction of USAID and other donors, rural tourism became a key instrument for alleviating rural poverty and achieving the country's economic growth. The government became bent on engineering rural landscapes and subjects to get in line with the country's efforts to expand tourism and concomitantly, protect wildlife resources. In the early 90s, the Minister for Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment stated the government's mandate cogently in the following:

But to achieve this objective, we should increasingly regard conservation and protected areas as forms of activity and of land-use that should *earn their keep* against potentially competing claims such as agriculture, livestock and forestry... we must realise the full potential value of our wildlife resources to the national economy, in order to assist Tanzania's Economic Recovery Programme. (Leader-Williams, Kayera, & Overton, 1996, p. 1; emphasis added)

To put it succinctly, come the 90s, wildlife needed to "earn their keep".

Efforts to restructure conservation and tourism culminated in Tanzania's Wildlife Policy of 1998, which, for the first time, emphasized the role of communities. Similar to the reference above, the policy recast conservation clearly as an entrepreneurial land-use, via tourism enterprise. Reflecting Nyerere's statement in the 60s (see previous chapter), the preamble of the policy stresses that Tanzania's "wild creatures" are "not only important as a source of wonder and inspiration" but are also natural resources that are integral to "our future livelihood and well being" (MNRT, 1998, p. 1).

Notably, the policy also emphasises transnationalism and professionalization. The policy reads, “the conservation of wildlife and wild places calls for specialist knowledge, trained manpower, and money, and we look to other nations to co-operate with us” (MNRT 1998, p.2). It foretells the emergence of a new cadre of experts and specialists – new “ trustees”, as Tania Li refers to such actors and groups (2007, p. 9) – assigned to the country’s new green initiatives. “Specialist knowledge” and “trained manpower” foreshadows the rendering technical that continues to define it.

The policy identifies that state ownership and lack of privatization hinder investment and development of the wildlife tourism industry, invoking the State to empower rural communities through devolving user-rights and encouraging direct investment and joint private ventures: “create an enabling environment for the private sector” (MNRT, p.9). In so doing, the government will “ensure that wildlife conservation competes with other forms of land use” (MNRT, p.9). Ultimately, the policy aimed to facilitate “future major tourist developments outside PAs [protected areas] in order to reduce negative impacts and enhance benefit sharing with local communities” (MNRT, p.13). Protected areas, here, meant National Parks and Game Reserves.

The key vehicle for achieving all this, as declared in the Wildlife Policy in 1998, was what came to be called the Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Notably, the concept of a WMA first arose in the early 1990s. The concept came out of the USAID-funded initiative, called Planning and Assessment for Wildlife Management (PAWM), whose purpose was to restructure Tanzania’s wildlife sector. Amidst calls for containing state influence, a more efficient market and a more equitable distribution of revenues, WMAs became Tanzania’s solution for expanding, optimizing and sustaining the country’s tourism industry (Leader-Williams, Kayera,

and Overton 1996a, 1996b; Leader-Williams 2000). In effect, it was a strategy to convince rural Tanzanians to live with, conserve, and participate in marketing Tanzania's trophies (Hurt and Ravn 2000; Gibson and Marks 1995; Songorwa 1999). The first officially recorded mention of WMAs arises in the meeting minutes of PAWM's workshops in the early 90s, which included USAID consultants, other donor agencies, ministers, other central government authorities, NGOs and prominent hunting and photographic tourism industry leaders (Leader-Williams, Kayera, and Overton 1996a, 1996b). Accordingly, 1998 Wildlife Policy's objectives include "establishing a new category of protected area to be known as Wildlife Management Area for the purposes of effecting community-based conservation" (p.24). The conclusion sums up Tanzania's newfound focus:

The Government will facilitate the establishment of a new category of PA known as WMA, where local people will have full mandate of managing and benefiting from their conservation efforts, through community-based conservation programmes. The private sector will be encouraged to invest in the wildlife industry, taking advantage of the prevailing political stability and sound investment policies of the policy (p.29).

Rather alarmingly, and maybe presciently, one Minister articulated the purpose of WMAs clearly: to "pave the way for the private sector" (Kijazi, 2012).

AWF's vision for Enduimet coincided conveniently with the goals and objectives of the Wildlife Policy. Indeed, it may be fair to say that the two 'grew up together'. AWF had always been part and parcel of USAID's PAWM initiative and part of the evolution of conservation in Tanzania through the 90s.

AWF began integrating the idea of a WMA into their Kilimanjaro Heartland project, as early as the late 90s. One AWF staff person told me that “the idea of the WMA fit in well with the Kilimanjaro Heartland project. We believed that WMAs would provide the infrastructure for our conservation and tourism goals across the heartland in Tanzania”. One leader from Elerai village recalled the following:

I recall attending one meeting in as early as 2000, I think. It was held by AWF. They conducted a workshop wherein they wanted us to identify opportunities for tourism in Enduimet and the threats that existed for wildlife. I think it was in this meeting that I first learned about a thing called WMA. They told us that the WMA would help us protect wildlife and make money from tourism in Enduimet. They told us that if we want tourism we must protect the wildlife. Some of us had already been doing this so we were unsure why a WMA would help or why it was different. But AWF really convinced us that the WMA was the best way forward.

The latter part of this quote foretells some of the concerns and politics that unfold with the introduction of the WMA, which I discuss below.

While WMAs were officially announced and identified in the 1998 Wildlife Policy, the details of what they would look like, how they could be registered, how they would be regulated, and so on, were not defined until 2002. In that year, the government released the first Wildlife Management Areas Regulations (MNRT, 2002). These regulations allowed agencies and communities to finally begin forming and implementing WMAs. Importantly, the regulations outline the many stages that villages need to go through in order to be gazetted and issued user-rights. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, so will not be elaborated much here.

As a caveat, once released, the regulations triggered a lot of critique (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008; Nelson et al., 2007). For one, criticisms were raised about the complex, expensive and time-consuming processes that were required. Effectively, no community could achieve the registration and approval of a WMA without extensive external funding and technical support. Furthermore, while the regulations continued to emphasize benefit-sharing, the actual amounts that communities would receive remained unknown. The regulations merely stated that benefit-sharing schemes would be determined from time to time via “government circulars” (MNRT, 2002).

The most significant criticism related to how much authority the central government maintained in WMA management. Essentially, the regulations maintained a veto power over land use planning and tourism enterprise. The regulations require the Director to approve the WMA’s key regulatory policies, including the Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP). This opens up significant risks for communities if, for example, the Director insists on prohibiting customary land and resource uses. The regulations also go on to assign the Wildlife Director with responsibilities to “oversee the performance of the WMA” and “to participate in the entire process of negotiation and signing of agreements between Authorized Associations and potential investors” (MNRT, 2002).

Lastly, to the chagrin of conservationists and land advocates, trophy hunting remained a centralized affair. Trophy hunting is discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Suffice it to say here that it is one of Tanzania’s largest industries and foreign exchange earners (Booth, 2017). It generates up to 30 million USD annually (Booth, 2017). From the earliest period of envisioning the WMAs, it was expected that trophy hunting would become the primary revenue base. In contrast to such expectations among international donors, conservation groups and rural

communities, the 2002 WMA regulations did not decentralize governance of the industry nor offered any benefit-sharing mechanisms. Ultimately, the regulations kept the industry firmly placed in the hands of central authorities and out of the hands of communities. Notably, this did not change until the regulations were reissued in 2012 (see Chapter Five for further discussion).

Despite all the above concerns and uncertainties, AWF pushed forward with its plan to institute a WMA in Enduimet. AWF argued that, among other things, a growing bush meat trade, subsequent poaching, and threats to existing elephant migration and dispersal areas necessitated rapid action (Minwary, 2009). Subsequently, at the behest of AWF and other donor groups (e.g. USAID), the Tanzania government included Enduimet as one of nine priority sites for piloting its WMA program (MNRT, 2007). The conditions were therefore laid to move ahead with a WMA project. As of 2003, through USAID funding, Wildlife Division officials began conducting a baseline survey so as to monitor achievements and impacts of a WMA (Kabiri, 2007).

One interesting dimension of the WMA regulations was how they positioned NGOs as key facilitators and managers of WMAs. Essentially, the regulations institutionalize the “privatization of sovereignty” trends that have raised concern among many critical scholars (Ferguson, 2006; Ferguson, Akhil, 2002; Igoe, 2010). In one section entitled, “Functions of Non-Governmental Organizations and the Private Sector”, the regulations require NGOs to facilitate the establishment of WMAs, support management, provide technical advice, prepare land use plans, facilitate the creation of by-laws, build capacity of AAs and “collaborate with law enforcement agencies in protection of natural resources” (MNRT, 2002). Effectively, with the regulations, NGOs become government in unprecedented ways, including law enforcement.

Remarkably, the regulations allotted authority to the Wildlife Division to delegate and approve which organizations could work with the WMAs (MNRT, 1998). The regulations make

clear that any technical assistance must be approved by the WD and indicate that the WD will designate facilitating NGOs that are approved and responsible for helping respective WMAs. At the direction of USAID, AWF and WWF were some of the NGOs favored by the Wildlife Director. Not surprisingly, as it pertains to Enduimet, the Wildlife Division designated AWF as the facilitating NGO, ascribing official authority to AWF's role in re-making Enduimet's landscape.

In addition to AWF, the responsibility to oversee the development of a WMA in Enduimet fell on the local District officials in Monduli¹⁸, namely the Monduli District Game Officer (DGO). With support from the DGO, AWF began facilitating the formation of Enduimet's WMA in 2003. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that, first, AWF began working with village leaders in order to obtain agreements from village assemblies. A host of successive meetings unfolded at this time, building awareness and support for the WMA and, importantly, addressing apprehensions and concerns.

When necessary, AWF mobilized key opinion leaders in their campaign. This included the area's Member of Parliament (MP), who was a well-respected Maasai, a strong critic of the country's history of centralized conservation and a staunch supporter of the WMA concept. In my engagements with the MP, he has persistently argued that WMAs, while reflecting some risks, are the best way forward for Maasai communities. Reflecting what unfolds in later phases of the WMA, the MP always asserted that the WMA was the only way to ensure more control and autonomy vis-à-vis conservation and tourism in Enduimet. Basically, he believed that, beyond earning tourism revenue, the WMA would serve to protect pastoral lands. He has

¹⁸ At this time, Enduimet was still situated in the Monduli District. This was changed by 2007 when Longido District was created. Starting in 2007, it was the Longido District Game Officer who 'advised' the WMA.

remained adamant that while restricting other land uses (e.g. cultivation), WMAs will never restrict pastoral land use (e.g. grazing). Other Maasai leaders from Longido and elsewhere were also mobilized in AWF's campaign. The importance of these leaders cannot be overstated. A WMA evaluation conducted in 2007, concluded that such "champions of WMAs" were a key factor in the success of registering a WMA (MNRT, 2007, p. 35). For better or for worse, this

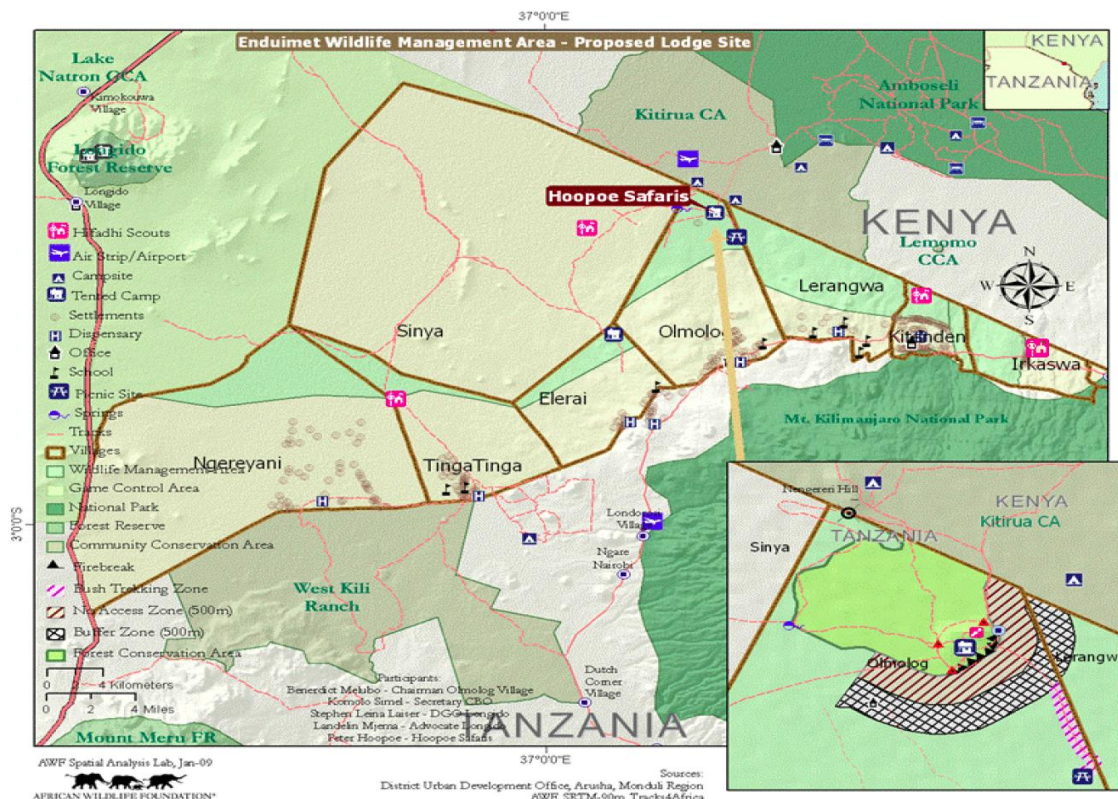


Figure 19 Map of Enduimet WMA (Reprinted from Sulle et al., 2011)

was certainly the case in Enduimet.

In 2004, Enduimet registered its Community-Based Organization (CBO), comprised of the eight villages that assented to joining the WMA (from left to right): Ngereyani, Tingatinga, Elerai, Olmolog, Lerang'wa, Kitendeni, Irkaswa and Kamwanga. As described in the next chapter, at this time, AWF continued working with the respective villages to create the required village land use plans and survey the respective areas. The above map in Figure 19 illustrates the

nine villages originally targeted for the WMA. The narrow green area that stretches across the northern parts of member villages illustrates the land area surveyed and designated in the WMA in 2007. Notably, Sinya's village land is not included in the WMA area because the map is from 2009. Sinya had still rejected membership in the WMA, only joining the WMA in 2010.

As AWF began sensitizing villages about the WMA and mobilizing them to join, much apprehension and resistance began to emerge. Perspectives vacillated between seeing the WMA as a threat versus an opportunity. For the most part, leaders had to weigh the government and AWF's simple "win-win" claims versus critics' adamant claims that the WMA would compromise village sovereignty, jeopardize already-existing lucrative joint ventures and jeopardize customary resource use, including pastoralism.

a. Early apprehensions & resistance

What were the key apprehensions about the WMA? What were the sources of early refusals? During the initial period of my stay in Enduimet, I spent time with many of the key founders of the WMA in Enduimet, reflecting on these questions extensively. Not surprisingly, there are multiple answers to these questions and each depends on the particularities of each village's history and its leaders' predispositions concerning conservation and tourism. The parameters of this chapter do not permit a detailed look at the responses of each village. For a full review of the politics that emerged, I direct the reader to Kabiri's early research in Enduimet, which delved into the question of why Enduimet's villages assented to the WMA (2007).

Overall, early apprehensions and resistance to the WMA can be narrowed down to three key issues. First, recalling the diversification that began to characterize much of Enduimet by the early 2000s, some village residents raised concerns about how the WMA would jeopardize further opportunity to expand cultivation. This apprehension was raised especially in the

highland villages in the eastern area of Enduimet, where rates of cultivation had been escalating and also where non-Maasai residents, who relied on agriculture, were more common.

One interesting case of such apprehension and resistance arose in Lerang'wa village. The WMA really exacerbated age-set politics. The more senior, elder age-set, the Landise, were already secure in their agriculture landholdings, which had been settled during the late 90s. Those of the *ilmurran* age-set, the Korianga, though, were not. The *ilmurran* subsequently mounted strong resistance to the WMA. Remarkably, this was only resolved when the WMA's boundary was moved further down the mountain and a new distribution of land to the Korianga was completed. Reportedly, similar conflicts and resolutions occurred in neighbouring highland villages as well.

A second apprehension related to human-wildlife conflict. For many residents, conservation simply equated increased wildlife populations, which amounted to an increase in jeopardized livelihoods, whether due to crop destruction or killed livestock. Of course, elephants and lions loomed large in such concerns. The Tingatinga village represents an interesting case, in this regard. This village, while predominantly Maasai, has a very high rate of cultivation. It represents a transition to agro-pastoralism, with up to 70% of households identifying cultivation as their main occupation (Hartwig & James, 2010). One of the most significant factors defining this village's experience is human wildlife conflict, namely the damage to crops wrought by elephants. Many Tingatinga residents are resentful of conservation and the perceived prioritization of elephants over human interests – in short, the costs of conservation. The village has a history of conflict and dispossession associated with the neighbouring ranch, Ndarakwai (Gardner, 2016). Ndarakwai is owned and managed by a British expatriate, Peter Jones. In my discussions, resentment toward the ranch was often palpable. Beyond grazing restrictions and

corresponding dispossession, the source of the grievance was often articulated in terms of the ranch's focus on elephant conservation. As one angry resident put it, "Peter Jones protects his elephants. Tourists pay lots of money to see them. At night, they enter our crops and eat everything. Then they run back to Ndarakwai. We are feeding Ndarakwai's elephants, but we are paid nothing". This experience has been generalized toward conservation, including early (and ongoing) apprehensions about the WMA. In 2003, Minwary (2009) found that a majority of Tingatinga residents agreed with the statement, "it is not important to conserve wildlife" (p. 48).

As an aside, one factor that swayed opinion in Tingatinga was strong opinion leaders who supported the WMA. One Tingatinga resident, who I spent much time with during my research, was educated in the USA and had a long history in conservation and working with the government. Like the Member of Parliament and other prominent opinion-leaders, he perceived the WMA as offering an opportunity to wrest power from the government and be more in control of conservation and tourism. In his experience, village authority and corollary rights over land were not secure. This was a view that I learned was surprisingly common in Enduimet. The prospective authority of the WMA's Authorized Association (AA), in his analysis, would be more capable of navigating relations with the central government and tourism investors.

The third, and most significant, apprehension and source of resistance to the WMA reflected Kabiri and other critics' main argument: the WMA would jeopardize the joint ventures that already existed in some villages, significantly decreasing the revenues they had already begun accruing from tourism. The start of the WMA meant that all contractual relations with tourism investors would be transferred to the WMA's Authorized Association (AA). In accordance with WMA regulations, revenues from such joint ventures would then be shared equally between all the member villages. Recalling Olmolog's pre-existing relation with Hoopoe Safaris, the

following statement from an Olmolog leader captures apprehensions for some village leaders and residents:

We were already earning money from Hoopoe. Why would we want a WMA? AWF invited us to meetings. They told us how important it was to conserve wildlife because we could earn money from tourism. We were already conserving wildlife. We were already making money. Why would we share this with eight other villages? Villages that didn't even have any wildlife or land for the WMA.

Not surprisingly, Olmolog's original response was to reject the WMA. Interestingly, Hoopoe Safaris contributed to the resistance. According to my discussions, Hoopoe was satisfied with existing arrangements and, subsequently, saw the WMA as a potential threat. To be clear, this was common among all Enduimet's tourism investors. In general, for investors, like Hoopoe, the WMA brought many uncertainties. Contracts would have to be renegotiated with a new entity, the WMA's Authorized Association (AA). No guarantees could be offered that the AA would continue contractual relations with pre-existing companies, rather than issuing contracts to other competing companies. Furthermore, it was expected that the WMA would mean higher tourism fees, not to mention much higher accountability (e.g. in relation to reporting client numbers, etc). The WMA significantly threatened profit margins. To put it simply, operators and investors in rural areas were content with the status quo. It often favored their interests. As a result, many investors, as in Hoopoe's case, lobbied respective village leaders to forego the WMA.

As with Tingatinga, prominent opinion leaders challenged Olmolog's early resistance. One prominent Maasai leader from Longido District's western areas was integral to turning the tide in Olmolog. This leader was a well-educated Maasai who had a long history of relationships with Olmolog leaders. He had previously brought a host of investments to Olmolog via an array of

international philanthropists and a prominent international development organization. By the time the WMA was being proposed, this individual had been hired by AWF. He was adamant that the WMA was the best way forward for Enduimet and spent time lobbying leaders. He argued that, the long-term benefits for all of Enduimet would exceed the perceived short-term losses for villages, like Olmolog and Sinya: e.g. in time, with increased tourism via the WMA, all villages, including Olmolog and Sinya, would accrue more revenues than through previous arrangements. Based on my discussions, he was very successful in convincing Olmolog leaders. One leader stressed to me, “Everyone respects [name of individual]. He’s a Maasai. He’s educated. When he came to discuss the WMA, we all listened. He convinced us to accept a WMA. He was a big reason for accepting it”.

Not surprisingly, apprehensions and resistance in Sinya were quite similar to those in Olmolog: an understandable concern about how the WMA would affect their pre-existing joint ventures. Sinya had the most to lose by joining the WMA. By joining, it would sacrifice already-existing revenue and contribute the vast majority of land and wildlife to the WMA. According to AWF’s original plans, Sinya was poised to contribute up to 95% of its village land (Sulle et al., 2014, p. 215). A lot of literature has been published on Sinya’s case, generally expounding the successes of Sinya’s joint ventures and the threats to Sinya’s tourism revenue and sovereignty that the WMA represented (Tor A Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary, & Maganga, 2013; Fred Nelson & Blomley, 2010; Trench, Kiruswa, Nelson, & Homewood, 2010). According to this literature, by the early 2000s, when the WMA was introduced, Sinya’s joint-ventures were raising up to \$40,000 USD per year, mainly from the contributions of one operator, Tanganyika Wilderness Camp (TWC). To put this in local context, the amount was the equivalent of about 200 cattle – a fairly significant amount of capital for a rural community, like Sinya. Similar to

Hoopoe's relationship with Olmolog, TWC had started a joint tourism venture with Sinya in the late 90s, formalizing a contract by 2001.

Consequently, Sinya resoundingly rejected the idea of a WMA. As with the sentiments in Olmolog, the idea of sharing their revenue with other villages, who contribute so much less land and value, was incomprehensible. Reflecting popular sentiments, including some of the identity politics that emerged, one Sinya leader explained to me,

In Sinya, we are pastoralists. We don't cultivate. We share our land with wildlife. In the other communities, they have become farmers. They've cultivated all their land. They've chased away the wildlife. We have many tourists visit us because we've protected the land. AWF and the government wanted us to join the WMA? Why? Why should we share everything we earned with all the other villages who have ruined their environments and chased away their wildlife?

According to some, one factor that emboldened Sinya's resistance was the efforts made by the US-based agency, Sand County Foundation (SCF). Some of SCF's staff were outspoken critics of the WMA. Following on the experiences of groups like Dorobo Safaris in Loliondo, Hoopoe Safaris in Olmolog and TWC in Sinya, SCF insisted that village-based joint ventures were the best way forward for rural communities in Tanzania (Nelson, 2003). It strengthened their land rights and was seen as the most effective way to incentivize conservation. Reportedly, the organization had worked with Sinya through much of the late 90s and early 2000s. One of the village leaders from this time recalled,

Sand County Foundation taught us a lot about land policies and our land rights. [Name of employee] was a good friend to us. He taught us about the 1999 Village Land Act. It was through the workshops that we decided to fight the WMA. We knew we had village land

rights and we knew the WMA would take those away. (Interview, Sinya leader, July 2013)

Remarkably, SCF left the area shortly after WMA activities began. This was apparently due to strained relations with local authorities and government opposition to their activities. “The District authorities did not want anyone standing in the way of starting a WMA”, one SCF worker recalled to me.

Like in Olmolog, tourism investors played a role in dissuading Sinya. According to the leaders I spoke with, representatives of Northern Hunting as well as Tanganyika Wilderness Camp (TWC) were outspoken against the WMA and mobilized leaders accordingly.

AWF and District authorities lobbied Sinya leaders quite extensively. One of AWF’s strategies to persuade Sinya included a field trip to a WMA in Morogoro called, MBOMIPA. Kabiri (2007) describes this trip in some detail. Suffice it to say that, contrary to the trip’s intentions, the trip apparently reinforced Sinya’s resistance to the WMA. Upon return, leaders further expressed their apprehensions about the WMA, including their concerns about grazing restrictions. In response, the area’s Member of Parliament visited the leaders, promising them that there would never be any restrictions on grazing. Despite this and other efforts, the leaders of Sinya remained steadfast in their resistance to the WMA. Consequently, Sinya wasn’t included in the first phase of the WMA. Sinya’s change of direction and decision to join the WMA in 2010 is discussed in Chapter Four. By that time, many things had changed for Sinya.

b. Rationales for joining the WMA

Despite apprehensions and initial resistance, by 2005, AWF and Monduli District officials successfully persuaded a critical mass of Enduimet village leaders to initiate the WMA. Here, I consider some of the key rationales that leaders conveyed to me, some of which have already been alluded to above.

So, why the WMA? What were the rationales that dampened the above apprehensions and ultimately persuaded villages to join the WMA? First and foremost, it must be stressed that interests to join the WMA had very little, if anything, to do with wildlife conservation. Of course, wildlife conservation mattered, but only indirectly. This is not to say that Enduimet residents do not value wildlife, but the point I want to stress is that such factors were conspicuously absent in my discussions. The fundamental interests in the WMA were, on the one hand, tourism revenue and, on the other hand, authority and control over the industry. As will be seen, the latter played an especially significant role. In my analysis, leaders invariably assented to the WMA as the most expedient way of achieving these two goals.

For many villages, the WMA was a clear choice, as it was their only avenue to accrue income from tourism – e.g. independently, their land was not suitable for lucrative business. In other villages, like Olmolog, where some joint-ventures had already been bringing in some money, leaders ultimately accepted AWF and others' arguments: they grew to believe that the WMA would, in the long-term, bring more money. The WMA, it was argued, would host many joint-ventures and, cumulatively, this would generate more money than any single venture of an independent village. In other words, for these leaders, *some* money, in the near term, with existing joint ventures became less of a priority in the face of *more* money, in the long term, via the WMA. Notably, with the exception of maybe Sinya Village, this expectation has proven legitimate. Arguably, in time, it may serve true for Sinya Village as well.

A host of factors and particular histories mediated positive appraisals of the WMA. Most importantly, one factor concerned the implications for livestock grazing, as perceived by Enduimet leaders and residents. While some critics warned that WMAs would introduce restrictions on grazing, an opposing discourse ultimately informed WMA discussions in Enduimet: a “Maasai WMA” would always put livestock first and pastoralism and tourism can be a complementary land-use. As noted above, AWF’s early experience in Enduimet seemingly generated an appreciation for pastoralism and an integrative conservation approach. For the most part, AWF personnel apparently maintained an ecological appreciation for complementary livestock-wildlife interactions. In part, this may be due to the prominent Maasai figures who influenced AWF and, at times, were employed by them. Whatever the case, in its campaign in Enduimet, AWF emphasized the complementarity of pastoral and tourism-based land use. Trusted Maasai opinion-leaders, like the Member of Parliament and others, reinforced the idea of integration and appeased any sentiments to the contrary. Generally, Enduimet leaders and residents trusted the perspectives and assurances of these prominent leaders.

The Member of Parliament has been especially influential in reinforcing integration discourse and alleviating concerns about grazing prohibitions. He frequently met with leaders to assure them that grazing would not be restricted in a WMA. In one meeting in 2013, I witnessed such assertions. A visiting land rights advocate from Arusha raised concerns about the prospect of grazing prohibitions, the Member of Parliament responded adamantly in the following way:

There will be no grazing restrictions in the WMA. Do you not trust me? We are Maasai.

Our livestock have lived with wildlife since the beginning. We will never divide livestock and wildlife. Maybe other WMAs in other places will do so. But we will never do this. A Maasai WMA will protect both livestock and wildlife.

The MP's comments were received with applause and excited cheers. His charisma and influence were clearly evident, and his message clearly heard.

To recall, Enduimet's previous and most recent experience with conservation did not restrict livestock. As discussed above, AWF's efforts to protect the Kitendeni Corridor did not restrict livestock but, rather, focused on reducing the encroachment of cultivation. There was significant support for the initiative, as a result. Inadvertently, the project articulated with many leaders and residents' resentments toward the ongoing encroachments of cultivators, some of whom were non-Maasai from neighbouring regions. Conservation, in this case, ended up protecting important grazing areas and water points.

I argue that such experiences informed discussions about the WMA. Leaders did not equate conservation with grazing restrictions. To the contrary, as seen in some cases above, the WMA was perceived as a protective strategy, actually limiting cultivation encroachment and securing grazing land. This was a key driving force for some of the WMA's early proponents. As seen above in the case of Lerang'wa, continuing processes of subdivision and diversification were further threatening some of the remaining rangelands in some villages. In these cases, creating the WMA was seen as actually terminating such ominous trends. One youth explained to me,

More and more young people in places like Kitendeni, Lerang'wa, Olmolog and Eleria wanted land for cultivation. Many village leaders worried that all the grazing area would soon be lost. The WMA became a solution to this problem. You can now see that the WMA boundary is at the edge of all these fields. The boundary was placed there on purpose. It stopped further expansion of cultivation and protected grazing areas.

In terms of the dilemma between joint-venture village arrangements versus the WMA, it is also important to recognize that there were many concerns surrounding the tenability of joint-

ventures. While some NGO advocates and other critics maintained that village joint-ventures were secure and the best way forward, this was disputed and questioned by AWF and government leaders. In fact, according to some accounts, government officials (e.g. the Monduli District Game Officer and the Member of Parliament) argued that the pre-existing joint ventures in Enduimet were illegal. They based their claim on the Wildlife Conservation (Tourist Hunting) Regulations of 2000, which prohibited non-consumptive enterprise from operating in government hunting blocks. Reportedly, some District officials even began harassing some photographic tourism investors that conducted game-viewing in the hunting area. Some NGO advocates argued, at the time, that the above government officials' claims were illegitimate. Ultimately, though, Enduimet leaders did not share the confidence of NGO advocates. Instead, they focused on government officials' statements and actions. Interestingly, as will be seen in Sinya's case, the above claims and threats were reinforced by a Tanzanian court by 2005.

Overall, I found that most of the leaders and residents I spoke with expressed little confidence in village sovereignty and village land rights. Despite decentralization and legal provisions that empowered villages in the 90s, which is often emphasized by village land advocates, many residents and leaders of Enduimet seemed disillusioned with such claims. For many, irrespective of official policies, the notion of village sovereignty, in actual practice, was an empty promise. One Tingatinga leader put it this way: "The government doesn't respect village land rights. They take it or give it away when it pleases them".

In my analysis, such perspectives were justified by caveats in Tanzanian land laws and conservation policies that authorize the central government to appropriate land 'for the public good', not to mention contentious categorizations of "village" versus "general" land. Suffice it to say that, in Tanzania, rural land is categorized as village, reserve or general land. Often, where

village land is not clearly demarcated or registered, grazing lands have been erroneously deemed unused and categorized as “general” land, which has left it vulnerable to appropriation by the government and foreign investors. Subsequently, the Maasai have a long history of dispossession ‘for the public good’, often at the behest of conservation and tourism interests. Such fears and concerns were provoked in early discussions about the WMA by government representatives and the Member of Parliament. Given the area’s lucrative prospects for tourism and wildlife conservation, Enduimet leaders were commonly warned that not accepting the WMA could lead to further land conflicts and government appropriations in the future. One District official asserted to me that “if the villages did not agree to join the WMA, they would face risks in the future of government appropriation. The government would make Enduimet a conservation area, through one way or other”.

These admonitions were taken very seriously by Enduimet leaders. The upshot of all this is that, in my analysis, more hope was ultimately invested in the WMA as a platform for resisting government appropriation, as compared to independent village-based struggles. On the one hand, as conveyed to me, this relates to a ‘security in numbers’ logic. For example, one leader from Olmolog argued, “we believed we’ll be stronger together. As independent villages, we can’t fight the government, but together we will be successful”. On the other hand, it relates to a sense of solidarity rooted in Enduimet’s history: “we have always been one community. We are Enduimet Maasai. We joined the WMA because we are stronger together”, argued one resident. Indeed, as will be seen in proceeding chapters, much of the rationale for joining the WMA and emerging positive assessments of it must be situated in Enduimet’s long history of a struggle for sovereignty. The WMA, I contend, became valued as a platform for that struggle.

Notably, this is where Enduimet's experience departs quite significantly from Gardner's account (2016) of Loliondo. There, delineated village property continues to be held up as "sites for the Maasai to organize their cultural and economic claims to land and natural resources... through which the Maasai could interact with national and international groups" (p.153). Villages, therefore, "have become the language of activism under neoliberal globalization" (p.153). Put another way, in Loliondo, the village becomes the primary terrain to express Maasai sovereignty. In stark contrast, in Enduimet, the village was seen as an unsatisfactory site for such claims and expressions. With the failure of village sovereignty, the WMA became the 'next best thing'.

Another relevant issue, which informed a common skepticism about village-based joint ventures, relates to village leaders' accountability and transparency. There is much skepticism about these matters. Village leaders are often not trusted. In some discussions, for example, people would comment that the joint ventures with Hoopoe in Olmolog or TWC in Sinya were conducted with little transparency. Most benefits, they argued, accrued to key village officials. One Olmolog resident recalled, "Some argued that we are already making money from tourism. We never saw any of it. We didn't trust village leaders". Honey (2008) reports that, in fact, TWC went so far as to terminate their payments to Sinya village due to concerns about pilfering and a general lack of transparency and accountability.

These concerns played a key role in legitimizing the WMA. Village authorities were associated with a lack of transparency and, generally, residents maintained little confidence in them. According to my discussions, there was more hope in a WMA body to manage tourism enterprise and corresponding revenue. The WMA body, it was argued, comprised more skilled and trusted leaders so corrupt transactions would be more difficult. One WMA leader argued,

Village councils are small with few educated or experienced people. The reality is that only a few leaders participate in managing affairs and much is unknown to everyone else. There is no accountability. In the WMA, there are more educated leaders with experience. There is more participation. It is more difficult to hide corruption.

As a last point, it is important to draw attention to another factor that influenced the choice to join the WMA: the sense of political efficacy that generally characterizes Enduimet leadership. While critics have warned that WMAs may compromise local sovereignty and offer more power to central authorities (e.g. the Wildlife Division) (see, for example, Benjaminsen et al. 2013), what struck me in my research was that this concern was always absent in my discussions. To the contrary, I witnessed a strong sense of political efficacy among Enduimet leaders. Irrespective of the risks and concerns raised by critics, which, in my view, are often well-substantiated, Enduimet leaders consistently expressed a confidence in their capacity to navigate relations with the central government and steer the WMA in their favor (e.g. in favor of pastoralism and the community's interests via tourism).

I argue that this reflects a distinct political imagination in Enduimet: a way of seeing the state as a malleable force, something amenable to negotiation and manipulation. Following on the theme of 'bricolage', it strikes me that Enduimet leaders had a heightened certainty in their capacity as bricoleurs to manipulate state forces in their favor.

Some of this may relate to the fact that many of the WMA's elected leaders have a history in politics. At least two have been District councillors and several others have been village chairmen. One has a history with a host of high-profile government projects, including one of the government's ranching projects pursued in the 70s. I contend that these leaders' experience, knowledge and skills played a role in the political efficacy typically espoused by Enduimet

leaders. In one case, for example, when I raised concerns about central government oversight and power in the WMA, a leader argued, “you just have to know the political game”. He proceeded to argue that the central government or international conservation NGOs would never adversely influence or coerce WMA leaders. Irrespective of the legitimacy of such confidence, it undoubtedly underpinned the decision to join the WMA.

To sum up this section, let me simply say that there were some strong, well-reasoned rationales, key factors and historical experiences that facilitated Enduimet leaders’ decision to join the WMA. Too often, some scholars, whether explicitly or implicitly, present Enduimet’s decision as merely a product of central government and NGO domination or coercion. I do not want to completely discount that coercion may have played a role, at times. Nevertheless, I also maintain that this is not the whole picture and remain critical of such simplistic analysis. The implication is that Enduimet actors as merely unknowing subjects with little agency – a case of essentially being either coerced or duped by the central government, AWF and other WMA proponents. Accordingly, for Kabiri, and others, the only “rational” decision was to reject the WMA and, so, joining it necessarily meant coercion. In my analysis, things were not so simple. Enduimet leaders had strong reasons to join, based on particular histories, certain political imaginations and a strong sense of collective efficacy. They had clear intentions and good reason to believe that, despite the concerns raised by critics, they would make the WMA into something that served their interests and did not jeopardize their livelihoods – something, in fact, which they have demonstrated quite consistently in recent years.

My analysis reflects Mosse’s general criticism of critical development scholarship and his motive to reconceive development actors as ‘thinking agents’. In his work, he aims “to reinstate the complex agency of actors in development at every level, and to move on from the image of

duped perpetrators and victims...as well as to revise the false notion of all-powerful Western development institutions” (p.6). Following on Sally Matthews (2017), the concept of bricolage may be most fitting to conceive the role and nature of Enduimet leaders’ engagement. Following on the core meaning of bricolage, I argue that Enduimet leaders “made do with what was at hand” and, as will be seen, their resourcefulness, creativity and ingenuity ultimately remakes the WMA into something that serves their interests. Maybe, I contend, early critics underestimated this dimension of Enduimet’s early choice and their vision of, and for, the WMA.

iii. Enduimet’s new ‘green ensemble’

The WMA introduces a whole new apparatus of conservation to Enduimet. As one component of this, I use this section to highlight the new ensemble of actors who begin to converge in and reconstitute Enduimet. Certainly, part of Enduimet’s encounter with conservation includes and engagement with a new constellation of actors, government bodies and organizations – a new, green ensemble, as I frame it. Following on Tania Li (2007), as conservation programs unfold in Enduimet, this introduces a new cadre of, what Li calls, “trustees” (p.4). She describes it as follows:

Many parties share in the will to improve. They occupy the position of trustees, a position defined by the claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need. Trusteeship is defined as “the intent which is expressed, by one source of agency, to develop the capacities of another.” The objective of trusteeship is not to dominate others— it is to enhance their capacity for action, and to direct it. (p.4-5)

Indeed, the entry of this new ensemble and the implications for governing Enduimet is one of the most significant changes that Enduimet has faced in recent decades, amounting to a complex combination of new state encompassment, processes of privatizing sovereignty and transnational governmentality (Ferguson, 2002).

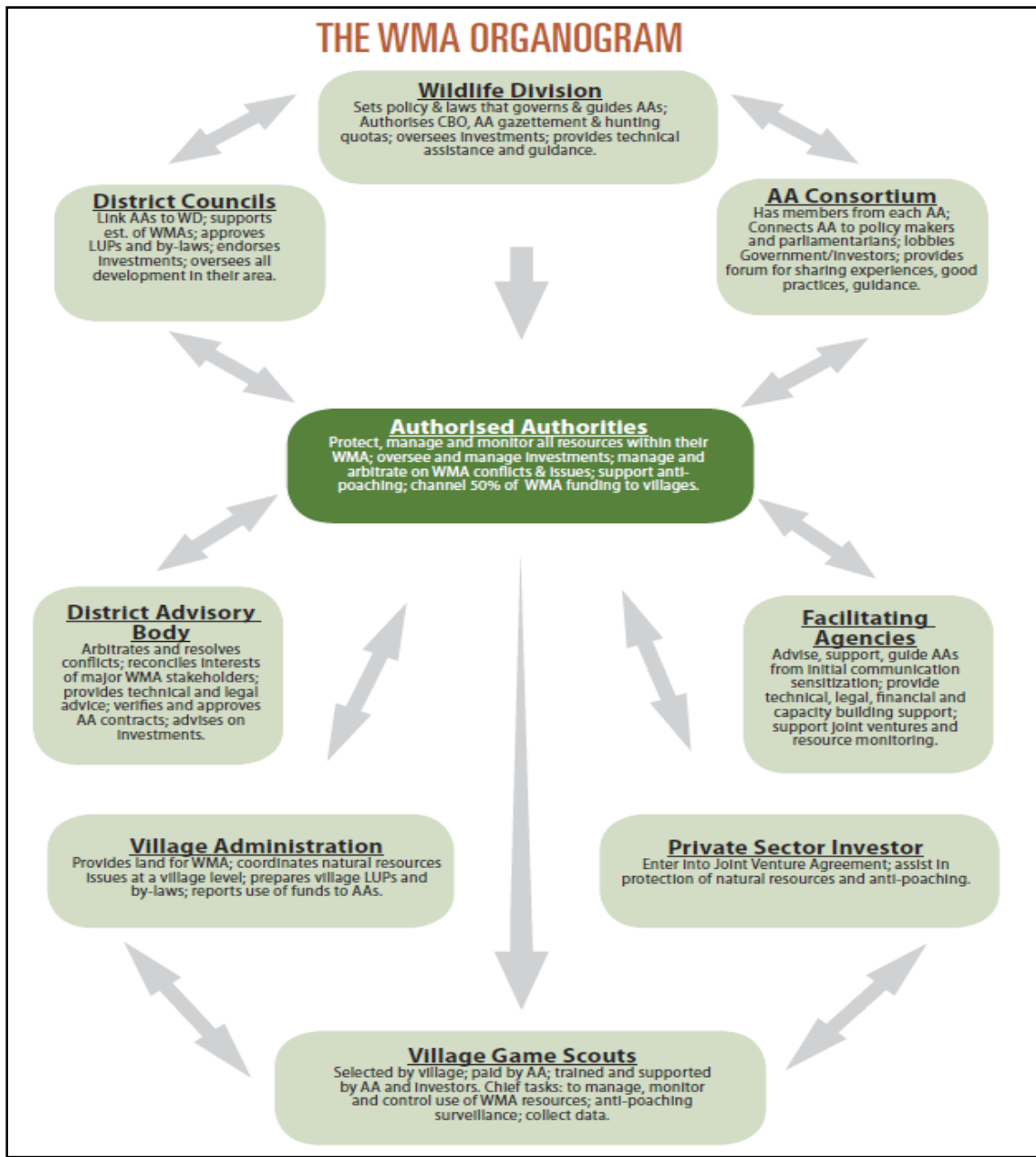


Figure 20 The WMA Organogram (Reprinted from AWF, 2012)

Figure 20 illustrates most of the key actor groups. Let me highlight a few key actors and the politics they introduce. At the national level, the primary parties are the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) and the Wildlife Division (WD) – specifically, the Wildlife Director. The Wildlife Director maintains significant authority over the establishment and regulatory mechanisms of the WMA. In particular, the WD maintains the power to accept or reject the WMA’s Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP), which is the WMA’s most significant policy document that determines acceptable resource use and exclusion. It is this significant power of oversight, and some abuses of it in many of Tanzania’s WMAs, that has raised significant concerns about the actual status of decentralization and the prospects of “green grabbing” in WMAs (Bluwstein, Moyo, & Kicheleri, 2016; Green & Adams, 2014; Moyo, Ijumba, & Lund, 2016). As I argue elsewhere, it introduces some contradictions in Tanzania’s effort to decentralize conservation and fosters the dangers of “recentralizing while decentralizing” (Wright, 2017). This oversight ultimately holds dangerous implications for pastoralism if central authorities were to decide to prohibit livestock within the WMA, which has occurred in most WMAs across northern and central Tanzania.

On a more proximate, District level, actor groups include the Longido District Council and the District Natural Resources Advisory Board (DNRAB). The District Council is an elected body of counsellors who represent sixteen Wards across Longido District¹⁹. To date, their role in Enduimet’s governance has been relatively insignificant, although some of the counsellors have been instrumental in reinforcing integration discourse in public meetings – persistently speaking out against any division between wildlife and livestock. Since revisions in WMA regulations in 2012, the District Council receives some revenue from the WMA and it is expected that it will

¹⁹ Tanzania is divided into the following administrative units, from largest to smallest: Regions, Districts, Divisions, Wards, Villages, Sub-Villages

play a more significant role, as the WMA becomes more institutionalized. For now, my discussions with council members indicate much frustration and strong sentiments about how they have been marginalized in WMA politics. In general, while it could be a powerful body that advocates for community interests, thus far, WMA governance in Enduimet has bypassed the District Council – in part, owing to successive, relatively autocratic District Commissioners.

The DNRAB represents one of the more contentious features of WMA governance. According to WMA regulations (MNRT, 2012), it consists of the District Commissioner, the District Executive Directors, the District Game Officer and a host of other appointed District officers. These District officials are appointed by central authorities, more often than not, representing central government interests, as opposed to the constituents they are meant to serve. Although officially just an advisory body, a history of dubious power relations between appointed District officials, elected counsellors and village constituents provokes concern. More often than not, District officials' interventions in WMA governance are more dictatorial than advisory. This has spurred much criticism in critical scholarship (Benjaminsen et al., 2013; Bluwstein et al., 2016; Igoe & Croucher, 2007).

One of the most notorious sources of criticism relates to the role of the District Commissioner (DC). The DC is part of Tanzania's broader regional administration infrastructure. The DC is appointed by the President for the purpose of "securing the maintenance of law and order in the district, determining the specific direction of efforts in implementing the general policies of Government in the district" (URT, 1997, p. 19). A DC is essentially the mouth and ears of the President and, given historical power dynamics in Tanzania, wields much power. One Enduimet leader argued, "the DC is like the king. No one opposes him". As will be seen, while officially only an advisor, the DC sometimes intervenes autocratically in WMA matters. This is a common

trend in WMAs across Tanzania, which has been consistently identified and criticized in official WMA evaluations (MNRT, 2007; USAID, 2013).

The Authorized Association (AA) is the Enduimet community's representative body. At least officially-speaking, it maintains most authority in the WMA, directly overseeing the management of it and creating joint-ventures with tourism companies. It is a non-governmental entity, a "community-based organization", according to Tanzanian regulations (MNRT, 2002). It is made up of three elected representatives from each of the nine-member villages. It meets on a quarterly basis to discuss policies and WMA operations.

In theory, the AA is accountable to member villages, namely the elected Village Councils. The councils, in turn, are officially accountable to all adult residents via respective Village Assemblies. Officially-speaking, village assembly meetings are required every three months, although, according to many Enduimet residents, this rarely happens. Any major decisions and new policies, in theory, must be approved by the Village Assemblies. In practice, there is little evidence that this is accomplished, in any substantive way. Nevertheless, the structures and institutions for a representative model are, in theory, available.

An important body within the AA structure is the Board of Trustees that oversees the AA. In Enduimet's case, the Trustees, who wield much power, include powerful politicians, including Longido's Member of Parliament. It also includes Maasai economic elites from the area. Some Trustees are highly educated, with one carrying two degrees from the USA.

Beyond these government and community-based stakeholders, Enduimet's new ensemble comprises a host of non-government actors. Of special significance is America's international aid agency, USAID, which has been the primary donor behind Tanzania's WMAs (often via delegated US-based agencies, like AWF and WWF). USAID has been the primary advisor of

national conservation and tourism policy. I do not think it is an overstatement to say that USAID has, almost unilaterally, directed Tanzania toward the WMA approach. Interestingly – or alarmingly, depending on one’s perspective – the organization has achieved similar feats in Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Much of the monitoring and evaluation work in Enduimet has been conducted by USAID and much of the WMA’s operational budget continues to be sponsored by USAID. Such funding is channeled through USAID’s partner organizations, such as AWF, WWF, The Nature Conservancy, the Honey Guide Foundation and Big Life.

International conservation NGOs play one of the most significant, direct roles in WMA governance. They represent the “transnational conservation elite” who have rapidly increased influence over conservation throughout the global south, arising especially from neoliberalization trends (Holmes, 2011). As mentioned above, the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) has been key to Enduimet’s development. Until recently, AWF was one of USAID’s key funding recipients and, as mentioned above, was officially delegated responsibility for Enduimet by the Director of Wildlife. As the CEO of AWF once put it, “Basically, AWF is becoming an extension arm of USAID in Africa” (Holmes, 2011, p. 8). AWF facilitated the development of Enduimet’s general organizational structure and institutions, including most of Enduimet’s policies and regulations. I recall one early incident in my field work that highlighted AWF’s significant role. I requested to see the WMA’s main policy document, the RZMP. After some searching, one of the managers came to advise me that they did not have a copy in Olmolog and that I should obtain it from AWF in Arusha. Rather alarmingly, I was told that “they are the ones who wrote it and will have it on their computers”. Suffice it to say that, at times during my field work, it was hard to understand where the line was between AWF and WMA management – sometimes, a very blurry one.

Another NGO that has funded much of Enduimet's development, and which carries significant influence on it, is the Honey Guide Foundation (HGF). I mention this above, in relation to Enduimet's green militarization. HGF, which is funded by an array of international philanthropists, works closely with the Big Life Foundation. Most recently, it has built relations with The Nature Conservancy and much of its funding comes from it. The organization's focus is primarily anti-poaching, funding the personnel and providing the technology (vehicles, military equipment and even tracking dogs) for anti-poaching units that survey the WMA. It is worth noting that, in recent years, HGF's relationship with the Enduimet WMA has been contentious. On two occasions, the organization suspended funding in order to force Enduimet to accept some stipulations: in one case, HGF wanted the AA to replace the anti-poaching commander and, on another occasion, the organization insisted that the AA replace the WMA's primary manager. In both cases, the AA complied, amidst growing grievances against such heavy-handed tactics and the politics of depending on donor funds.

Lastly, another major party is obviously the international tourism investors and operators. Arguably, at least at times, this may be the most powerful actor groups in Enduimet's ensemble. This is not due to any authority ascribed to them officially, but, rather, on account of the dubious allegiances they maintain with powerful government authorities. Much of the tourism industry in Tanzania, especially rural tourism on village lands, reflects patterns of clientelism and rent-seeking (Benjaminsen et al., 2013). In Chua's terms, as seen in the introduction, it often reflects "crony capitalism" (2004, p, 11). I will not go into details here but suffice it to say that such dynamics, alliances and manipulations will become apparent in subsequent chapters, especially Chapter 5, 6 and 7, which outline Enduimet's many conflicts with unruly investors.

Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, Enduimet was transformed through the 90s through its encounter with conservation and subsequent processes of ‘greening’ it. Indeed, state-sponsored conservation had affected it long before this, dispossessing the community, for example, of Mount Kilimanjaro’s forests and resources. However, in the 90s, community-based conservation came into the picture and the creation of protected spaces became fixtures of Enduimet’s landscape and future trajectories. Elephants loomed large, as AWF began surveying them and mapping their populations and movements. Ultimately, Enduimet’s elephants and corresponding landscapes were made legible, well-prepared for green administration and government. From first a “heartland” and then to a “WMA”, Enduimet invariably became green, furthering its process of becoming wilderness and making space for giants. In unprecedented ways, wildlife conservation now dictates its future.

A key process of all this was making Enduimet legible and visible. Essentially, as seen in this chapter, becoming wilderness and making space for giants, comprises a new “virtual life”. By “virtual”, I simply mean the maps, data sheets, rubrics, and so on, which come to represent Enduimet’s space – a “spectacle of nature”, to borrow from Igoe’s use of Debord in his work about conservation in Tanzania (Igoe, 2010). Maps of elephant migrations, of eco-zones, of wildlife populations and exclusive tourism areas now define Enduimet. Stats, rubrics and threat analyses direct it.

Part and parcel of making Enduimet green has included the arrival of new “trustees”, who now play key roles in Enduimet’s new eco-government and “will to conserve”. The WMA has meant that an array of new actors converged on Enduimet, asserting green discourses and reassembling past state, society, market and nature relations. It reflects a multiscalar ensemble,

forging together, in new ways, local, regional, national and global actors, from rural residents and village leaders, to WMA representatives, District authorities, national ministries, international conservation organizations and global tourism businesses. Enduimet is encompassed by the state in new ways, via its new relationship with the Wildlife Director. It all reflects processes of “privatization of sovereignty” (Igoe, 2007), given the novel and heightened roles of international NGOs and private tourism companies – the “transnational conservation elite”, as astutely put by Holmes (2011). As seen above, the WMA regulations actually institutionalize their roles in governing Enduimet. Give the global status of so many of these actors, a “transnational governmentality”, as Ferguson and Gupta call it (2002, p. 988), emerges accordingly. These international actors begin playing influential roles in Enduimet’s constitution, conduct and direction. It reflects a daunting ensemble, in many regards, and, as will be seen, translates into some ominous futures. Indeed, this new role of NGOs and private sector actors underpins the precariousness that Enduimet faces today.

Like the Lerang’wa youth’s exasperated question that began this chapter, I’ve sometimes asked myself, what would Enduimet look like today if it was not for its elephants? This is a rhetorical question. The purpose of this chapter is to stress that, undoubtedly, it would look different. Enduimet’s history is, indeed, a history of elephants.

Today’s Enduimet is now thoroughly entangled in becoming wilderness and, accordingly, ‘safari land’. A “will to conserve” defines and animates its politics and trajectory. By 2005, processes of beginning the WMA were gaining momentum, fully entangling Enduimet in the “will to conserve”. I turn now to the ‘making’ of the WMA, a collection of processes that further makes space for Enduimet’s giants.

CHAPTER 3

MAKING THE WMA

Starting the WMA was a long, difficult path. It was almost 5 years before it was finally completed. It was like we got in a car on a long journey. AWF was the driver. We were the passengers. I don't think most of us even really understood where we were going or how we would get there. We followed AWF's instructions. Joined meetings. Did this. Did that. And then we arrived. The WMA was approved. And, now, now, we are still learning how to drive it.

(Elerai resident, 2016)



“In the institution of community,” writes Nikolas Rose, “a sector is brought into existence whose vectors and forces can be mobilized, enrolled, deployed in novel programmes and techniques which encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances.” Government through community, Rose stresses, creates something new. It is not concerned simply with imposing state control over a given sociospatial arena such as a remote village or urban slum...Rather, community becomes a way of making collective existence “intelligible and calculable.”

(Li, 2017, p, 232)



Introduction

This chapter continues the story of Enduimet's encounter with conservation and the corresponding 'will to conserve' that emerges through this encounter. The purpose of the chapter is to offer a glimpse at what characterized the early period of starting and registering the WMA. Much of the chapter helps illuminate how government authorities, AWF personnel and other “trustees” conceived the WMA, its purposes and objectives, the principles and values that underpinned it, and their efforts to make Enduimet more visible, administrable and responsible. I share Li's passage above to highlight the idea of “government through community”. In large part, making the WMA is intrinsically about forming the Enduimet “community” and space

anew as well. The “community” is made legible, forming new structures, building new institutions and disciplining new subjects.

The “practice of government” primarily defined early phases of the WMA. As in the quote above, Enduimet leaders joined the journey of the WMA, like passengers in a car. Things change later, as seen in the next chapter. But, in the period of making the WMA, leaders’ engagement remained relatively cautious and passive.

The chapter focuses specifically on the registration and early implementation phase of the WMA, which roughly runs from 2002-2010. It includes the period that comprises the WMA’s first Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP), 2005-2010. This reflects a significant period for Enduimet. It represents the official registration and gazettelement of the Wildlife Management Area (WMA) – the period of “making” the WMA, as I conceive it. The chapter describes some of the actual steps that comprised the beginning of the WMA.

Upon analyzing what unfolded during this initial period, three concepts from existing scholarship resonated with my findings. I argue these concepts capture the key processes that characterized the ‘making’ of the WMA: (1) creating “flanking mechanisms”, to borrow a concept from Noel Castree’s work (Castree, 2010); (2) making Enduimet’s people and landscape “legible” (and controllable), to borrow from James Scott’s work (Scott, 1998); and (3) “rendering technical”, to borrow from Tania Li (2007, p. 7). I organize this chapter accordingly and use this structure to describe some key issues that arise during the initiation period and which underpin much of the WMA’s cultural politics.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I offer a general outline of the basic steps that are required for registering and starting a WMA. Second, I discuss the three processes just mentioned, highlighting various dimensions and politics that arose. Third, I consider the nature

of AWF's engagement with Enduimet and making the WMA, exploring how participatory it all was (or was not). The fourth section discusses the grazing restrictions that defined Enduimet's original RZMP, proposing the idea of "political optics" (Herzfeld, 2005) as a way of conceiving this unexpected development and the 'political imagination' that generally characterized Enduimet leaders' engagement with the WMA. In the last section, I highlight one factor that emerges and comes to define Enduimet's engagement with the WMA: namely, the cultural politics of being Maasai, being 'people of livestock' while, at the same time, entangled in wildlife conservation. Such politics become a key feature of "government through community" amounting, at least in part, to a paradox that begins defining the WMA's trajectory.

i. Making the WMA: basic steps and key processes

In order to effectively manage the designated WMA, Villagers should be prepared to identify institutions, elaborate structures and develop instruments that will facilitate the management of their WMA.

(MNRT 2003, p.16)



Following on the WMA Regulations that were released in 2002, in 2003, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) released the "Reference Manual for Implementing Guidelines for the Designation and Management of Wildlife Management (WMAs) in Tanzania" (MNRT, 2003). These guidelines outlined the various steps that were required for beginning a WMA, launching efforts to register nine pilot WMAs across Tanzania, including Enduimet.

Figure 21 is an excerpt from the manual, highlighting the various steps. As seen in this figure, the basic steps begin with sensitization and community mobilization activities at the village level. The debates and deliberations that I refer to in the last chapter reflect this stage.

The next step includes the identification and designation of land for the WMA. Villages in Enduimet designated large portions of their land to the WMA, essentially dedicating nearly all of Enduimet's open, unoccupied rangelands – almost 90% of its whole territory. The villages then elect members to a Community-based Organization (CBO), which is registered with the

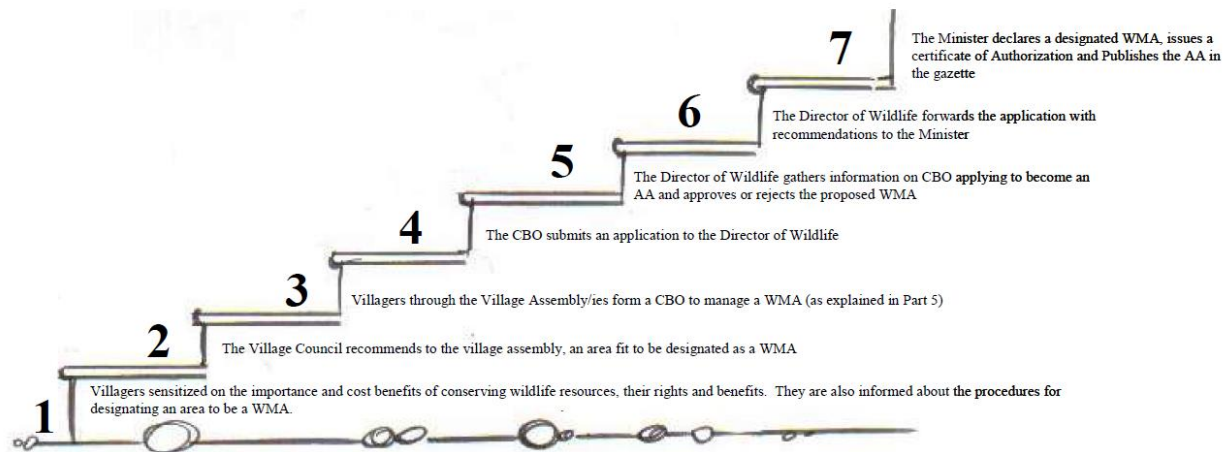


Figure 21 Procedures in designating a WMA (Reprinted from MNRT, 2003)

government. AWF then helps the CBO compile a WMA application. This includes a host of steps, but most notably, it includes the formulation of the Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP), which becomes the defining policy and regulatory mechanism of land use in the WMA. The Wildlife Director (WD) vets the application, including a detailed assessment of the RZMP. If it meets the WD's approval, the WD issues wildlife user-rights to the CBO, which then adopts the title, Authorized Association (AA).

To be clear, the steps are much more numerous, complex and intensive than captured in such a simple image, as depicted in Figure 21. For example, the procedures do not include the required production of village land use plans, the creation of corresponding village by-laws, village joint agreements, the actual demarcation and mapping activities. In Enduimet, like in most other rural locations in Tanzania, some villages had never even officially registered their

land with the government. They did not have any official land certificates. Hence, this all needed to be completed before proceeding with WMA registration, requiring the time-consuming demarcation and mapping of village boundaries.

It must be noted that each of these steps requires an incredible amount of resources and time. They comprise innumerable meetings, field trips, facilitation hours, consultant hours, specialist knowledge, geographical information system (GIS) technologies, and so on and so on. It should be made clear that the formation and registration of a WMA is completely inaccessible to rural villages without the support of a well-resourced NGO, willing to donate the required human, technological and financial resources. It takes years sometimes to complete all the steps and costs up to \$300,000 USD (USAID, 2013, p. 22).

In specific reference to Enduimet's experience, rather than describing each of the above steps in detail, I conceive them as comprising three core processes: creating a flanking mechanism/making the Enduimet CBO, making legible and rendering technical. I discuss these in the following sections respectively.

a. Creating "flanking mechanisms": making the Enduimet CBO

Form a community-based institution (CBO) that will be authorized by the Director to manage wildlife on village land.

(MNRT 2003 p. 16)



Noel Castree (2010) argues that prevailing trends in neoliberal conservation involve deregulation and state roll-back processes. Concurrently, such processes require state-led measures to promote non-governmental entities, "who are seen as being able to fill the vacuum created by the absence/diminution of direct state-support in the social and environmental

domains” (p.1728). Castree aptly calls these new entities “flanking mechanisms”, highlighting the role they play in supporting state objectives.

Accordingly, one of the first steps of starting a WMA is to build and register a Community-based Organization (CBO), which the state (e.g. Wildlife Director) then legitimizes to carry out wildlife conservation and tourism business on its behalf and under its supervision. Upon gazettelement of the WMA and the issuance of wildlife-user rights, the CBO becomes an Authorized Association (AA). The AA sheds its label as CBO although maintaining the same official, legal status (e.g. a non-governmental entity, registered via state regulations). For Enduimet, this transition occurred in 2007. In the following, I’ll use CBO to refer to the period before 2007 and AA to refer to the period following.

Beginning in 2003, AWF personnel and District officials informed Enduimet village leaders that they were responsible for electing three representatives from their respective villages. These elected village representatives would make up the CBO council, overseeing the planning and registration of the WMA and later, the management of it. Elections were purportedly done in each of the respective villages in 2003. I say, “purportedly” here because in my discussions with residents, they often complained that WMA “elections”, including the original ones that appointed CBO leaders, were not democratic, in any real sense of the word. Rather, “elections”, according to the majority of those I spoke to, consist of a relatively small group of male village leaders appointing a representative. This is a pattern of politics in Maasailand, which Dorothy Hodgson labels the “Maasai male political machine” (2001 p.191): rather than the election processes associated with democracy, male leaders – typically, a council of elders – deliberate and appoint representatives.

Whatever the nature of such selection measures, representatives were identified by 2003 and the CBO was registered in 2004. It was given the title, Jumuiya ya Hifadhi ya Wanyamapori Enduimet (Association of Conservation of Wildlife Enduimet). As advised by central government officials (see MNRT, 2003), the organization included a structure as captured in Figure 22.

As to the composition of Enduimet's CBO Council, it comprised predominantly older men. Some women were included because AWF and the central government officials insisted that each village elect one female. They also encouraged villages to only elect literate representatives that had completed elementary school and demonstrated basic Swahili literacy – a stipulation that has become institutionalized in later WMA regulations (MNRT, 2012). This was achieved, to some degree, although, in my engagements with CBO members, it seemed clear that many members lacked such literacy criteria.

Remarkably, very few members had any proficiency in English. This continues to be the case today. This is quite pertinent, given that most of the policies and regulations, including the WMA's Resource Zone Management Plan, have never been translated into Swahili. Hence, rather bizarrely, WMA documents remain inaccessible to nearly all CBO members, not to mention village constituents. Since the inception of the WMA, key regulatory

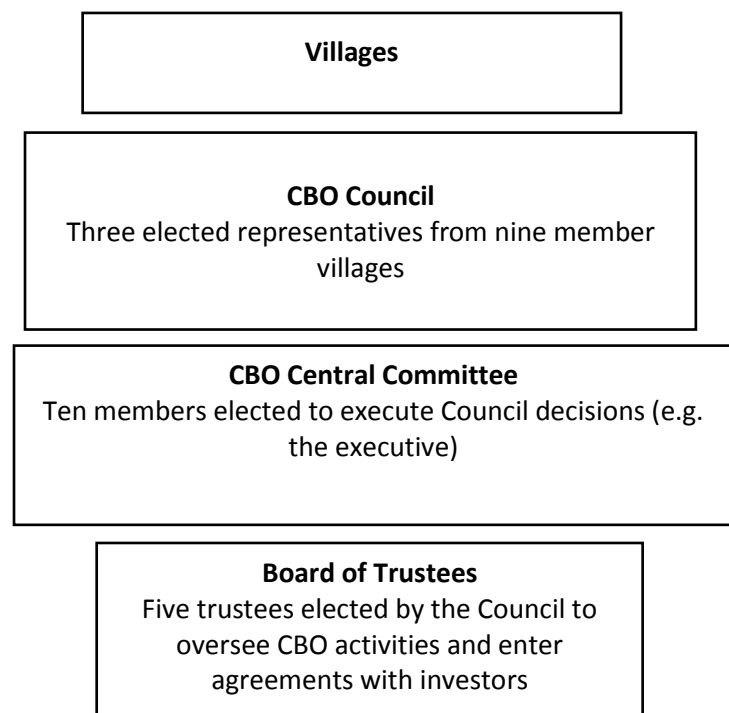


Figure 22 Key governing bodies of the WMA

documents have continued to be officially passed and instituted despite the inability of most members to actually read and understand them.

With a few exceptions, the CBO comprised residents from the Enduimet Division. Certainly, all of the CBO members were Maasai. This is a very important attribute of the CBO, which remains a fundamentally defining one. As pastoralists, each of the elected representatives had a shared interest and stake in livestock production, which aligned with the majority of other Enduimet constituents and household livelihoods. Remarkably, this high degree of homogeneity and alignment in Enduimet makes it quite unique, as compared to other WMAs. In the government's 2007 evaluation of WMAs, the report identifies "culturally homogeneity" as one of the factors that helped the successful formation of Enduimet (MNRT, 2007, p. 34). Diversity and heterogeneity, on the other hand, apparently served as a detriment to many other pilot WMAs, especially where pastoralists competed with farmers (MNRT, 2007, p. 34).

Not surprisingly, some Council members were elected based on their history of working with the government. In my discussions, it was clear that village constituents held these members in high regard for their professional experience and political acumen. For example, one Council member was a trained veterinary professional who had been sent in the 70s by the Tanzanian government to the USA for his bachelor's and master's education. He had since worked for the government in various capacities, as well as with international NGOs. He also served as a Monduli District Councillor in the 90s. A few other representatives had similar political and professional experience, including District Councillor positions. Each of these members were outspoken and conveyed a powerful presence in the meetings I observed at the WMA. As mentioned in the last chapter, they "know the political game".

The Board of Trustees had a similar composition. Most remarkable, one of the Trustees was the then Member of Parliament (MP) for Longido, Michael Lekule Laizer. MP Lekule, as he's popularly referred to, was a very popular and well-respected MP, known for his political clout. His popularity across Tanzania was especially in relation to his role and leadership in the Parliamentary Committee of Lands, Natural Resources and Environment, wherein he was known to defend rural communities and criticize the patterns of displacement that have ensued in Tanzania. Other Trustees also had held prominent political positions, including a few who hold appointed positions at the Division level of government bureaucracy.

I emphasize this composition of the CBO Council and Board of Trustees to highlight the political capital that emerged in Enduimet via the CBO. As will be seen, Enduimet's political capital becomes a key resource in the AA's conflicts with both the central government and foreign investors. I use the concept of political capital to denote the skills, experiences and competencies of CBO officers and their capacity to navigate the political environment that surrounds the WMA. Borrowing from French (2011), I contend that,

In the life and practice of politics, political capital is central. The democratic state may possess a monopoly on the legitimate deployment of coercive force, and various offices of state may comport official powers and authorities, but it is remarkable how little these factors play in the day-to-day push-and-pull of democratic life. Political capital is constituted by the store of mostly intangible assets which politicians use to induce compliance from other power holders, such as leaders in business, labour, the professions, the media and civil society, and from other specifically political actors, including those in their own political movement, and notably in the case of presidents and prime ministers, from their own close colleagues and appointees. (p. 215)

As will be seen, the political capital that composed the CBO (later the AA) becomes fundamentally important as the WMA evolves and begins confronting conflict.

The CBO is governed by a constitution. Enduimet's constitution was developed in 2005 based on a template set by the Wildlife Division and compiled collaboratively with AWF. The constitution includes, among other things, the details of office bearers, the roles and responsibilities of the CBO's different organs, financial management matters (CBO, 2005, 2013).

Of particular significance is the constitution's role in defining the relationship between the CBO and villages. As mentioned elsewhere, one of the contentious issues surrounding WMAs is that they potentially jeopardize village sovereignty. As discussed in Chapter One, villages gained authority in the late 90s, especially since the 1999 Land Act, which devolved authority over land use to village councils. To mitigate concerns about village sovereignty, at least in theory, CBOs/AAs are intended to be accountable to Village Councils. For example, in one section entitled, Rights and Responsibilities of Members, the constitution outlines the right of all Village members to be well informed and have a voice in all WMA operations: "To participate in all activities of this Association in accordance with the Association's Constitution and all resolutions of the General Assembly" (EWMA 2013, p.7)²⁰. It further outlines the role of each Village's elected CBO/AA representative to keep Village Councils informed and duly represent each Village's interests in the WMA's General Assembly. In this conception of governance, the Village Councils are then responsible to inform their constituents and provide platforms for them to deliberate and affect decision-making via each village's respective council and general

²⁰ The Constitution is written in Swahili. For simplicity's sake, I include here my own English translations.

assembly meetings. In theory, then, every resident of the WMA and respective Member Village can be informed, deliberate and affect the WMA's governance and trajectory.

As will be seen, in practice, achieving such representative democracy principles has been easier said than done. The WMA's governance is replete with "democratic deficits", to use a concept from political science scholarship (Bekkers, Dijkstra, & Fenger, 2016). Of course, such challenges characterize all 'representative democratic' models around the world, part of the intrinsic nature and limitations of representation, engagement, participation and subsequent accountability to constituents. In Enduimet, though, these 'deficits' are especially prominent, including a general lack of transparency, often little circulation of key documents and information, a lack of accountability (e.g. between AA representatives and their constituents), poor and inconsistent implementation of decision-making fora (e.g. AA and village-level meetings), and, ultimately, insufficient participation at village meetings (in other words, if meetings are actually held, there are relatively few village members available to actually discuss WMA matters). In my observations, despite official institutions and mechanisms to achieve some form of representative democracy, these rarely achieve their objectives. Of course, this varies from one village to another, but, generally, village officials and residents feel ill-informed about the decisions of the WMA and feel they have little influence on CBO/AA decisions. I recall one Tingatinga resident rhetorically exclaiming, "The WMA? What WMA? We know nothing about the WMA. No one tells us anything. We know it exists, but we know little about it. What are our representatives doing? They go to meetings. But, they never bring anything to us." Such findings have been repeatedly identified in successive WMA evaluations (USAID 2007, 2013). To put it frankly, in practice, there is little 'democratization' in Tanzania's WMAs.

To be clear, though, the status of so-called democratization varies depending on scale. In Enduimet, at a meso-level (e.g. at the scale of the WMA and its governing bodies), elected AA members were relatively informed and participated in decision-making. At a village scale, Village Chairmen and some members of their respective councils are relatively informed. Notably, village chairmen frequently participated in CBO/AA meetings and decision-making. At a more micro-level (e.g. at the scale of village and corresponding households), there is relatively little democratic engagement between AA representatives, village councils and their constituents. The average village resident participates negligibly in village meetings and decision-making. As one village leader put it, “let’s say the truth, we never have meetings where many participate. Out of maybe 2000 residents that are permitted to join meetings, maybe only 50 participate”.

When I inquired about low participation in village politics, residents frequently repeated the Maa concept, “eng’olong’u”. As defined to me, it is used to denote the significant workloads and daily hardships of pastoralist life, which leaves little room to participate in village meetings and politics. As explained to me by one leader, a connotation of the concept is basically, “Livestock matters most. It is our life. Everything else is secondary”. Following on cultural leadership institutions, then, village politics are left mainly to senior, male elders, who are entrusted to represent the interests of their respective families and households. While this system serves practical purposes and is often effective, it sometimes marginalizes some constituents and represents some risk associated with elite control and capture.

One story about passing the CBO constitution in a village assembly meeting offers a case in point about so-called democratization at village levels. It reveals how tokenistic such processes can often be. Officially speaking, the CBO’s constitution must be approved by each constituent village via village assembly meetings, which require a quorum of 75 percent of all village

residents (URT, 1999). The meeting minutes of the village assembly serve as evidence that the constitution was discussed and approved by the village. The following account reflects the most common experiences in Enduimet:

I participated in the meeting where the constitution was officially approved in my village. There weren't very many people at the meeting. I think maybe forty or fifty people. There were some women but mostly men. Women don't attend these meetings very much, as they have many chores to do for the home. [Name of elected CBO member] was at the meeting. He had many papers in his hands. The Village Chairperson told us about the constitution and that we had to approve it. I don't think many people even knew what the constitution was for, as many aren't aware of the WMA. Many don't even know that our village joined the WMA. They have heard the name but don't know what it is. The constitution was approved quickly. [Name of elected CBO member] stood up. He showed us all the pages of the constitution. He said that it was too long to read to everyone. He gave us a summary. He told us that it was something the government required but didn't affect us. The Village Chairperson then stood up and said that we should not waste time on discussing the CBO constitution as there were other things to discuss. He then asked if anyone did not approve of the constitution. No one said anything. Then we moved onto another issue. I think the constitution was then approved. I still don't know what is in the constitution.

The upshot of all this is that the WMA is a far cry from the participatory, democratic principles upheld by official WMA documents and claims. Ultimately, customary institutions and practices mediate, and articulate, the so-called democracy of the WMA and, below the Village Council level, there is little to no participation of the average village resident. In many

cases, even village leaders are poorly informed and engaged. For better or for worse, the WMA is fundamentally an elite affair, driven by Enduimet's gatekeepers²¹. Thus far, in my analysis, this has not been detrimental to popular interests, although may represent some risks of elite capture and manipulation in the future.

Besides defining the relationship between the CBO and village constituents, the constitution is also intended to define the relationship between the CBO/AA and the central government (MNRT, 2003). The central government is primarily represented via the mandated District Natural Resource Advisory Board (DNRAB). The DNRAB comprises a host of appointed District officials, including the District Commissioner, District Executive Officer, District Game Officer and a host of other officers. As stated in the last chapter, the position of the DNRAB, and corresponding adverse power relations, remains one of the more contentious dimensions of the WMA policies and operations. Although the DNRAB is officially allocated only "advisory" powers, in practice, the District officials, especially the District Commissioner, often dictate governance processes and greatly influence decision-making. A USAID study evaluation in 2007, and again in 2013, found that this connection with District authorities has led to abuses of power by the District (USAID 2007, 2013) – as will be seen, a situation that has, at times, jeopardized the Enduimet AA's authority and autonomy.

b. Making Enduimet legible and creating administrative controls

The Village Council shall prepare a Land Use Plan... This exercise will involve a process of evaluating and proposing sustainable alternative uses of the land in villages in order to protect biodiversity and improve the living conditions of the villagers

(MNRT 2003, p.18)

²¹ I follow on Homewood et al.'s (2009) use of this concept to refer to Maasai leaders who are ascribed authority via formal village structures or traditional leadership institutions.



The [Resource Zone Management Plan] will rationalize different uses and management of resources with the view of improving the environment and ensuring economic benefits to stakeholders

(MNRT, p.19)



A second process that characterizes the beginning of the WMA is, what I'll call, "making legible". I draw primarily on James Scott's work in this regard. In his seminal work, *Seeing Like A State*, Scott (1998) outlines how legibility becomes the central problem of modern statecraft. For Scott, processes of "making legible" become key to controlling subjects and their environment: "...calculated to make the terrain, its products, and its workforce more legible – and hence manipulatable – from above and from the center" (p.2). Scott refers to state interventions in how forests are ordered, how people and their farms are spatially organized, how rural communities are spatially planned, and so on, to describe this system of modern socio-spatial engineering. As an aside, while Scott is not explicit about the connection, his conception of legibility and administrative control parallels the ties that Foucault makes between "techniques that make it possible to see" and "discipline subjects" (Carson, 2011).

An important dimension of Scott's argument is that such processes invariably include simplification processes whereby the complexities of how people and environments are customarily ordered are erased, forgotten and ultimately superseded by imposed state ways of seeing and ordering – a "high modernist" order, as Scott argues (1998, p.4). Ultimately, then, in Scott's terms, high modernist ways of 'seeing like a state' displace the traditional and practical ways of seeing, engaging and relating to the environment. While Scott's "high modernism" is usually associated with modern planning in the 18th Century and some of the grand, 'social

engineering' schemes of the mid-20th Century, I use it here given some of the similarities that characterize the making of the WMA (e.g. aggrandized views of science and technology; and unfaltering confidence in rational designs of social order and mass engineering of people and spaces, etc.).

I maintain that such processes characterize many of the beginning stages of starting the WMA in Enduimet. In the following, I highlight three steps that Enduimet became engaged in during this time: first, processes of identifying and documenting resources, second, creating the village land use plans and, lastly, the formulation of a zonal management strategy. Collectively, these become the defining elements of Enduimet's new legibility, constitution and position vis-à-vis the state.

(i) Data collection: identifying, documenting and mapping people & resources

One step in establishing a WMA is to have the area's resources identified and documented (MNRT, 2002). This is done firstly through the examination of existing secondary data and, secondly, through site visits with stakeholders and, thirdly, through planning workshops. The data that is gained is included in what's called an Information Data Sheet, which must accompany the CBO's application to the Wildlife Director for formally establishing the WMA.

Accordingly, in late 2004, AWF organized what they called a "reconnaissance trip", with a host of stakeholders that were identified as the "core planning team" (District, 2005). This team included a small group of local leaders (e.g. village and District level leaders) and some "experts" from AWF and the College of African Wildlife Management (CAWM). The trip was followed up by a one-day workshop to synthesize and document findings. One leader who participated in the trip and workshop recalled the following:

The trip and workshop were like so many other planning events. It was done in a rushed way. There was little time for much discussion. During the trip, we got started very late. We drove to a few locations in Enduimet. We identified some key sites and talked about the various wildlife that frequent the area. In many discussions, we argued that the Maasai culture is also an important resource. This was especially discussed in the workshop. We told all the facilitators and government leaders that the WMA should protect the Maasai culture in addition to wildlife. No one disagreed with this. I think it was understood that a WMA would only happen in Enduimet if it respected the Maasai culture.

Overall, the “reconnaissance trip” and workshop identified the following resources: diversity of wildlife, including rare wildlife like wild dog; important migratory routes for, especially, elephants; forest resources, mountains and hills, extensive plains, medicinal plants, craters, caves, and springs (Monduli District, 2005).

In successive trips and data collection activities, AWF, government officials and CAWM researchers collected other data about Enduimet. They built a socio-economic profile of Enduimet, which included general demographic information, data on livelihoods and household economies, and documentation about land and resource use. Furthermore, their profile included geographical information about Enduimet’s general location, the location of key sites in Enduimet, list of key natural resources. They also documented the key “problems and threats” to Enduimet’s wildlife and other natural resources.

Accordingly, the planning activities focused on livestock and livestock grazing land. Remarkably, it also emphasized “culture and traditions of the local people” as an important resource in Enduimet (Monduli District, p. vi). As seen in the quote just shared, the issue of

culture and pastoral livelihood, as opposed to simply wildlife and natural resources, was a prominent feature of these early planning stages. Reportedly, participants of the early planning workshops were consistently adamant that the WMA should not prioritize wildlife and tourism over livestock and pastoralism (see the section below about ‘being Maasai’ for more discussion).

All of these resources were documented and discussed in the workshop that followed the reconnaissance trip. One of the CAWM experts then incorporated these findings into the required Information Data Sheet. It included the following data:

1. Identity of Community-Based Organization (CBO)
2. Participating Villages
3. Wildlife Management Area (e.g. size, name of Wards, Districts and regions implicated)
4. Partners: Initiation Organization (e.g. AWF or other international organization)
5. Socio-economic information (e.g. demographic information, major economic activities, current uses of natural resources and by whom, current uses of land and by whom)
6. Ecological information (e.g. names of bordering parks/reserves, detailed list of natural resources, problems and threats to the natural resource, cultural and historical sites, other attractions, main purpose of setting up the WMA)

This information was presented and further discussed in the next stakeholder planning workshops, which were held in February and March of 2005. Some of the above issues identified in the Information Data Sheet are discussed below in the “rendering technical” section (e.g. problems and threats and strategic plans).

(ii) Creating village land use plans

Besides the steps of data collection, the more significant part of making Enduimet legible, and the most significant step of starting a WMA, is the creation of village land use plans.

Beginning in the 90s, land use planning became a key tool in Tanzania's administration of rural lands, especially in relation to conservation (Kaswamila & Songorwa, 2009; Noe & Kangalawe, 2015). The legal basis for village land use plans is found mainly in the Local Government Act of 1982, which enables village governments to institute by-laws pertaining to settlements and land use, which are then approved by the Village Assembly. Such provisions were extended in the 1999 Village Land Act. The formal steps of land use planning are outlined in the 1998 Guidelines for Participatory Village Land Use Management in Tanzania. When Enduimet villages began working with AWF and District Officials to develop land use plans in 2003, the following steps were required:

1. Community sensitization
2. Preparation of sketch map of land uses
3. Formulation of village land use planning team
4. Data Collection
5. Provisional boundary demarcation
6. Preparation of draft land use plan
7. Presentation of approval of land use plan

In Enduimet, the land use plans identified key areas of village settlements, land for individual cultivation, grazing land and, most importantly, land that would be set aside for the Wildlife Management Area. According to some of the leaders I spoke with, the discussions and decision-making with AWF and District authorities focused mainly on existing settlement and grazing areas.

One interesting thing that characterized village land-use plans in Enduimet relates to how traditional territoriality was integrated into WMA zoning and plans. In line with customary

Maasai systems of grazing management, all villages in Enduimet have always been organized according to a host of grazing zones, some designated for rainy season grazing (e.g. essentially grazing area that is permitted all year around), some for pregnant, aged or sick livestock and, very importantly, others for dry season grazing reserves. Permanent settlements are prohibited in the dry season reserves. Remarkably, in all the cases I discussed with village leaders, it was commonly stressed that the areas that were designated for the WMA were mainly the dryland grazing reserves. For the most part, there were already no permanent settlements in these areas, so designating them as part of the WMA was logical and, according to the perspectives of village leaders, it posed little threat to traditional land use and movement.

As outlined in my theoretical framework, De Koning and Cleaver (2012) refer to such practices as “aggregation”, which is part of the larger repertoire they define as “institutional bricolage”. Essentially, ‘aggregation’ refers to the capacity of local stakeholders to adopt new reforms (e.g. in this case, WMA zoning and mapping initiatives) in strategic ways that integrate them into traditional structures and institutions. They do so in such a way that does not adversely affect or disrupt the latter. According to village leaders’ perspectives, this was essentially achieved via their strategic engagement with land use planning and corresponding maps.

When I first learned of how traditional grazing reserves were aggregated with the WMA, it caused me concern: were leaders not worried about losing access to their dryland grazing areas, which were fundamental to their pastoral existence? Despite pushing this point in my discussions, it became evident that this was of no concern to Enduimet leaders. As mentioned in the last chapter, they were adamant that the WMA would not prohibit or affect customary patterns of grazing. One leader from Elerai explained,

When we began land use planning, AWF and District officials came to us. They wanted to know where there are settlements and where we have our grazing areas. We discussed where the wildlife was and where we think the land for the WMA should be. For us, it was simple. We designated the dry season grazing area to the WMA. No one lives permanently in this area. It isn't used for anything but grazing... We weren't worried about losing land as we knew that designating it as the WMA didn't stop people from using it for grazing. That's what we were always told. That area is also where most wildlife live. Therefore, we didn't see any problem with designating the dry season areas to the WMA.

Notably, as with to other complaints pertaining to participation in village decision-making (see above about creating the CBO), I heard many complaints about how undemocratic the process of land use planning was. Relatively few residents were substantially engaged in the formation of land use plans. In some cases, it even seems doubtful whether the land use plans and corresponding bylaws were actually presented and discussed in village assembly meetings. It seems that consultations occurred with the village chairman and some council members but did not often extend to the village assembly. In cases where they did, there's little evidence to suggest that quorums were met.

Furthermore, as recalled to me, details and potential repercussions of land use plans were not discussed in any detail (e.g. similar to the example of passing the CBO constitution example, shared above). In one discussion, an Elerai village member recalled an assembly meeting where the land use plan was discussed, which highlighted how little engagement occurred. It also demonstrates the popular discourse that the village or WMA plans were irrelevant to customary grazing patterns and management. The village member stated that,

I don't remember the details of the plan. We didn't really discuss it. The chairman explained a few things. We were just assured that it didn't impact how we use the land. For us, if it didn't affect our grazing, we didn't care much. If it affected our grazing, then everyone would care. The whole community would come and fight. They told us it didn't affect grazing, so we didn't care. Making maps and plans are government things that don't concern us unless they affect our grazing.

Another interesting point pertaining to the land use plans is that, in cases where I tried to locate and review village land use plans, I was often told by leaders that they do not have copies at the village office. "AWF made them and keep them at their office", I was frequently told. Such discussions often provoked a common criticism of AWF, worth noting here:

AWF collects all of this information, they make maps, they have information of human wildlife conflicts. These are all things that are valuable to us, but we don't have access to it. It is sitting in the office in Arusha. How does that help us? I go to meetings with AWF and I see these maps of our community that I've never seen before. Why don't they share them with us? They say they are doing it all for us, but I think they are doing it for themselves, for their donors and for their own programs.

Based on the land use plans that were generated by each village, a final map of the area designated for the WMA was compiled in preparation of the first Resource Zone Management Plan (Monduli District, 2005). Figure 23 illustrates one of the original maps. Essentially, the area designated for the WMA includes all the low-lying plains of the Enduimet territory where grazing areas have been preserved via customary institutions. For the most part, and not surprisingly, the areas are also unsuitable for cultivation.

- (iii) Making the zonal management strategy (i.e. creating administrative controls)

Following all of the above procedures and some key planning workshops in early 2005, facilitators from AWF and consultants from CAWM formulated a management zone strategy, called a Resource Zone Management Plan. The creation of such a strategy was a stipulation in the 2002 WMA regulations (MNRT, 2002), which reads as follows:

Conduct a technical workshop comprising of planning team and the AA, which shall:

- Analyse the information data sheet of the prospective Wildlife Management Area
- Undertake technical decisions on zoning, based on the Information data sheet
- Describe activities that can and cannot occur in each zone
- Set limits of use or acceptable change
- Describe the rationale for existing and proposed development activities in each zone
- Provide environmental statement on proposed actions.

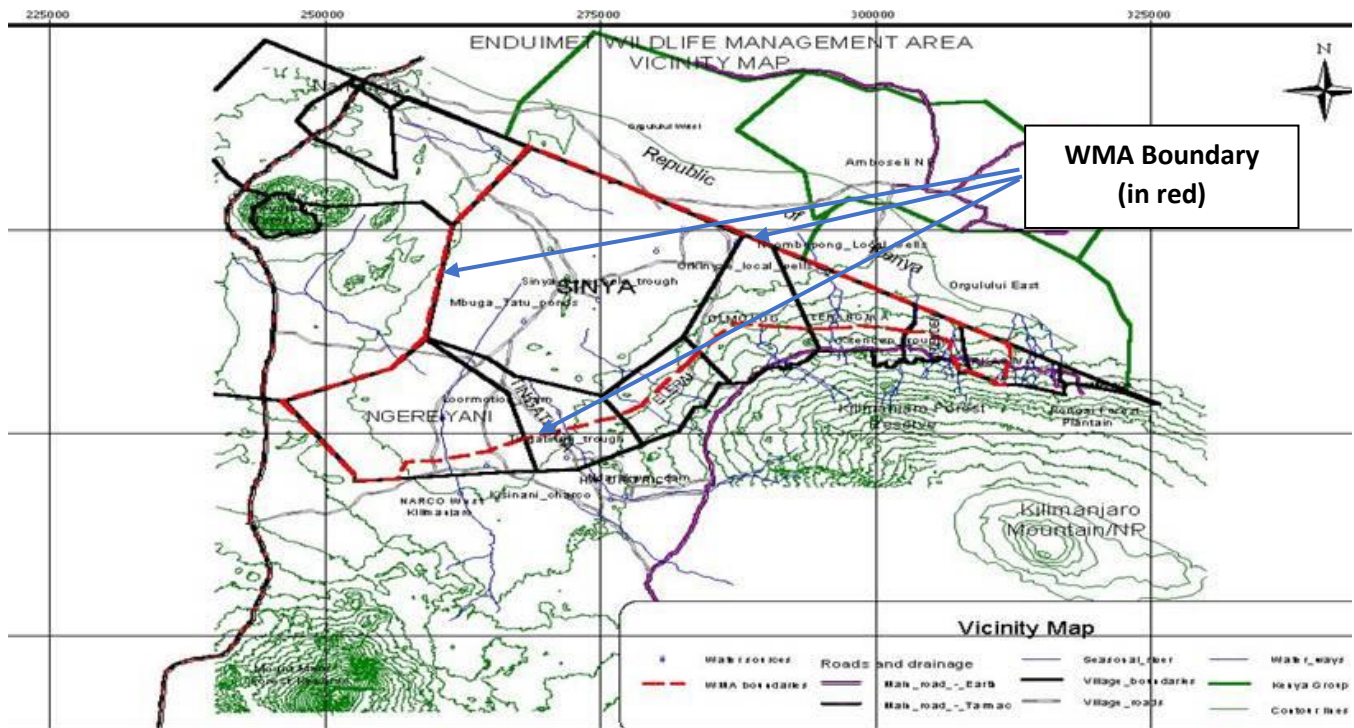


Figure 23 Initial Map of Enduimet WMA (Reprinted from Monduli District, 2005)

It is worth highlighting that such zoning initiatives have become ubiquitous in land use planning and conservation. Critical geographer, Zimmerer (2000, 2006), sees zoning as part and parcel of the “new geographies of conservation” that are overtaking rural lands in the Global South. He criticizes them for their static nature, a process of “spatial fixing” (2000, p.361), which he importantly argues is inherently incompatible with complex ecosystems. This becomes a point of contention in the creation of the second RZMP, described in the next chapter.

Ultimately, the creation of zones and corresponding management plans became the primary tool for administering land use (see next section). AWF personnel and District officials described the purpose of zoning as designating “where various management strategies will best resolve existing problems in attaining the objectives that were identified by defining what can and cannot be done in different lands areas of the EWMA” (Monduli District, 2005, p.19).

The zoning scheme was developed according to a host of “principles and considerations” (Monduli District, p.19), including (1) professional judgements and experiences, (2) land capability, (3) land suitability, (4) uses of natural features or existing artificial features in determining boundaries of different zones, (5) elimination of uses and developments that either damage resources or create undue burden on EWMA management, (6) protection of outstanding resource values, (7) provision of diverse range of appropriate visitor experiences and zone scheme that would increase revenue of the EWMA (Monduli District, 2005, p. 19).

A few remarks about some of these principles and considerations are helpful for conceiving the nature of the WMA, the aesthetics that underpin it and some of the early contentions that animated some of the planning. Firstly, the emphasis on “professional judgements and experiences” is of interest. Much of the processes of beginning the WMA represent a “professionalization” of land management that was unprecedented prior to beginning the WMA.

It recalls Escobar's assertions about "professionalization" (Escobar, 1995, p. 44), in his seminal account of encountering development, whereby he outlines "the process that brings the Third World into the politics of expert knowledge and Western science in general" (p.45). Similarly, it reflects Tania Li's (2007) emphasis on the emergence of "trustees" that oversee development processes. Ultimately, the initiation of the WMA introduced countless 'experts' (e.g. ecologists, wildlife biologists, rangeland experts) into Enduimet's landscape. As discussed in the next section, this also meant the introduction of 'expert ways of seeing' (e.g. rendering technical).

The attendance records of the early planning meetings are quite indicative of how experts dominated the making of the WMA. The meetings were dominated by international NGO conservation experts, legal officers, project coordinators and technical advisors alongside government natural resource officers, wildlife experts and livestock specialists (Monduli District, 2005). The consultant, who was delegated to design the Enduimet WMA, was a conservation biologist from Tanzania's College of African Wildlife Management (CAWM), the college that AWF started in the 60s to train conservationists. Obviously, this all introduced a real shift away from the traditional knowledge that historically underpinned Enduimet's rangeland management. In fact, traditional leaders were almost entirely absent from early WMA planning meetings. Not surprisingly, one of the grievances heard from Enduimet's traditional leaders is their almost complete marginalization from the process of designing the WMA. One argued to me, "I was never part of planning the WMA. I've joined some meetings but I've never been involved in planning or making their policies."

In reference to the principle about using natural features or existing artificial features that exist in the landscape (Monduli District 2005, p.19), the District's management plan made an important caveat. It qualified the principle by saying "that doesn't create an *eyesore*" (p. 19;

emphasis added). In other words, “artificial features” could be included in the WMA, unless they were deemed an “eyesore”. This sparked my interest and in my discussions with some participants, I asked “what was meant by an ‘eyesore’?” In response, participants stated that, in the planning meetings, it was stressed that the area of the WMA should be without any human built structures and as little evidence as possible of human land use or people. “It should be wilderness without human use”, one leader recalled being told. When I pressed one of the original facilitators of the WMA planning workshops on this topic, he stressed that “tourists want to see wildlife and wilderness, not cows and people”.

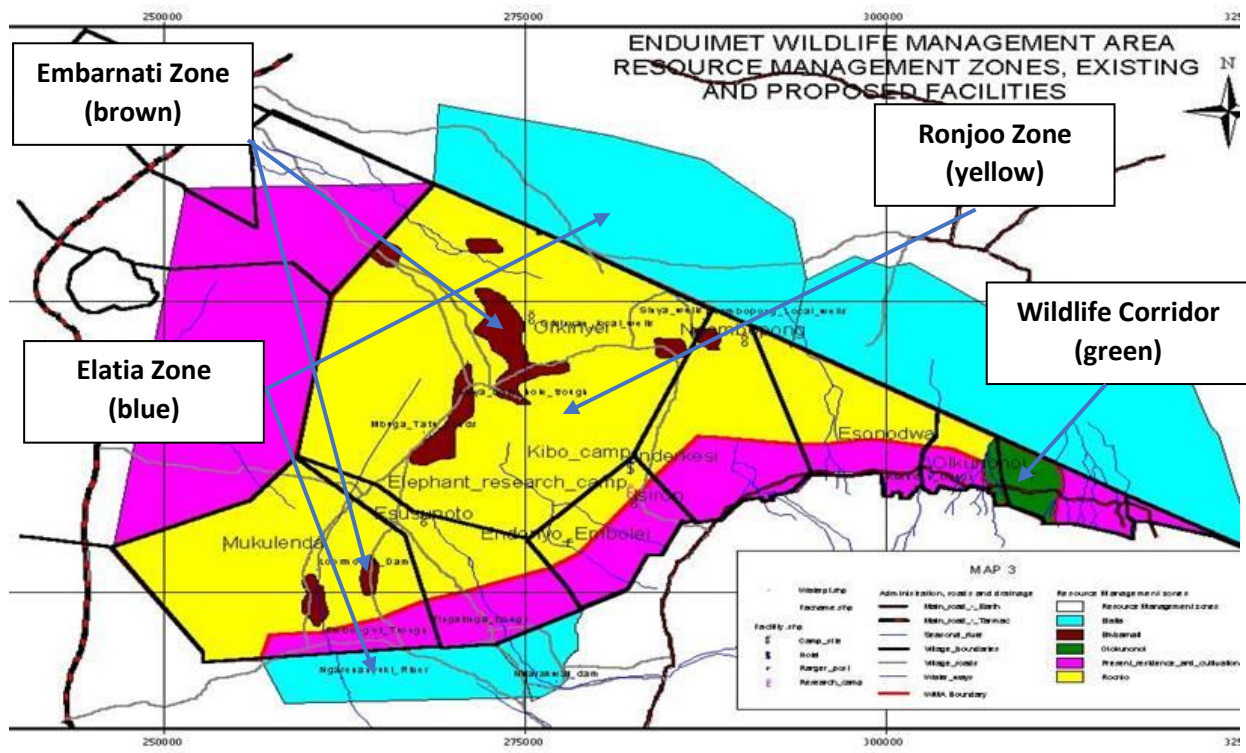
Such a principle reflects a long history of separating people and wildlife in Tanzania – a process of “imposing wilderness”, as was argued in Roderick Neumann’s seminal account of conservation in Tanzania (1998). In his account, Neumann stresses how, with the growing demands of tourism and conservation, rural spaces in Tanzania have been transformed from landscapes of *production* – characterized, of course, by the “eyesores” referred to above – to landscapes of *consumption*, devoid of people, built structures and anthropogenic use. Of course, such transformations were all for the purpose of living up to the illusions of “wild” Africa and the “pristine nature” that tourism companies circulated in their communications and marketing (Adams & McShane, 1992). Given their other encounters with wildlife tourism since the mid-90s, such aesthetic values and politics were not new to Enduimet leaders. Nevertheless, the creation of the WMA entangled and instituted these values in new ways, especially via the WMA’s zoning and land-use planning processes. For the first time, a nature-society dualism began competing with more nondualist, customary ways of seeing and inhabiting the landscape.

The last consideration I want to remark on is the principle, “elimination of uses and developments that either *damage resources or create undue burden* on EWMA management”

(Monduli District 2005, p.19; emphasis added). This consideration reportedly related, at least in part, to the contentious issue of trophy hunting in Enduimet. Enduimet leaders were apparently adamant that this principle be included. One of the issues apparently raised by leaders was whether the zoning management scheme should prohibit trophy hunting. The vast majority of Enduimet leaders opposed trophy hunting, reflecting a long history of grievances toward the industry (Wright, 2016). I discuss this in detail in Chapter Five, so will not elaborate here. It is simply important to note that during the period of making the WMA, a few villages in Enduimet, especially Sinya, had been embroiled in a major conflict with one notorious trophy hunting company, the Northern Hunting Company (NHC), owned by a well-known, and often disliked, owner. The crux of the conflict related to the legalities of conducting photographic tourism in a hunting zone.

Suffice it to say that such pre-existing conflicts underpinned early planning discussions. Comments about the need to reduce “undue burdens” (Monduli District, p. 19) to EWMA management apparently reflected leaders’ assertions. Unfortunately, for Enduimet leaders, AWF, CAWM consultants and central government authorities apparently ignored leaders’ desires to reject trophy hunting, insisting that it remain in the WMA. As will be seen, this topic returns with a vengeance in the WMA’s second phase, when Enduimet leaders begin driving the process. For the most part, as made clear above, the original planning meetings remained, predominantly, a central government and AWF affair.

The zoning management scheme that was compiled in 2005 included four management zones (see Figure 24 below). First, the Olkunonoi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone (i.e. the dark green section) encompassed the historic Kitendeni elephant corridor, which I discussed in the last chapter. Enduimet’s RZMP states that including this zone in the WMA “is key to



maintain the corridor in order to maintain the ecological integrity of protected areas of northern Tanzania, Kilimanjaro ecosystem in particular... It is therefore necessary to determine types and levels of uses that shall protect and preserve this zone as a viable wildlife corridor” (Monduli District, 2005, p. 20). Reflecting the sentiments that characterized Enduimet’s earliest encounter with conservation and AWF, the management plan emphasizes the “outstanding” resource value of the corridor’s elephants and the threats they face, apparently from “high livestock numbers” and “agricultural encroachment” (Monduli District, p.20).

The second zone was the Ronjoo Zone (i.e. the yellow section in Figure 24). Ronjoo is a Maa concept that refers to temporary Maasai settlements that are used during some seasons. It was explained to me that this zone was referred to as “Ronjoo” because, generally-speaking, it encompassed areas that have been traditionally reserved for grazing and, hence, it contained no permanent settlements. The Ronjoo zone represented 80% of the WMA, essentially comprising

the entire WMA apart from the wildlife corridor and settlement zones. The zone management plan reported that the “majority of EWMA outstanding resources and values are contained in this zone” with “outstanding wildlife species that move between Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Amboseli national parks” (Monduli District, 2005, p. 22). It is intended to be the “hub of economic activities” for the WMA, including photographic safaris, hunting, walking safaris, fly camps, permanent tented camps and hotels (Monduli District, p. 22). Interestingly, the zone includes Sinya village’s land, even though Sinya did not join the WMA during this period. Subsequently, none of the WMA’s regulations were applicable in that area.

Wildlife ranger posts are proposed and designated to various points across the Ronjoo zone. Rangers, popularly called Village Game Scouts (VGS), aim to police, survey and regulate the zone. This indicates further the “green militarization” (Lunstrum, 2014) that begins to characterize Enduimet (e.g. the growing trend to adopt military technologies and strategies to police conservation spaces). It represents Enduimet’s first, key step of becoming a surveillance space. Today, you cannot go far in Enduimet without quickly crossing paths with wildlife rangers’ 4x4s and camouflage dressed men with guns – a presence that was previously unheard of in Enduimet.

Given that the Ronjoo zone represents some of the most important grazing areas for the Enduimet community, the RZMP states that “existing conflicts amongst the pastoralists could be minimized through setting of limit of uses” (Monduli District, 2005, p.23). In other words, the zonal strategy aimed to regulate seasonal access to traditional territory and restrict high numbers of livestock. I discuss this more below.

The third zone was the Embarnati zone, which comprises the areas of human settlement in the WMA (the brown areas in Figure 24). Fittingly, “embarnati” is a Maa concept that refers to

areas of human habitation. Ultimately, this zone encompasses the village centers of Sinya and Ngereyani that overlap with the Ronjoo Zone. In part, the zone was included to accommodate the respective permanent settlements and village centers that occur in those areas. The management plan identifies “human resource, livestock and culture” (Monduli District, p.25) as important resources of this zone. As recalled to me by participants, a key reason for including this zone in the WMA was to regulate human and livestock use, even in settlement areas. Planning facilitators argued that “there are too many people and too many livestock”. Expectedly, then, the management plans states that, “Number of people, livestock and settlements in Sinya, Tingatinga and Ngereyani villages is increasing incommensurate with resources inside the WMA. Proper planning through setting and implementing limit of resource uses is key in guaranteeing sustainable human development” (p.24).

The last zone that arose from the 2005 planning meetings is the Elatia Zone. This zone encompassed regions outside of the actual wildlife area of Enduimet (the light blue area in Fig 24). In Maa, the word refers to ‘neighbour’. It was a rather unconventional choice to include this in the Enduimet management strategy, given that the areas fall under other jurisdictional authorities (e.g. some fall in Siha District while others are in southern Kenya). Reportedly, participants argued that this should be included to build constructive relations with surrounding stakeholders, whose decisions and land uses affect the Enduimet ecosystem. This argument reflects well the challenges of “scaling”, as argued by Zimmerer (2000): the boundaries of new conservation territories, such as the Enduimet WMA, do not encompass the larger social-ecological systems, of which they are a crucial part. Invariably, creating new conservation territories often means simply conserving one fragment of a larger system. In Enduimet’s case, the wildlife that are intended to be conserved, marketed and consumed through tourism migrate

across a much larger area than the WMA encompasses, across other District jurisdictions and even countries, posing significant challenges for conservation efforts.

The designation of the Elatia Zone attempted to incorporate this broader area and pertinent stakeholders, namely the management officials of “Olalarashi and Olgulului Group Ranches in Kenya and TALIRO and NARCO farms in West Kilimanjaro”, as well as leaders of neighboring villages in Longido, Kimokowa and Engikaret (Monduli District, 2005, p.23). In order to protect Enduimet’s wildlife and mitigate conflict with neighboring farms and villages, the RZMP stated, “technical advice shall be provided to adjacent farmers on the adoption of agroforestry and proper animal husbandry, including keeping sustainable numbers of livestock” (Monduli District, p. 24).

To sum up this section, making the WMA in Enduimet comprised collecting and documenting data, creating village land use plans, demarcating zones and designing a zonal management strategy. These, I argue amount to a combination of making Enduimet legible and, concomitantly, creating administrative controls – i.e. making Enduimet legible and administrable. Starting in 2002, WMA maps, like the ones above, were created by AWF and government officials, making more visible Enduimet’s territory, categorizing and ordering it into management zones, assessing and documenting its people, and identifying infrastructure. Tables and charts were formulated to identify Enduimet’s characteristics, from precipitation rates, to ecological factors, to wildlife population figures, to land use descriptions, and social factors about organization and ethnic identities. The zonal management scheme served to formulate regulatory control over Enduimet residents, including where they could move their livestock and how many livestock were permitted (see below). Overall, if AWF’s early mapping,

documentation and “heartland” planning activities in the late 90s and early 2000s began Enduimet’s process of becoming legible, all of the above procedures and activities completed it. Enduimet became ordered in new ways with new administrative controls, accordingly.

c. Rendering technical

In addition to making legible, processes of “rendering technical” characterize the making of the WMA. As described in the theoretical framework section, Li (2011) adopts the concept of “rendering technical” to highlight two key practices that are fundamental to translating the ‘will to conserve’ into technical interventions or programs. The first practice is problematization – i.e. identifying problems and framing them in such a way that they are amenable to technical interventions and, hence, solvable. The second is a set of practices concerned with assembling information in strategic ways and, ultimately, creating technical solutions.

To recall, the defining feature of rendering technical is not so much what it includes, but what it excludes (e.g. contestation and questions of political economy; issues of power, control, wealth and justice). It should be clear that, often, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with processes of rendering technical. As Li points out in her work, it is natural to simplify and highlight issues that are most conducive to expert knowledge and intervention. Further, rendering technical can offer certain advantages vis-à-vis efficiency and effectiveness of programming.

What is troublesome, though, is about what gets excluded in the process of rendering technical. This has been the primary focus of such processes within critical scholarship about ‘development’, including in Li’s work. As will be seen, the early period of starting and making the WMA is characterized by the displacement, if not erasure, of political issues and questions of

political economy. Indeed, it defines this early period and Enduimet's engagement with eco-government.

For our purposes, I focus on some key elements of "rendering technical" that are apparent in beginning the WMA and the planning processes that initiated it. First, some comments about problematization are relevant: what problems, and their rendering, framed the early phases of beginning the WMA? Second, I consider some of the techniques that were devised to redress the problems identified: e.g. what activities and programs emerged out of the beginning phases and were prioritized?

The RZMP, which was the primary product of the early WMA planning period, is illuminating in this regard, and much of the following discussion reflects my analysis of it. Additionally, though, the following analysis also reflects my extensive discussions with Enduimet leaders who participated in the early planning meetings. Many such discussions included reviewing key parts of the RZMP together. These discussions helped me understand important power dynamics, what issues became most prominent in the first RZMP and what became sidelined. Importantly, this analysis sets the stage for understanding the significance of the WMA's transformation and its *remaking* during the process of compiling the second RZMP in 2011, which is the focus of the next chapter.

(i) Problematizing Enduimet: a "dialogue of the deaf"

In the two planning meetings that formulated the WMA's early regulations and zone management strategy, one of the primary objectives of the workshops was to, "carry out problems, issues and threats analysis" (Monduli District, 2005, p.v). The meetings highlighted a wide array of problems. Nevertheless, based on my discussions with leaders and my analysis of the RZMP, the problems, which became the primary foci of government officials, NGO planners

and other ‘trustees’, encompassed three overarching foci and issues: population growth, high livestock numbers, and overuse of grazing resources. “Too many people and too many livestock”, became the most common refrain among the WMA’s new trustees, namely AWF personnel, government officials, tour operators and CAWM specialists. As discussed below, for the Enduimet leaders I spoke with, these were not significant ‘problems’ for the Enduimet WMA – other matters were much more important, which I describe below. Nevertheless, ‘problems’ of population, livestock numbers and degradation were prominent in early planning and discussions.

As an aside, it is worth highlighting that these so-called “problems” have always characterized much of the dominant discourse about pastoralism and corresponding rangelands, like Enduimet. McCabe (2004), and Sandford (1982) before him, refer to such discourse as the “mainstream view” of pastoralism and rangeland ecology. Ellis and Swift (1988) refer to this as the “dominant pastoral paradigm” (p.451). Robin Reid (2012) writes that “one of the most enduring public images of Africa (held by many Africans and non-Africans alike) is of a continent of expanding deserts, overgrazed by greedy herders with too many livestock, foretelling continuing cycles of famine and impoverishment” (p. 108). In her book, *Savannas of our Birth*, Reid (2012) provides a thorough overview of the debate surrounding how pastoralism affects savanna rangelands. She outlines a long history of scholarship, from Herskovits (1926) to Hardin (1968) and ecologists, like Hugh Lamprey, Tony Sinclair and John Fryxell, that founded dominant crisis narratives purporting that “savannas are fragile systems that livestock, by overgrazing, damage their productivity over the long term” (p.108). Essentially, such conclusions, which have continued to characterize dominant discourse and policy-making, were based on “equilibrium theory”. This theory assumed that grazing was the dominant force in these

rangelands, claiming that there is a strong feedback or ‘coupling’ between livestock and the status of rangelands (e.g. vegetation coverage). In contrast, later research formulated a “new ecology” (Scoones, 1999) that posited that the dry lands of Africa, and elsewhere, were characterized by ‘disequilibrium’. According to this theory, abiotic factors, especially rainfall, affect the status of rangelands far more than livestock and grazing effects (Scoones, 1999; Homewood, 2009; Leach, Scoones and Stirling, 2010). In other words, these scholars argued that patterns of low rainfall and droughts, not overgrazing, control the number of livestock in dry savannahs and influence the healthy status of rangelands (Homewood, 2009; McCabe, 2004; Reid, 2012).

Such findings have significant implications for policy making and how we understand pastoralism. The upshot of these findings is that accruing large numbers of productive livestock during periods of good rainfall and vegetation coverage is an important opportunistic strategy and livestock numbers and densities are not necessarily related to a rangelands’ health and resiliency. These new understandings of pastoralism and rangeland ecology became known as the ‘new pastoralism paradigm’. Within such new ways of seeing livestock and drylands, livestock grazing is no longer seen as responsible for ‘degradation’ but, to the contrary, seen as actually enhancing rangelands and often doing so in compatibility with the wildlife that also inhabit these spaces (Reid, 2012). In *Savannas of our Birth*, Reid (2012) outlines the complexity of the relationship between livestock and rangeland health, illustrating how pastoralists commonly “enrich savannas by burning, engaging in moderate livestock grazing, and concentrating nutrients in their traditional settlements” (p. 121). She reviews extensive research that shows how biodiversity excels where livestock and wildlife mix, as opposed to wildlife-only

savannahs. She subsequently criticizes Western-inspired strategies of separating people and wildlife. She concludes,

The fact that grazing sometimes enriches and sometimes degrades savannas does not strongly support the quite common idea that most rangelands are overgrazed, degraded, and desertified. It does, however, suggest that African savannas are relatively resilient to grazing, especially given their long evolutionary history supporting grazing animals.

(Reid, 2012, p. 132)

The upshot of Reid and others' work is that simplistic claims of "too many people and too many livestock" are often unsubstantiated. The fact that such assumptions and discourse nonetheless characterized early WMA planning and regulations is indicative of the staying power of such narratives and the politics of knowledge that underpin them (see Leach & Mearns, 1998, for a full discussion of such factors).

In the following, I review the so-called 'problems' of too many people, too many livestock and environmental degradation that arose in the early stages of making the WMA, especially in the planning meetings that underpinned the Resource Zone Management Plan. I contend that the framings of these 'problems' reflect a long history of prejudicial discourses and bias about pastoralism, generally, and the Maasai in East Africa, more specifically. Problems of population reflect Malthusian narratives of unmitigated growth and simple, linear and causal relations between growth and environmental destruction. Problems about livestock production recall the legacies of Herskovits' "cattle complex" (1926) and pastoralists' purported irrational accumulation of herds. Problems of degradation and overuse of grazing resources reflect the age-old "tragedy of the commons" narrative, arising from Hardin's (1968) famous misrepresentation of common resource management and the purported devastation of land that would arise if it

wasn't under exclusive state or private ownership. I will address each in the following, highlighting how the various narratives were incorporated into WMA planning and specifically, the RZMP.

1. "End games" & Malthusian conundrums

Tanzania's population has quadrupled in the last fifty years. Whereas in the past local consumption of natural resources could be sustained easily. Now we are seeing kind of the endgame. If people were really to continue their traditional patterns of consumption all of these natural resources would be lost through deforestation and extinction of large mammals.

(An excerpt from USAID's WMA promotional video, emphasis added)



As seen in the above excerpt from USAID's promotional WMA video, a dominant narrative in Tanzania, surrounding WMAs, is that population growth threatens the environment and, hence, wildlife. The quote comes from a prominent conservation scientist in Tanzania, who, as seen above, refers to our current times as the "end game". In USAID's video, he proceeds in his monologue to promote WMAs as the only way to prevent this "end game" and mitigate the degradation of human misuse and exploitation. Such narratives about population growth and degradation are known in much scholarship as Malthusian narratives, referring to the original theorist, Thomas Malthus. Malthus' original theory focused on the challenge and crises associated with a geometric increase of population with only a linear increase in food production. His theory has since been employed in simplified, doomsday narratives about population growth and environmental crisis (Haenn & Wilk, 2006; Leach & Mearns, 1998). The reference to the "end game" in the quote that begins this section is a case in point. Anthropologists have spent much time rebutting such simplified narratives, demonstrating the complexity of human-environment relations and defying any simple assumptions about the relationship between population growth, food production and the environment.

In Enduimet's RZMP, simple problematizations of population growth and corresponding assumptions about environmental degradation are found throughout the document and, reportedly, characterized many planning discussions. One section in the RZMP reads that the "number of people, livestock and settlements in Sinya, Tingatinga and Ngereyani villages is increasing incommensurate with resources inside the WMA" (Monduli District, 2005 p. 24). Another section ties the rise of illegal resource use to population growth and "the increasing demand due to lack of alternatives, e.g. for sources of energy, building materials etc." (Monduli District, p. 8). Likewise, the RZMP emphasizes the expansion of cultivation and reduction of wildlife habitat due to population growth. Charcoal burning is seen as a growing threat tied to population growth as well. Not surprisingly, one of the key management objectives for the WMA is to "Ensure that negative impacts as a result of human activities are reduced by 50 % in the EWMA by the year 2010" (Monduli District, p. 18).

2. Cattle complexes

The Maasai must learn modern ways of keeping livestock. This desire to have as many livestock as you can and maintain large herds is a thing of the past. It can't be sustained anymore. We must educate them. If we don't, there will no longer be anything left. No wildlife. And no livestock either because the grazing areas will be destroyed.

(Longido District official, May 2013)



As seen in the above quote, discourses associated with the Maasai's so-called "cattle complex" were also common in the early planning meetings and the first RZMP. The idea of a "cattle complex" comes from Herskovits' (1926) infamous thesis that the Maasai's cultural attachment to livestock translates into irrationally large herds and environmental degradation. Even though such arguments have been repeatedly rejected by later scholarship and research, this trope continues to pervade many policies and the way policy makers imagine pastoralists and

pastoralism. Overall, the notion that the Maasai residents maintain irrational numbers of livestock is also prevalent in the RZMP. The above quote from one government official reflects a common problematization of pastoralism in Enduimet. The narrative was common during the design of the WMA and illustrated in the RZMP. Sometimes, this is implicit and other times more explicit. On an implicit level, the RZMP makes references to the need for providing technical advice to livestock keepers for “proper animal husbandry” (Monduli District, 2005, p.24), which means “keeping sustainable numbers of livestock” (Monduli District, p. 24). More explicitly, the RZMP states that, “Local people of the area, majority of whom are Maasai rely on livestock as a source of sustainable livelihoods. *They would wish to keep as many livestock as it is possible* as a source of security” (Monduli District, p.11; emphasis added).

3. Commons tragedies

Matumizi bora ya ardhi [better use of land] is what we must achieve in Enduimet. We must restrict livestock in the WMA. Enduimet residents don't want to hear this, but we must regulate grazing. They must stop using it as they wish, moving around without concern for the environment.

(Longido District official, May 2013)



The above quote, from a Longido District official in 2013, illustrates the “tragedy of the commons” narrative that remains prevalent, at times, in Tanzania, and East Africa more generally (Homewood, 2008; McCabe, 2004). Such a narrative is witnessed frequently in the RZMP. Omitting any reference to customary systems of managing Enduimet’s rangelands that have persisted since time immemorial, the RZMP stresses that “there is limited control of numbers of livestock in the EWMA” (Monduli District, p.11).

In one section it includes two photos to substantiate the “tragedy of the commons” claims. One illustrates a traditional looking elderly man standing alongside what appears to be a very

large herd. The other photo illustrates a large herd of goats on a very dry, purportedly degraded, patch of grazing land. The two photos are obviously supposed to illustrate the idea of irrationally large herds, on the one hand, and degraded environments, on the other. Indicating a clear ignorance about traditional grazing systems, the depiction under the photo states, “high numbers of livestock and *haphazard grazing* inside the EWMA” (Monduli District, 2005, p. 13, emphasis added). In their book, *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment*, Lead and Mearns (1996) illustrate the long history of such tropes and misinformed perspectives, which have affected pastoralists since colonial times.

In association with the purported problem of the poor management of Enduimet resources, another problem that began to characterize early planning was the “unsatisfactory performance of village game scouts” (Monduli District, p. 9). As discussed in previous chapters, Village Game Scouts (VGS) refers to Enduimet residents who were elected by Enduimet villages and delegated the task of monitoring resource use (i.e. wildlife rangers). Of course, their job is primarily focused on illegal wildlife poaching, but also includes the illegal use of other resources and monitoring grazing patterns. The VGS initiative was started by AWF and other conservation donors as early as the late 90s, but, reportedly, by the time of planning the WMA it had lost momentum. Subsequently, in line with discussions about the exploitation of Enduimet’s common resources, emphasis on the poor performance of VGS animated some planning discussions. AWF and other facilitators insisted that more, and better trained, VGS were required to enforce the WMA’s land use regulations, foreshadowing the ramping up of surveillance that later unfolds.

4. A dialogue of the deaf?

As an important aside, it is very important to emphasize that the above “problems” were not the problems that Enduimet identified or felt strongly about. What I discovered in discussions

with leaders was that, for the most part, they did not agree with the assessments and problems shared above (e.g. too many people, too many livestock and poor management of rangelands). I investigate this at length with leaders that had been part of the early planning meetings and activities. In my discussions, it became apparent that, during the early planning workshops, there were some discrepancies between the perspectives of trustees and planning ‘experts’ versus Enduimet leaders. Allegedly, while some AWF personnel, the CAWM consultant and government officials stressed the above-mentioned problems in Enduimet, other participants – namely, Enduimet leaders and residents – stressed other problems. See Table 1 (below) for an outline of differing perspectives, as conveyed to me during discussions.

For many Enduimet leaders, the problems facing Enduimet were not about population growth, livestock numbers or grazing management, but were more political and extrinsic in nature (i.e. not something internal or intrinsic to Enduimet practices but something associated with external actors and forces). For them, for example, the most severe problems related to the exploitive practices of external actors and companies, who conducted “illegal harvesting of natural resources” (Monduli District 2005, p.8). They apparently stressed how hunting companies disregarded the communities, were killing more animals than they were permitted to, how they killed animals they weren’t authorized to kill, how the central government illegally contracted forestry companies to harvest high-valued trees (like sandalwood), and how outside business people were deforesting the area for charcoal making – in short, a matter of power, control and exploitation.

Similarly, another problem that was stressed by Enduimet participants was the exploitation of their wildlife by tourism companies who shared very few benefits with the local community – e.g. a matter of economic justice. They lamented the fact that hunting revenue goes straight to

the central government. When tourism companies do share, they argued that photographic tourism companies share a very small proportion of revenue with villages and even less actually “trickles down to make any noticeable difference amongst the local people” (Monduli District, 2003, p. 9). They also complained that tourism companies are not honest, hiding their safari activities, client numbers, and so on. This foreshadows the efforts made in the second phase, as discussed in the next chapter, to seek economic justice by illuminating rural tourism’s “hidden economy”.

Some other problems that were emphasized by Enduimet leaders included criticism of the government for marginalizing Enduimet vis-à-vis budget allocations, resulting in the problem of poor roads and telecommunication infrastructure. They also stressed the problem of human wildlife conflict, decrying the fact that the government and conservationists were demanding that elephants be protected while not compensating them for all the subsequent destruction Enduimet residents face, including several fatalities. Lastly, they identified the problem of water conflicts, specifically the government’s tendency to permit the large commercial farmers on the upper slopes of Kilimanjaro to divert river water to their properties, while leaving Enduimet residents with little water for their own agricultural uses.

I share all of the above to stress the following point: based on my analysis of the RZMP and my discussions with those leaders who participated, what became clear to me was that the technical issues that were apparently prioritized by AWF, CAWM consultants and government officials (e.g. the simplistic problematizations of human population, livestock numbers and misuse of resources) were not the issues deemed most important by Enduimet leaders. Frankly, they were not deemed to be ‘problems’ at all. Yet, they became the defining features of making the WMA, despite the fact that, for Enduimet leaders and residents, the “problems” facing their

community were related to political economy: issues of power, control, mistreatment, wealth distribution and economic justice – in short, indigenous sovereignty, tied to a long history of feeling disregarded, disenfranchised and alienated from conservation and tourism.

Table 1 Enduimet’s “dialogue of the deaf”	
The ‘problems’ facing the Enduimet WMA, according to development ‘trustees’	The ‘problems’ facing the Enduimet WMA, according to Enduimet leaders
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Population growth & increasing demand on natural resources 2. Charcoal burning 3. Expansion of cultivation & reduction of wildlife habitat 4. Negative impacts as a result of human activities 5. High numbers of livestock 6. Environmental degradation 7. Haphazard grazing 8. Improper animal husbandry 9. Undisciplined/uneducated residents 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Illegal harvesting of natural resources by commercial enterprise and corresponding actors (e.g. unregulated hunting companies, logging companies, charcoal-making businesses) 2. Exploitation of wildlife & communities (e.g. tourism companies conduct wildlife safaris without sufficient reporting and offering little to no benefit to local communities) 3. Unjust distribution of profit from tourism (e.g. tourism companies offer little contribution to local communities; they are “greedy”) 4. Unjust distribution of water. (e.g. large commercial farms redirected most water) 5. Marginalization from government decision-making/lack of agenda-setting power (e.g. lack of voice in how money is allocated, programs are prioritized, etc.)

Tanzania’s well-known critical theorist, Issa Shivji (2002), has an interesting refrain for these types of incongruities, which he argues often characterizes development policy-making and program planning: “a dialogue of the deaf”. For Shivji, similar to theorists like Ferguson (1990), Escobar (1995) and Li (2007), the fallout that arises in so many development projects is that planners divorce projects from politics and history. They talk in technical terms about people and places, “abstracted from social relationships and histories” and “without regard to any

relationships of power, wealth, control, etc.” (Shijvi, p.80). He goes on to state that “once history and politics have been by definition made irrelevant, it becomes possible for development consultants to formulate policies and suggest *management* strategies” (Shivij, p.80). I share this here so as to preface what is to come as Enduimet’s story unfolds: indeed, the *making* of the WMA reflects “a dialogue of the deaf” with trustees speaking a technical language and Enduimet leaders one of politics; but, in the *remaking* of WMA the nature of the dialogue changes, Enduimet leaders are seemingly heard and politics emerge as salient issues.

(ii) Proposed programs & techniques

The above section outlines the so-called “problems” that became most prominent and prioritized in early planning activities. This largely characterized the RZMP, which was written by AWF, CAWM consultants and District officials, supposedly representing the interests of Enduimet leaders and residents. In Li’s analysis of rendering technical, the above section illustrates the “intelligible field” (Li 2007, p. 7) that was constructed during the planning period: a matrix of too many people, too many livestock and insufficient management of resources.

The second dimension of Li’s idea of “rendering technical” relates to the devising of technical interventions, programs and activities. I highlight three interventions that were predominantly discussed in the early planning period and which characterize much of Enduimet’s first RZMP: (1) issues of too many livestock and degradation were addressed by regulating human use and instituting “limits of acceptable use”; (2) issues of misuse and degradation were also met with efforts to educate residents and police their behaviour; and (3) in an effort to incentivize residents and compensate for the opportunity costs of adopting the WMA, bolstering wildlife tourism, and subsequent revenue, became front and center of the management plan.

1. Creating “limits of acceptable use”

As seen above, one of the strategies to “resolve existing problems” is “by defining what can and cannot be done in different lands of area of the EWMA” (Monduli District, 2005, p19). Indeed, this is a primary purpose of the WMA: designing and administering regulations to displace or, at least, reduce human presence and use in key wildlife and tourism areas. The RZMP stresses “restricting numbers of livestock” (Monduli District, p.29) so as to avoid a purported “loss of indigenous species” (p.30) and, concurrently, the apparent “loss of wilderness character” (p.30) in Enduimet – in other words, to make and maintain “the myth of wild Africa” (Adams & McShane, 1992).

In WMA terms, regulating livestock and unwanted human activities is operationalized through stipulations called “limits of acceptable use”. Each of the WMA’s zones (see Figure 24 in the previous section) was ascribed such stipulations, which is a defining component of the RZMP. It should be recognized that, since the gazettelement of the WMA in 2007, these limits of use legally dictate acceptable use of WMA areas and resources. According to lawyers I spoke with, these limits of use carry immense legal weight, even superseding village-level bylaws and land use plans. In the following, I outline each zone’s list of allowed and prohibited uses. I focus especially on how grazing was integrated or not integrated into the WMA’s zonal management strategy in 2005.

Table 2 illustrates a table from the RZMP (Monduli District, 2005, p. 21), highlighting the “allowable uses and acceptable limits” of the Olkunononi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone. To recall, this zone encompasses a relatively small area of about 5km² that protects the historic elephant migration route between Amboseli, in Kenya, and the Mount Kilimanjaro forest, in Tanzania.

Table 1 Limits of Acceptable Use in Olkunononi-Kitendeni Corridor (Adapted from Monduli, 2005, p. 21)

<i>Allowed Uses</i>	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Limits of Acceptable Use</i>
	1. Fuel wood collection	Dead wood only
	2. Photographic safaris	1 Filming Company at any given time
	3. Education and training visits	1 Training Group at any given time
	4. Beekeeping	Not more than 20,000 bee hives
	5. Livestock grazing and use of watering points	2000 cattle per day
	6. Research activities	Based on Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) Guidelines
	7. Nature trail	1 loop
	8. Silkworm farming	Not more than 6000 trees
	9. Ranger Post	1 with 4 single units
	10. Balanite seed processing (Orn'goswa)	3000 kg per annum
	11. Game viewing	Along the main road (Irkaswa-Kitendeni)
<i>Prohibited Uses</i>	1. Agriculture 2. Camp sites, Hotels or Lodges 3. Mining 4. Hunting 5. Human settlements 6. Tree felling 7. Charcoal burning	
<i>Other Conditions</i>	1. Wildlife Management Area Regulations, 2002 2. TAWIRI Research Guidelines 3. Existing agreements on the use of the corridor	

The limits of use for this zone are not surprising. For the most part, they maintain previously existing stipulations for what has been popularly known as the Kitendeni elephant corridor, which AWF had instituted in 1988. Expectedly, agriculture prohibition suspended the encroachments that had previously threatened the area, while grazing remained at a reasonable amount of use (e.g. 2000 cattle per day).

As it pertains to the Ronjoo zone, which encompasses the vast majority of Enduimet's territory and is where most wildlife reside, acceptable uses focus on photographic and hunting tourism (see Table 3 below). Concomitantly, this zone is highly restrictive of anthropogenic use

and settlement. The zone prohibits, among other things, agriculture, human settlements, tree felling and charcoal burning.

More than any other zone, the limits of use of the Ronjoo zone illustrate the “imposing wilderness” (Neumann, 1998) patterns that characterize Tanzania’s history – i.e. instituting the ‘places without people’ aesthetic values associated with the pristine, untouched wilderness of “wild Africa” (Adams & McShane, 1992). Recalling the discussion above, the limits of use in the Ronjoo zone ensure there are no “eyesores” within the WMA, such as cultivated land, harvested forest, charcoal production, large herds of livestock, homes, and people. It focuses on ensuring that the so-called “wilderness character” (Monduli District, p. 30) of Enduimet is preserved.

In an effort to integrate, at least some, local livelihoods and customary use, the limits of acceptable use permitted some grazing, albeit in highly regulated form. As seen in Table 2, cattle grazing regulations are seasonally based, permitting only 400 cattle/day in the dry season and 120,000 cattle/day during the wet season. 1000 goats, sheep and donkeys were permitted per day, with apparently no seasonal restrictions. I will not elaborate here on these restrictions, as I discuss them below in the next section. Suffice it to say that they are highly infeasible and, if implemented, would cause an immense displacement of pastoralism in Enduimet, if not its complete demise.

Table 2 Limits of Acceptable use in Ronjoo Zone (Adapted from Monduli District, 2005)

<i>Allowed Uses</i>	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Limits of Acceptable Use</i>
	1. Fuel wood collection	Dead wood only
	2. Photographic safaris	1 Filming Company at any given time
	3. Education and training visits	1 Training Group at any given time
	4. Beekeeping	Not more than 5,000 bee hives
	5. Dry season cattle grazing	400 per day

	6. Wet season cattle grazing	120,000 cattle per day
	7. Goat, Sheep, Donkey grazing	1000 per day
	8. Research activities	Based on Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) Guidelines
	9. Flying camps	2
	10. Hotel	1
	11. Hunting	July – December, as per hunting licence
	12. Nature trails	2 loops
	13. Silkworm farming	6000 trees maximum
	14. Ranger Post	2 Ranger Posts with 4 single units each at Endoinyo-Embolei and Mukulenda sites
	15. Permanent Tented Camps	Four Camps at Elerai (Isironi), Olmolog (Noompopong), Sinya (Orkinyei) and Tingatinga (Esusunoto)
	16. Sand	10 lorries per day
	17. Fishing	5,000 kg per annum
	18. Picnicking	2 groups at a time, maximum of 10 people
	19. Walking safaris	1 group at a time, maximum of 10 people
	20. Balanite seed processing (Orn'goswa)	10,000 kg a year
	21. Game viewing	Along the proposed designated roads
<i>Prohibited Uses</i>	1. Agriculture 2. Mining 3. Off-road driving 4. Human settlements 5. Tree felling 6. Charcoal burning 7. Horse Race	
<i>Other Conditions</i>	1. Wildlife Management Area Regulations, 2002 2. TAWIRI Research Guidelines	

As already noted in the previous section, the Embarnati zone includes areas of permanent settlements. Not surprisingly, acceptable uses include cultivation and grazing (see Table 4 below). Photographic tourism is permitted, including cultural tourism (e.g. visits to designated Maasai households for education and photo opportunities). As an aside, for some residents, hosting tourists in their households are the bedrock of tourism enterprise in the WMA and the only avenue of securing some trickle of revenue to their households.

Notably, hunting is not permitted in this zone. This stipulation reflected a strong grievance among Enduimet residents about how carelessly hunters stalk wildlife and, reportedly, shoot them dangerously close to households. One popular story that is often told refers to a hunter that stalked a wildebeest up to the gate of one household. The hunter shot the animal, scaring those in the household with the loud gunshot. Tragically, as the story goes, a pregnant woman who was near the incident in her house experienced a miscarriage due to the resulting trauma of the event. This story is often told in a “last straw” context, indicating how the community reached its limit with trophy hunting’s carelessness and disregard for the community. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Remarkably, the “limits of acceptable use” do include some grazing regulations. As seen above, the rationale for including this zone was imbedded in narratives about population growth, too many cows and overgrazing. The zone was included so as to extend regulations to residents of key WMA areas. Accordingly, the RZMP states that the “proper planning through setting and implementing limit of resource uses is key in guaranteeing sustainable human development” (Monduli District 2005, p.24). In part, this informs the grazing limits that were included.

Table 3 Limits of Acceptable Use in Embarnati Zone (Adapted from Monduli District, 2005)

<i>Allowed Uses</i>	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Limits of Acceptable Use</i>
	1. Photographic safaris	1 Filming Company at any given time
	2. Education and training visits	1 Training Group at any given time
	3. Beekeeping	Not more than 20,000 bee hives
	4. Cattle grazing	Not more than 125,000
	5. Goat grazing	Not more than 200,000
	6. Sheep grazing	Not more than 100,000
	7. Donkey grazing	Not more than 3,000
	8. Game drive	Along designated routes
	9. Agriculture	Bean, maize and wheat
	10. Research activities	Based on Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) Guidelines
	11. Cultural tourism	Maximum of 3 Bomas in each village
	12. Fishing	5,000 kg per annum

	13. Picnicking	1 group at a time, maximum of 10 people at a time
	14. Walking safaris	1 group at a time, maximum of 10 people at a time
<i>Prohibited Uses</i>	1. Mining 2. Hunting 3. Off road driving 4. Tree felling 5. Animal capture 6. Camp sites, Hotels or Lodges	
<i>Other Conditions</i>	1. Village bye-laws 2. Village development plans 3. Village land use plans	

2. Education and awareness raising

As already mentioned, one of the key problems posed in early planning workshops was human activities, namely practices seen as incongruous with conserving the environment and making wildlife tourism spaces. Accordingly, the objective to reduce “negative impacts as a result of human activities” dominates much of the RZMP. In part, the problem was conceived, in the RZMP, as a lack of awareness among Enduimet’s residents. Essentially, the problem was one of ignorance, as conceived by AWF, CAWM facilitators and government authorities. The obvious intervention, at least for Enduimet’s trustees, was education. In Moore’s work (2007), he refers to such activities as “educating the consent” of subjects.

During one discussion in the stakeholder planning workshop in 2005, the CAWM consultant directed attention to an assessment of “local communities”. The subsequent discussion reiterated the need to “ensure a good working relationship between EWMA and all relevant stakeholders in reducing illegal activities and increase support from neighboring human communities” (Monduli District 2003, p. 29). It continued to highlight the need to promote conservation and foster sustainable land uses. Meeting facilitators argued that good implementation of interventions would ensure that “local people’s knowledge and attitude would be enhanced” (p.29).

Subsequently, it was argued, “support to the EWMA from stakeholders will be increased and effects of high human density on EWMA reduced” (p. 29).

One of the primary programs proposed during early planning was the “EWMA-community relations program”. The purpose of the program was to “ensure that the relationships between people and wildlife is improved” and to “guarantee sustained conservation support from the local people” (Monduli District, p. 32). Activities to achieve this included a host of projects but mainly focused on interventions to “develop and implement environmental and conservation awareness plans, including formation of environmental committees” (p. 33).

It is worth noting that the focus on building conservation awareness and corollary efforts to form environmental committees recalls Arun Agrawal’s seminal account of “environmentality” in India (2005). This account follows the emergence of what Agrawal refers to as “governmentalized localities” (p.6), which are based on the establishment of a “regulatory community”: “the emergence of new regulatory spaces within localities where social interactions around the environment took form” (p.7). Agrawal outlines how such regulatory communities are linked to the “constitution of *environmental subjects* – people who have come to think and act in new ways in relation to the environmental domain being governed...” (p.7). In my analysis, much of the proposed awareness raising and public relations can be interpreted with this understanding: e.g. efforts to discipline and make environmental subjects in Enduimet. As will be seen, the success of such efforts becomes limited by competing discourses of “indigeneity”. For Enduimet residents, as Maasai, being and becoming ‘indigenous’ challenges any competing discourse and subjectification processes.

Nevertheless, such a focus on changing the dispositions and practices of Enduimet residents vis-à-vis wildlife conservation and tourism was prominent in the early design of the WMA.

Reportedly, in the planning workshops, AWF facilitators and the CAWM consultant focused attention on educating people about conservation and convincing them about the benefits of protecting wildlife and corresponding habitat. Echoing such a sentiment, one consultant from CAWM argued that “the only way the WMA will be sustainable is if we educate people about wildlife conservation and the benefits of protecting wildlife. We need programs that convince them about this. Without people’s support, it will be hard to maintain the WMA”. As a result, the EWMA-Community Relations program was proposed during the beginning phases of the WMA.

3. Surveillance and policing

Beyond educating residents, the other program that is prominent in the RZMP, and which comes to define the WMA, is surveillance and policing. Essentially, residents who did not adopt the values and assigned behaviours highlighted in the above programs, needed to face penalties and repercussions. To achieve this objective, surveillance mechanisms needed to be escalated and improved and people well-policed. As described to me by one CAWM facilitator, “Before the WMA, people could do what they want, without facing any repercussions... More rules and enforcement are necessary”.

Subsequently, a focus on increasing “ranger posts” and building capacities of Village Game Scouts was a common feature of early planning discussions. This is evident throughout the RZMP. As mentioned above, one of the problems identified was the incapacity of Village Game Scouts (VGS). Accordingly, the zone management plan prescribes the building of new ranger posts in each of the wildlife and tourism zones. The role of VGS was envisioned as two-fold: on the one hand, policing the illegal use of resources, in accordance with the RZMP’s limits of use; on the other hand, surveying wildlife numbers and movements in support of “rational management decisions” (Monduli District 2005, p. 32).

In the assessment of biodiversity conservation efforts, the RZMP calls for “increased law enforcement activities, providing law enforcement facilities and infrastructure, research and monitoring...” (Monduli District, p. 30), foreseeing that more patrols and Ranger Posts will “increase protection of biodiversity” and “provide adequate management information for biodiversity” (p.30). The proposed “Administrative and operations program” includes the activity of developing and implementing anti-poaching schedules (p. 31) while the “natural resources program” includes ranger activities to protect wildlife corridors from further shrinkage, undertake wildlife censuses and developing databases on natural resource stocks.

Interestingly, similar to complaints about how problems were prioritized or not prioritized by AWF and CAWM facilitators, some participants argued to me that there was often a discrepancy surrounding the purpose and value of increasing surveillance vis-à-vis ranger programs. On the one side, AWF, CAWM facilitators and District officials saw it as way of better policing poaching and, also, offering a means to better survey and penalize unacceptable resource use. While Enduimet participants did not oppose this, for them, increasing surveillance related to the key problems facing Enduimet, in their perspective: to police the trophy hunting industry and other unwanted tourism activities. It was also about policing other exploitations of their resources by outside business people (e.g. illegal logging and charcoal production).

4. Interventions to bolster tourism revenue

Last, but certainly not least, another key solution for the problems underpinning conservation in Enduimet was enhancing tourism infrastructure and business. “It all comes down to tourism revenue, at the end of the day”, as one AWF staff person put it to me. Rather interestingly, the RZMP lists the purpose of the WMA to be, first and foremost, “To generate revenue from tourism activities” (Monduli District 2005, p.14). In my assessment, it sometimes

seems that protecting wildlife is only secondary in importance in the RZMP – i.e. protecting wildlife merely carries an instrumental value vis-à-vis expanding tourism, rather than carrying an intrinsic value in and of itself. This probably relates to AWF and other trustees' efforts to achieve some sense of legitimacy for the WMA, in the face of early apprehension and resistance. Money was the key legitimating device. As spelled out in Fletcher's work (2010), Foucault argues that the creation of such external incentive structures is the basis of "neoliberal governmentality": a strategy of making subjects and 'conducting conduct' not by the cultivation of internal values and ethics but, rather, the manipulation of external factors that lead subjects in the 'right' direction accordingly.

This focus on revenue generation also serves the purpose of creating self-sufficient communities, on the one hand, and incentivizes people to conserve wildlife, on the other. In terms of the former, as already discussed in Chapter Two, one of the key purposes of the WMA project was to create self-sufficient communities. Noel Castree (2010) argues that this is one of the pillars of nature's neoliberalization: as the state rolls back from its direct role in conservation, it relies on the self-sufficiency of communities to fill the resulting vacuum.

For the Enduimet WMA, the principle of self-sufficiency arises immediately in its vision statement: "[an] integrated, well managed and self-financing WMA in which nationally-important biodiversity is protected, essential ecological processes are sustained, and stakeholders fully support and tangibly benefit from wildlife conservation efforts in the area" (Monduli District, 2003, p. vii). This is further reinforced in its management objectives: "To ensure that the operations of the EWMA are financially sustained by the income generated by the WMA by 2010" (p. viii). It was raised again in discussions about revenue generation during planning

discussions, concluding that “operational and development costs are met through self-financing” (p. 29).

Of course, the means to achieve such self-sufficiency, and incentivize the adoption of conservation ethics and practices among Enduimet residents, was supposed to be global tourism – a ‘sell wildlife to save them’, type logic (McAfee, 1999). The WMA’s management objectives highlight the following: “To ensure that EWMA contributes to 15% towards the per capita income of the people of Enduimet division by 2010” (Monduli District 2003, p. vii). It remains unclear how this number was formulated or what it was based on. Indeed, the RZMP is replete with random goals, stats and assumptions, with seemingly little substantiation. Whatever the origins of the number, it seems to reflect a general pattern of communication from AWF and other facilitators. Essentially, big promises were made about the prospect of tourism revenue. The following statement, from a leader in Lerang’wa, is indicative of promises and expectations. It also indicates the disillusionment that has unfolded in recent years:

All of our meetings included some reference to the money we would get from tourism. I think that one of AWF’s strategies was to convince us that there was a lot of money that would come from tourism, if we started the WMA. Today, most of us feel they lied to us. Where’s all the money they talked about?

As far as it pertains to proposed interventions, early planning discussions focused on bolstering tourism infrastructure, business and visitor opportunities. The RZMP lists the following foci: “diversifying visitor experiences and enjoyment” (Monduli District 2005, p. 29), “marketing EWMA locally and internationally” (p.29), and the “establishment of new visitor facilities” (p.29). Maps were created, indicating key sites for the development of tourism facilities, whether tented camps or luxury lodges. Accordingly, AWF included, in the RZMP,

“Visitor use, development and revenue program” to “enhance visitor experience, enjoyment and satisfaction as well as *generating revenue* that would make EWMA *self-financing* through non-consumptive and consumptive tourism and *through rational use* and allocation of revenue generated from the area” (Monduli District 2003, p.32; emphasis added).

ii. Participatory charades & their discontent

Now that we have looked at many of the processes and activities that constituted the early phases of making the WMA, a few comments are necessary in terms of participation. How participatory was the early planning period? What did engagement look like for Enduimet leaders? There has been much critical scholarship about “participatory charades” in Tanzania’s WMAs and community-based conservation initiatives (Igoe & Croucher, 2007; Goldman, 2003). Scholars argue that, while engagements with communities, including the making of WMAs, are presented as ‘participatory’, in practice, such engagements are often tokenistic and rarely reach past a few select elites. Igoe and Croucher (2007), for example, document how many leaders and inhabitants of Burunge WMA reported little knowledge of what a WMA was or that one had been started in their community.

There are many parallels between Igoe and Croucher’s findings and my observations in Enduimet. The parameters of this dissertation do not allow me to go into detail about these issues. Suffice it to say that, generally-speaking, most leaders conveyed a frustration with the degree of participation. For the most part, there was a strong consensus that the process engaged Enduimet leaders and residents insufficiently. Ultimately, there were very few points of contact between the key facilitators (e.g. AWF and Monduli District officials) and Enduimet leaders and residents. Reportedly, planning events and processes were rushed. Overall, Enduimet leaders and

residents felt their interests were insufficiently heard and integrated into the WMA's planning and design.

For example, the “reconnaissance trip”, mentioned earlier in this chapter, was conducted rapidly over a day period. Only a few leaders were engaged. The planning meetings that underpinned the design of the WMA and the RZMP were conducted quickly via a two-day workshop. These were attended by only a limited number of Enduimet leaders. Attendance was dominated by government officials, NGO personnel and investors. Enduimet leaders argue that the planning discussions were likewise dominated. In sum, according to Enduimet leaders, their participation was tokenistic: indeed, some leaders were present in the few activities that underpinned the creation of the WMA, but their voice and interests remained marginalized. Offering an interesting twist to the popular notion in rural development of “rapid rural appraisal”²² (RRA), one Enduimet youth argued that making the WMA was a form of “rapid rural re-territorialization”.

Indicating such poor participation and limited engagement of the average resident, USAID's evaluation study stated that “the whole WMA concept was considered to be something of a mystery by the village focus groups” (USAID, 2013, p. 17). This study was conducted in 2013, almost 10 years after WMA discussions began in Enduimet, reinforcing just how poorly engagement of the community has been. Certainly, key leaders were engaged, but this does not equate to the participatory claims set forth by AWF and others.

²² The idea of “rapid rural appraisal” was originally proposed by Robert Chambers (1981) in his effort to advocate for more inclusions of rural peasants. The approach has since been criticized for the superficial findings often generated and the way it has been used by development agencies to make false/misleading claims about ‘participation’ and meaningful engagement in ‘development’ projects.

Overall, one of the analogies offered in the quote that began this chapter captures common sentiments well. The leader suggested that the process was like getting in a car, as a passenger. He conceives AWF as the driver, while Enduimet leaders merely the passengers. In the best-case scenario, in this analogy, Enduimet leaders' role was something akin to a "backseat driver", trying to direct the trajectory but ultimately having little control over it. I think this befits much of the early experiences, for Enduimet leaders and residents, while making the WMA. As will be seen in the next chapter, while Enduimet leaders take over the driving seat in later phases, the initial planning and implementation phase included little leadership, control and ownership.

It is worth highlighting that, in 2008, shortly after the design and planning activities were completed, Maya Minwary (2009) spent time in Enduimet, investigating the status of participation in the creation of the WMA. Without going into detail, suffice it to say that Minwary found that participation was limited. She argues that coercive power structures and constraining power relations between central government authorities, NGOs and village-level stakeholders characterized the design and planning meetings. Reflecting other research about the "participatory charades" of Tanzania's ostensibly *community-based* conservation (Goldman, 2003), Minwary (2009) concludes that "Much of the "participatory" policies in creating and facilitating the WMA have remained a mirage rather than a reality" (p.51).

Importantly, my analysis differs somewhat from Minwary's analysis, in one regard. As is common in critical development scholarship, Minwary, at times, at least according to my reading, paints a picture of a seemingly all-powerful government that merely dominates and coerces a submissive Enduimet subject. I try to be more nuanced in my assessment. As I elaborate below, in my account, I conceive Enduimet's early engagement with making the WMA as consciously 'going along for the ride'. Of course, I am sure that there were exceptions to this

but suffice it to say that, in my discussions, Enduimet leaders purposely and consciously adopted a cautious engagement with the WMA and its trustees, at least in the early phase. As they argue, they strategically deferred to the key trustees and experts, namely, central authorities, District Officials, AWF personnel and CAWM consultants. In my experience, this was not simply a matter of domination or coercion but, instead, leaders simply did not want to ‘rock the boat’ too early. Enduimet leaders apparently feigned their assent to it all, knowing that ‘their time would come’. Of course, as already mentioned, such an assessment may not be applicable to all the leaders who were engaged in making the WMA, but, at least in most of my discussions, this was conveyed by those I spoke with. While needing to be cautious of such claims²³, I gained a strong impression from leaders that, at least to some degree, a “political optics” was at play. I discuss this in more detail below.

iii. Being Maasai in a WMA

In her analysis of “institutional bricolage”, De Koning argues that “articulation” is one strategy to refuse state reforms, or, at least, some of their unwanted elements. Not to be misunderstood by other uses of ‘articulation’ in the social sciences (see Li’s use, for example, in Li 2000), she uses the concept to simply denote the resistance that emerges when groups face new reforms that are perceived as threats to their identity, customary institutions and well-being (2011, p.306). To put it simply, when faced with ominous reforms, groups or communities ‘speak out’ in an effort to preserve what is important to them – a ‘digging in their heels’, if you will. Arguably, the concept of “refusal”, as recently conceived in some anthropological literature,

²³ There is always the risk, in research like this, that leaders strategically conveyed to me a more positive picture of themselves and the nature of their engagement than was actually the case.

may be a more apt term: “To refuse is to say no. But, no, it is not just that. To refuse can be generative and strategic, a deliberate move toward one thing, belief, practice, or community and away from another” (McGranahan, 2016).

I argue that such ‘articulation’ (i.e. refusal) can be seen in the early phases of beginning the WMA. Articulation is worth highlighting, as such processes re-emerge with a vengeance in the WMA’s second phase. To be specific, I use articulation to refer to Enduimet leaders and residents’ persistent declarations and assertions about “being Maasai” and “being people of livestock” (Galaty, 1982) – their refusal of conservation orthodoxies or tourism exploitations that would be most content with their absence from the WMA. Since the introduction of the WMA, Enduimet leaders and residents were uncompromising in their assertion that the WMA should not interfere with traditional grazing patterns or abrogate pastoralist values. The strong feelings surrounding this issue are captured in the following statement, which arose in one WMA meeting where a visiting AWF staff person suggested that more restrictions on livestock would benefit the WMA. An AA leader quickly jumped up and exclaimed,

We’ve always said that the WMA must not only protect wildlife but also livestock. We will never separate livestock from wildlife. Where wildlife go, livestock go. This is how it has always been and always will be. If the government ever tries to separate livestock and wildlife, that will be the end of the WMA in Enduimet. We will close it.

Suffice it to say that to “be Maasai” and to also “be a WMA” meant livestock remained paramount, the integration of grazing in the WMA remained quintessential. If “being Maasai” was ever compromised, then, Enduimet leaders made clear, the WMA would be likewise compromised (i.e. eliminated).



Figure 25 Enduimet WMA's Logo, highlighting the integrative nature and livelihood priorities of the WMA

One popular tale retold to me, and which Minwary (2009) also captured in her research, illustrates the emphasis on livestock-wildlife integration in Enduimet. As the story goes, when government surveyors began setting boundary markers (e.g. beacons) to designate the WMA, anxiety among village residents heightened. Rumors spread that the government would steal the land and restrict livestock. Subsequently, a delegation of residents approached the elected chairman of the WMA. The chairman consoled them and reinforced the WMA's uncompromising position about integration. To secure this position, the delegation proposed that an *olmurran* shield should be placed on the WMA beacons. The shield, it was argued, would remind the government and everyone else that, in Enduimet, the WMA is reserved for both livestock and wildlife. It would be a "Maasai WMA", as was always asserted, that would never privilege wildlife over livestock. The shield, according to these Enduimet residents, would

symbolize “being Maasai”, the indigenous demands to protect their livelihood and the persistent demand for integrative approaches.

The logo, which was created by Enduimet leaders, in 2004, to represent the Enduimet CBO, captures the articulation and refusal that characterized early engagements with the WMA (see Figure 25). In many discussions, whether it be about existing grazing stipulations or my concerns about the government imposing tighter restrictions, CBO members would draw my attention to the logo. For them, it symbolized the values that will not be compromised by the WMA. The logo includes images of an elephant, Mount Kilimanjaro, a tree, livestock being herded by an *olmurran*, and a woman carrying firewood. All of these converged in ways that represent Enduimet’s conception of the WMA and its integration with “being Maasai”. As described in the CBO’s constitution, (CBO, 2005), the elephant captures the purpose of conserving wildlife for the benefit of Enduimet’s economic development. The constitution reads that “wildlife have the right to be protected and conserved *for the benefit* of the Enduimet community” (Enduimet CBO, p. 3; emphasis added). For Enduimet leaders, “for the benefit” of the Enduimet community is an important clause, reflecting their concerns about the exploitation and alienation that has otherwise characterized historical patterns of international tourism in Enduimet. The image of Mount Kilimanjaro and the tree represents all the natural resources that Enduimet depends on. Most importantly, the *olmurran* and livestock reflect the values of integration: “it means that we can’t be separated from the area”, one leader explained to me. Another immediately followed up with the assertion, “we have always been part of the land”. Notably, the constitution describes these two symbols as “livestock and herders in the WMA, which *have the right to graze* in the WMA” (Enduimet CBO, 2005, p.5). Put simply, the image represents the asserted indissoluble right to graze in the WMA and to maintain their customary use of Enduimet’s resources. In

similar fashion, the woman carrying firewood represents, “the right of Enduimet community members to obtain dried wood for the purpose of household fire from the WMA” (Enduimet CBO, p. 5).

In general, these tenets of the WMA were enshrined in the CBO’s constitution, which is perceived by leaders as the ultimate authority overseeing the governance of the WMA. At the outset of the document, upon defining the size and boundaries of the WMA, a clause is immediately inserted that states, “unless it is an area specifically designated for investment [i.e. meaning the small areas designated to tourist lodges], the conservation area will be also used for livestock grazing” (Enduimet CBO, 2005, p. 1). Other clauses go on to state that while permanent settlements aren’t allowed, temporary settlements for seasonal herding are permitted. In general, the constitution reads as a pastoralist manifesto of sorts; a manifesto, I argue, of “being Maasai” in a WMA.

iv. The role of political optics

In light of such adamant articulations of Maasai identity and livelihood, the most shocking thing that I learned in my early research period is that, in fact, significant grazing restrictions were included in the first RZMP. As illustrated above, it contained alarming stipulations that highly regulated and restricted livestock from the WMA’s largest zone, the Ronjoo zone (Monduli District, 2005, p. 21). Notably, I had already been in Enduimet for several months before I finally obtained a copy of this original RZMP. By this time, I had been exploring the early phases of making the WMA. I was inspired by Enduimet leaders’ persistent assertion about prioritizing livestock. I had already reviewed the second RZMP, which, as discussed in the next

chapter, had no restrictions. As a result, you can imagine my surprise when I finally reviewed the original RZMP and encountered its severe restrictions on livestock.

What were these restrictions? How do we understand their inclusion? To recall, in the Ronjoo zone, which encompasses about 80 % of Enduimet's traditional territory, the "limits of acceptable use" state 120,000 cattle in wet season and 400 cattle in dry season (Monduli District, p.22). The RZMP illustrates that there are approximately 96,000 livestock in Enduimet (32,000 Cattle, 33,000 Goats, 29,000 Sheep and 2,000 Donkeys) (Monduli District 2005, p. 11). With this in mind, the wet season numbers are, arguably, acceptable. The absurdity arises with the dry season stipulations: if we consider the implication of this stipulation (i.e. only 400 cattle permitted in the zone), Enduimet residents were expected to essentially migrate out of the Enduimet region with nearly all of their livestock (with the exception of 400 fortunate cattle). In other words, according to the logic of these numbers and stipulations, 31,600 cattle of the 32,000 were expected to find grazing outside of Enduimet. It is important to remember that all the other zones of Enduimet are essentially under cultivation and permanent settlements. Where were all the livestock expected to go? While certainly Enduimet residents often migrate beyond the borders of Enduimet, as is common under the customary system (especially in times of drought), mandating that 98% of the community's livestock must do so, essentially through the entire months of July to November is, frankly, absurd. Similar absurdity relates to stipulations on goats, sheep and donkey grazing, which I will not go into here. All in all, it leaves one to imagine that the expectation must have been either mass migration out of the area and/or mass destocking, both of which are untenable.

After reviewing the first RZMP, I was invariably left with the questions, how do I reconcile the strong articulation of being Maasai that was argued to me so forcefully, with the serious

exclusions of livestock and grazing regulations that were included in the RZMP? Why did Enduimet leaders seemingly permit such absurd “limits of acceptable use” to be formulated in the first RZMP? For months, I carried a copy of the first RZMP, bringing it out for discussion whenever possible. In my analysis, I came to three answers and mediating factors that explain the absurd stipulations.

First, many Enduimet leaders hold up the CBO’s constitution as the primary document that oversees the WMA. For many leaders, this document supersedes anything said in the RZMP, so they indicated to me that they cared little about what was included in the RZMP. Based on my discussions with lawyers, this is a false understanding: contrary to popular perceptions, the RZMP is the only policy document that legally oversees land use in the WMA; essentially, once approved by the Wildlife Director, the land use regulations included in the RZMP become official by-laws and take precedence over any competing policies, laws and regulatory mechanisms. Notwithstanding such legal facts, a false belief in the constitution’s supremacy still persists in Enduimet. In one meeting, I witnessed a prominent leader convince other AA members that “the RZMP does not matter. The constitution is most important. And, in the constitution, it is clear that livestock will always be included in the WMA”.

Second, it was clear in my discussions that some Enduimet participants did not know that such stipulations were included in the RZMP. This was likely due to how quickly the RZMP was formulated: e.g. as outlined above, it was essentially compiled via one data collection trip and two workshops, invoking the criticisms about insufficient engagement and participation. It also relates to literacy factors: the RZMP was never translated to Swahili, so was inaccessible to most leaders. Ultimately, it reflects how poorly engaged many leaders were throughout the process and, further, how quickly many early activities of making the WMA were completed, especially

the planning meetings: reportedly, intense donor and government pressure necessitated rapid fulfillment of many steps.

Of most interest, in my analysis, is what I refer to as ‘political optics’. The most common response I received from many Enduimet leaders was that “we didn’t care what was included. It was just numbers. They didn’t mean anything”. Likewise, some participants responded that, “we knew that the regulations wouldn’t be enforced”. They also stated that, “we included them to please the government and donors. We knew they wanted to see policies to restrict grazing, so we did that. It doesn’t mean anything”. In my analysis, these statements reveal much about how Enduimet leaders strategically engaged the WMA project, at least during initial phases. Often, pretense was paramount: e.g. publicly feigning compliance and acceptance of grazing regulations while, privately, asserting refusal of them. This is something akin to what James Scott (1985) famously called “weapons of the weak” and “everyday forms of peasant resistance”. At least in part, this was spurred by a general understanding that the Wildlife Director was more likely to approve Enduimet’s application if it contained grazing restrictions. One Enduimet leader went so far as to say that AWF facilitators actually advised Enduimet leaders to accept the proposed grazing regulations to please the Wildlife Director, irrespective of intentions to actually enforce them. Such decisions and pretense also reflect Enduimet leaders’ distinct ‘political imagination’, as discussed in the last chapter. Leaders imagined the state as incapable of enforcing the regulations. Furthermore, words on paper were perceived as carrying little weight, in practice.

As I reflected on the above findings, I recalled Michael Herzfeld’s (2005) engagement with James Scott’s work, wherein he emphasizes the role of “political optics” in the practice of implementing, and manipulating, state projects. He illustrates how government bureaucrats and other project stakeholders strategically convey projects in such a way that meets official

objectives and designs while, in practice, they manipulate state objectives and projects to accommodate local contexts and interests. Local project implementers and other stakeholders create an official illusion of implementing state projects and maintaining official policies while, in fact, adjusting and accommodating them. This nicely parallels Mosse's analysis of "cultivating development" (Mosse, 2005), whereby actors at every scale and stage of a development project carefully maintain well-manicured images that reflect official policies yet, at the same time, always brokering, appropriating and altering plans in practice.

As seen in the above participants' statements, this is one way of understanding the discrepancies I witnessed. I maintain that Enduimet leaders, at least those that knew about them, went along with these proposed stipulations in the RZMP so as to maintain an optics of making pristine wilderness (e.g. restricting livestock from the WMA). In practice, though, leaders remained adamant that they would always maintain customary movement and livestock use. For them, the RZMP document meant little to everyday practice. In general, I argue that such a way of strategically engaging and manipulating the WMA characterizes much of Enduimet leaders' ideas and practices vis-à-vis the WMA.

Conclusion

The CAWM consultants and AWF personnel finished writing the final draft of the RZMP by March 2005. This was the most significant, final part of the WMA application. While it is debatable whether the final draft of the RZMP (which remained in English) was well circulated or legitimately approved by villages, it was nonetheless included in the application package compiled by AWF. AWF delivered it to Monduli District authorities, who then submitted it to the Wildlife Director. By 2007, the Wildlife Director approved the application and gazetted the

designated area. In so doing, the Director formally issued user-rights over wildlife to the Enduimet AA.

An article in the Arusha Times in August 2007 (Nkwame, 2007) illustrates the hope and promise felt by Enduimet leaders, not to mention some of the politics that the WMA invariably provoked. The title of the article is revealing: “Villages granted total authority over wildlife: Investors uneasy about business prospects” (Nkwame, 2007). Albeit exaggerating WMA authority (e.g. “total” authority), the article celebrates that “Eight villages... have been bestowed with total authority over the abundant wildlife species found in their vicinity”. It continues,

This move puts the local residents in a position to enter into any contract with foreign investors and local firms that may be interested in carrying out, either game hunting or animal viewing tourism in the area. The residents are also in a position to terminate game hunting and tourism business operations currently being undertaken by some firms that have been setting camp in the locality for many years now.

Following this statement, the author then highlights another key dimension and challenge of the WMA: investors’ concerns about the prospect of increasing fees and the prospect of new challenges vis-à-vis contract negotiations with the new management body. The author illustrates the wariness that investors felt, as historical status quos were thrown into disarray and they were presented with a new playing field, including a prominent new actor, the Enduimet CBO/AA.

As will be seen, the author of this article was remarkably prescient. He seemed to capture many of Enduimet leaders’ foci and objectives for joining the WMA (e.g. repositioning themselves vis-à-vis the state and market) and the intensive politics that unfold in Enduimet in later phases (e.g. conflicts with investors).

As I have framed it, the early planning and implementation period, from roughly 2002 until 2010, reflects a technical period of making the WMA. Building the CBO was the first process and step. It brings together a relatively formidable collection of Enduimet leaders, comprising an array of political experience, histories and capital (e.g. especially the political and social capital discussed earlier). The CBO becomes, at once, a representative body of the community and the administrative infrastructure of government. Another key process was making Enduimet legible and creating administrative controls. Following on Scott, I argue that with these developments, Enduimet became visible, legible, seen – and, therefore, governable – in new ways. In line with Li's idea of a “practice of government”, a rendering technical begins to define the WMA's early phase, whereby an “intelligible field” was composed and technical solutions proposed. While Enduimet leaders entered the planning meetings with political matters on their minds, these were displaced, for the most part, in line with the priorities of AWF, CAWM consultants and District officials – in other words, the “trustees”, as Tania Li conceives such actors. According to my discussions, while Enduimet leaders were most concerned about exploitation, alienation, corruption and marginalization vis-à-vis the tourism industry, other commercial enterprises and government decision-making, WMA design and planning were steered largely to the simple tropes of too many people, too many livestock, misuse and mismanagement of resources, and degradation. Accordingly, the programs that subsequently arose were focused on zoning, land use stipulations, conservation education, heightened surveillance and bolstering tourism enterprise.

The point I want to stress in this chapter is that much of the early period – the ‘making’ of the WMA, as I conceive it – reflects Li's “practice of government” (2006, p.12) and the rendering technical that comprises it. This is what defined the design and planning phase.

The practice of government is largely characterized by processes of rendering technical and designing “calculated programs for its realization” (p.12). Li sums it up by referencing Nicolaus Rose: “A whole set of practices concerned with representing ‘the domain to be governed as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics...’” (Rose, 1999; in Li, p. 7) Also borrowing from Rose, Li specifies that much of today’s practice of government includes a dimension of “government through community” (Li, 2007, p.232). Essentially, ‘communities’ come into being through government interventions, often being made anew, including the formation of new bodies and organization (e.g. Enduimet’s CBO) to represent them and, most importantly, become the administrative vehicle of government. Li (2007) describes this as follows:

To construct an arena of intervention, experts had to identify or create groups that could hold meetings and prepare plans. Only then could social forces be enrolled and calculations applied. In this spirit, groups were made visible, formalized, and improved where they already existed, crafted where they were absent, or resuscitated where they were disappearing. (p. 235)

Overall, this amounts to a reshuffling of state-society relations, the making and emergence of responsible ‘communities’ (and their respective organs) and, subsequently, new regulatory spaces that can ensure the production of rural subjects who ‘freely’ adopt the ethics, values and behaviours that accommodate environmental projects.

I maintain that such theories help conceive the processes of making the WMA in Enduimet. All the processes of making the WMA – from creating the CBO; to making Enduimet legible with new data, maps, plans and zones; to creating administrative controls; framing and prioritizing problems; and, finally, devising technical programs – reflect the practice of

government, rendering technical and the creation of a regulatory community as an instrument of government.

I contend that a practice of politics was largely subdued and overshadowed in this period. Albeit, a practice of politics is witnessed in some of the above discussions, engagements, concerns, and the articulation of ‘being Maasai’. Nevertheless, a “practice of government” always looms large and, I argue, defines the period.

A “will to conserve” is never static, though. While politics and issues of political-economy were “constitutive exclusions” (Li, 2005, p.5) during the *making* of the WMA, they become defining features of *re-making* it. This demonstrates Li’s argument that, while political-economic issues may be initially excluded in development planning and programs, they do not wither away but, instead, emerge in unexpected ways through the duration of development initiatives. I now turn to a look at this latter period (e.g. *remaking* the WMA during its second phase of evolution and operationalization), whereby the practice of politics emerges forcefully, begins to loom large and rearticulates practices of government in unexpected ways.

CHAPTER 4

REMAKING THE WMA

When we started the WMA, we just followed the instructions of AWF and government officials. We didn't ask questions. We didn't criticize anything. We just wanted to please the government in order to get the WMA passed. By 2010, when we began writing the second RZMP, everything was different. We began driving the program. The WMA was ours. We had no reason to hide anything anymore.

(Elerai AA representative, 2013)



Introduction

At the beginning of the last chapter, I shared a quote about the “long journey” of making the WMA. It included a commentary about the nature of Enduimet’s early engagement; essentially, the leader argued that AWF was the driver and Enduimet leaders the passengers. I argued this was a good analogy with how processes unfolded in Enduimet. As seen in the last chapter, though, the analogy may be more fitting if we could add the role of the government as conductor, not to mention other consultants (e.g. CAWM advisors) as co-conductors. Together, it can be said, they drove the practice of government that primarily characterized the first phase of the WMA and the making of it.

In the second phase of the WMA, things began to change. This chapter looks at the period between 2010 and 2016, which included the compiling of a new RZMP and introduced a period of politicization. As seen in the quote above, Enduimet leaders began “driving the program.” They began seeing it as their own. This speaker illuminates something very important: by 2010, Enduimet leaders began taking more control of the WMA, repositioning themselves within it, asserting their interests, and, ultimately, steering it in new ways and directions.

As will be seen, if a practice of government defined *making* the WMA, the practice of politics defines the *remaking* of it. It reflects a transition, of sort, between the making legible and rendering technical that defined Enduimet leaders' early engagement to a period in which rendering political comes to define the WMA's trajectory. To be clear, although I sometimes speak about this as a transition from one to the other, in fact, it is more like a merging, a coming together, or an articulation of the two. Notwithstanding such articulations, at different times in the WMA's evolution, certain practices become more visible and salient than others. In the early period of the WMA, I maintain that a practice of government was most apparent. Of course, it remains present through later periods, but, as my argument goes, the practice of politics begins to emerge as well and take on a new prominence. Notably, running parallel and intersecting with Enduimet's emerging practice of politics is a certain "becoming indigenous" that begins to animate WMA politics (Hodgson, 2011).

In the following, before looking at the processes and events that unfold in the second phase of the WMA, a note on Sinya's new membership is important. Notably, the reasons behind Sinya's redirection and its interests in the WMA illuminate the broader changes and politicization of the WMA. Following a look at Sinya, I analyze the new RZMP, which includes a focus on the changing nature of Enduimet leaders' engagement and some of the new framing and foci that characterize the second RZMP. This analysis highlights how the WMA begins to be remade and foreshadows subsequent actions of Enduimet leaders. In the third section, I illustrate some actions taken via the RZMP against trophy hunting and against the prior restrictions on livestock in the WMA. The fourth section considers how, starting in 2012, Enduimet leaders begin to confront rural tourism's hidden economy, redressing historic patterns of exploitation.

The fifth section looks at Enduimet leaders' efforts to reject or evict unwanted investors, wherein "becoming indigenous" is increasingly visible.

In my analysis, each of these efforts highlight the politics and struggles that define the WMA's new trajectory. They reflect how leaders redirect the WMA and steer it toward their political aspirations, achieving more control and sovereignty vis-à-vis an unruly tourism industry and troublesome central government.

i. Understanding Sinya's redirection

In much of the critical literature about WMAs and conservation in Tanzania, Sinya Village has been held up as a bastion of resistance, autonomy and entrepreneurialism (Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary, & Maganga, 2013; Homewood, Kristjanson, & Trench, 2009). The village is perceived by many as trailblazing the private, joint-venture photographic tourism that arose in the 90s. Furthermore, despite many pressures from AWF and government authorities, it was lauded for its persistent rejection of the WMA in 2005 and asserting its village sovereignty vis-à-vis a centralized and, sometimes, autocratic state.

As described in Chapter One, by the late 90s, Sinya entered into a joint-venture with a company called Tanganyika Wilderness Camps (TWC). It began accruing relatively large amounts of revenue (e.g. \$40,000 USD/year), which was the source of its apprehension about and, ultimately, rejection of the WMA. Essentially, the costs of joining, in terms of land and revenue, outweighed the benefits. Despite being part of all the planning processes and activities from 2002-2005 – including a promotional/educational trip to a WMA in southern Tanzania which was intended to convince Sinya leaders – Sinya finally withdrew themselves from the

WMA application by late 2005. Sinya's rejection persisted until 2009. In 2010, though, they officially joined the WMA and became involved in steering and redirecting it.

What happened between 2005 and 2009? How do we understand Sinya's change in position ? In my analysis, it relates to three key factors: state policies that recentralized and undermined private, joint-venture village tourism; a long history of grievance against trophy hunting; and deep disappointment with unruly investors and corrupt government officials.

Regarding state policies, two new conservation and tourism policies greatly affected Sinya. First, in 2008, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) released the Wildlife Conservation (Non-Consumptive Wildlife Utilization) Regulations. Essentially, these regulations undermined the feasibility of most private, village joint-ventures in Tanzania. Among other things, these regulations required tour operators to obtain permits from the Wildlife Division for any wildlife utilization activities in game-controlled areas, implicating Sinya's ventures. It set out rigid fees for staying in GCAs and all other tourism activities (e.g. game-viewing drives, walking safaris, etc). The fees were required to be paid directly to the central government, making payments to villages illegitimate. Effectively, this policy debilitated Sinya's joint-ventures, making most of their arrangements illegal and their tourism revenue began to dry up. One Sinya leader recalled to me that "in 2009, we went to the bank. We anticipated that there would be some money. The bank told us the account had been closed due to inaction. We hadn't had a transaction in a long time, they said. From so much money to nothing. This is where we had arrived".

In 2009, the Wildlife Conservation Act (MNRT, 2008b) provoked a whole new assault on Sinya leaders' authority over their land. In a highly contentious and, arguably, impractical move, the Act prohibited human settlement and use in Tanzania's Game Controlled Areas (GCAs). This

was contentious because many rural populations primarily depend on resources in GCAs and most GCAs overlap, if not totally encompass, village lands. Sinya is a case of the latter. The Longido GCA entirely overlaps with village land and so the Act posed new threats to Sinya's village sovereignty and land security. As such, the Act required the government to redraw GCA and village boundaries to resolve the conflict, which meant a potentially significant loss of village territory. One option to avoid this was to join the WMA. Once gazetted as a WMA, the land's previous GCA status would be eliminated. This became the District authority's main message to Sinya leaders. One leader recalled that "The District Commission and the Member of Parliament told us that due to the new conservation law, we may lose our land."

Another important factor that influenced Sinya's decision was their historic grievances, tribulations and losses from trophy hunting, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. Suffice it to say here that after many years of being embroiled in a property battle with the Northern Hunting Company, the Tanzanian High Court ruled in favor of Northern Hunting. The effect of this ruling meant that Sinya was prohibited from conducting photographic tourism on their village land. In rather rapid fashion, Sinya essentially lost all its user-rights to wildlife. For the vast majority of Sinya leaders²⁴, their grudge against trophy hunting grew exponentially.

The third factor that played a role in joining the WMA was Sinya's experience with another unruly investor, Shu'mata Camp. Shu'mata is a sister company of Hatari Lodge owned and operated primarily by a German investor. Shu'mata has been pivotal to Sinya's history and continues to influence Enduimet WMA's trajectory. I describe its conflict with Sinya and the Enduimet WMA in Chapter 6. It is important here to note that Shu'mata entered Sinya under

²⁴ Like most rural tourism ventures, Northern Hunting Company had developed a small contingent of leaders as allies. Reportedly, Northern Hunting offered them various financial and other gifts in return for their support. By 2007 many of these leaders lost power due to their relations with the company.

seemingly dubious conditions in 2007. Despite repeated efforts to create a contract with the company, which would spell out a benefit sharing scheme, the company continually eluded these attempts. Relationships soured between the company and Sinya leaders, amidst allegations that the company mistreated Sinya, disregarded leaders' requests and interests, and shared little revenue with them. Sinya leaders tried to evict the company but District authorities intervened in support of it. Expectedly, many accusations emerged about corruption and collusion between Shu'mata and government authorities. In short, the village sovereignty that Sinya once held onto seemingly began to erode.

According to most of the Sinya leaders I spoke with, the conflicts and losses with the Northern Hunting Company and Shu'mata were what primarily redirected Sinya's decision to join the WMA. Of course, it would be naïve to discount the role of government coercion in the decision, given the amount of pressure that was put on Sinya leaders by District authorities, the local Member of Parliament and others. Financial considerations must have also played a significant role in Sinya's decision to join: by 2009, the WMA represented what seemed to be their last remaining avenue for accruing tourism revenue, after other avenues were compromised by court rulings or new regulations. Something was better than nothing. Nevertheless, remarkably, these above factors were rarely raised in my conversations. Instead, leaders focused on the idea that the WMA may offer a certain instrumental, political value: for them, and what I came to realize was a perspective common among many Enduimet leaders, the WMA held more potential to assert local sovereignty in the face of the perceived, combined threats of central government authorities and foreign investors. One leader succinctly summed up the reason Sinya joined the WMA in the following: "We wanted to get rid of Northern Hunting and Shu'mata. As a village we failed. Our voice was never heard. In the WMA, we would join many voices. We

would have more strength.” Essentially, the village sovereignty that Sinya once epitomized and held onto had eroded by 2009. The sovereignty supposedly promised by the WMA was basically the next best thing.

Although joining the WMA represented a “lesser of the evils” choice, it was undoubtedly seen to afford new possibilities to redress historical grievances and the corrupt politics that Sinya had experienced. Like many indigenous struggles (Allen, Bird, Breslow, & Dolšak, 2017), I argue that joining the WMA was largely part of a “stronger together” logic and, ultimately, an effort to “protect local sovereignty” (Allen et al., 2017, p. 169). As will be seen in their conflicts with investors, Enduimet leaders commonly refer to having “one voice.” A common expression, in this regard, is that “we sing with one voice.” This was shared in a number of contexts, from fighting grazing regulations, to shared spite towards an investor, to united efforts to expel unwanted investors. All of these themes begin to characterize much of the WMA’s second phase as Sinya unites with the rest of Enduimet, who shared similar grievances, logics, and objectives.

ii. Remaking Enduimet’s RZMP: renewed engagements and new framings

Enduimet’s first RZMP expired in 2010. In 2011, now with Sinya as its newest member, the AA leaders embarked on compiling a new RZMP. Composing the second RZMP included a “field reconnaissance trip” (e.g. a visit to Enduimet by CAWM consultants), several meetings with AA and village leaders, two successive workshops that identified key issues, formulating a zoning strategy, and creating other programs to fulfill the WMA’s objectives. As before, this was all funded by USAID and facilitated by AWF and District government officials with technical advice and writing support from CAWM faculty (i.e. consultants). The first workshop was held over a two-day period on the 4th and 5th of April 2011. This provided the basis for compiling a

draft of the RZMP, which was then presented and approved by the AA in the second workshop on August 24th, 2011. The draft was submitted to the Wildlife Director in September. After some stalling and apparent apprehension from the Wildlife Division, which I touch on below, it was approved on January 11, 2012.

This section outlines and analyzes some of the new engagements, emphases, and changes that arose in the planning and final draft of the RZMP. I dissected many of its parts in discussions with Enduimet leaders and sometimes CAWM consultants and AWF personnel. I use the new foci, concepts, and emphases that arose in these discussions, and in the actual RZMP document, as an indication of patterns that unfold throughout the WMA's second phase. I argue that they are symbolic of the politicization trends that unfold in and begin defining the WMA, breathing new life into the WMA and Enduimet's engagement with it.

As already indicated, this is what I refer to as a process of rendering political. The politics and political economy issues that were sidelined and left percolating below the surface during the first phase boil to the surface during the compilation of the second RZMP. They then come to fruition in subsequent actions. While processes of rendering technical certainly persist, simultaneous processes of rendering political begin to eclipse them and articulate the WMA in novel ways.

a. The changing nature of engagement

A few comments about the nature of Enduimet leaders' engagement, starting in 2010, is relevant. Firstly, the degree of participation, at least for Enduimet leaders, changed quite significantly. One CAWM consultant exclaimed to me that

In the first round, Enduimet leaders participated little. In fact, if you look at meeting lists, there were relatively few leaders that even participated. For the second RZMP, there were so many leaders. Everyone was eager to join. They really participated. They asked questions. They challenged us. They really took ownership of the whole process.

An AWF staff person similarly argued, “nothing was done without their approval...this condition was made very clear to us by leaders and we respected that.”

Remarkably, the size and composition of planning meetings indicate some change compared to compiling the first RZMP. The number of participants increased quite significantly. According to AWF and CAWM facilitators, up to 200 stakeholders were engaged in the process, most of whom were AA leaders, village leaders, and residents. The planning meetings included over 100 Enduimet leaders, village leaders, and other stakeholders. Suffice it to say that Enduimet leaders came out in much larger numbers and, importantly, they were offered more avenues for engagement (e.g. meetings and other engagements with AWF, CAWM consultants and District officials).

The composition of planning meetings is especially indicative of changes. In the 2005 meetings, CBO leaders and village leaders only made up a very small proportion of stakeholders. They were significantly outnumbered by the cadre of NGO personnel, central government authorities, District authorities, CAWM consultants, business investors and operators, and other externally-based stakeholders. Some leaders recalled to me, about those meetings, that it was difficult to speak up. It was an intimidating environment given the numbers and newness of it all. In 2010, things were different. Given the large showing of Enduimet leaders and, reportedly, a greater familiarity with the WMA, the scale was weighted in reverse. Leaders felt more confident and their voices were more prominent in the planning meetings.

There was a collection of new trustees who also influenced planning processes and Enduimet's engagement. First and foremost, the second RZMP meetings included the new Longido District Commissioner. Longido had become its own District in 2007, assuming the previous powers of Monduli District. The DC of Longido was a Maasai from northern Tanzania. In my interactions with him, he was a strong proponent of the WMA, although refreshingly cautious about its potential impact on pastoral livelihoods.

Some of the AWF and CAWM personnel were different. For example, there was a new Director of AWF's Kilimanjaro heartland program. This Director was from South Sudan and received a Master's degree in Conservation and Management from University of Reading, UK. She had worked with AWF in Kenya since the late 90s. By all accounts, she was well-respected by WMA leaders. My inquiries suggested that she was a strong proponent for communities. She had previously worked in Kenya's Samburu area in the north. Some Enduimet leaders argued that this offered her an appreciation for the compatibility between conservation and pastoralism. Some argued that her experience in Kenya, a country that has maintained a very critical stance on trophy hunting, made her inclined to oppose the industry.

There were also some new Maasai AWF personnel that served as community development officers (CDOs). In my experience, these CDOs played an influential role in liaising between AWF and the community. To use Lewis and Mosse's (Lewis & Mosse, 2006) concept, they served as important brokers between AWF and the community, often steering AWF in ways that benefited the community (e.g. emphasizing the priority of livestock and its complementary relationship with conservation). For the most part, they were trusted on both sides.

There were some new faces from CAWM that included new faculty joining the planning process and compiling the RZMP. According to my conversations, they brought with them some

new ideas and critical perspectives. Notably, between the first and second phase of the WMA many of the CAWM faculty had embarked on graduate studies at a host of international institutions, such as University of Reading and University of Bangor in UK, studying topics from rural sociology to conservation biology. One of the facilitators emphasized to me how much he had learned through this experience: most remarkably, a lot of the critical perspectives concerning conservation and rural development. In one conversation, he made reference to WMAs and their relation to rural displacements, even using the term “green grabbing”.

Whether due to the changes in trustees and their characteristics or other factors, for many of the leaders I spoke with the process of forming the second RZMP reflected a very different facilitative and participatory environment than the first RZMP planning meetings. This include the integration of new, so-called, participatory approaches. For example, “stake-holder analysis” (Longido District, 2011, p.5) sought to outline the key expectations of different stakeholder groups and the implications of not meeting these (Longido District Council, 2011). It also introduced so-called, “interactive approaches” that included methods like the “nominal group technique” that seeks to integrate all voices into decision making and build consensus across interest groups (Longido District, 2011, p.6).

The second RZMP explicitly highlights a different approach compared to what is documented in the first RZMP. It begins with a new concept of “ownership,” which didn’t arise in the first RZMP. There is an emphasis on “key principles of participatory planning in order to ensure *true ownership* of the RZMP by the EAA [Enduimet Authorized Association]” (Longido District, 2011, p. iii; emphasis added). In one place, the RZMP refers to historic processes as “extractive methods” (Longido District, p. 4). Lamenting how things were done in the past, it goes on to say

Many times plans do not respond to the reality and the specific needs. The people who should use them often do not see them as instruments to achieve an effective and efficient management of protected areas because a few technical people prepare majority of these plans. Thus, it was felt that key to successful plan implementation of the plan was to involve those interests directly or indirectly affected by the EWMA. (Longido District, p.4)

Another section is entitled “Ownership of the plan” and indicates the following:

It was felt that in order to guarantee effective implementation of the plan, the EAA and EWMA staff and indigenous residents must feel that they own the plan. Unless the ownership was made certain, implementation of the plan may not be possible. (p.5)

Enduimet leaders argued that such an emphasis on ownership arose from their persistent complaints to CAWM facilitators and AWF personnel about how things had unfolded during the compiling of the first RZMP. They insisted that the RZMP must reflect Enduimet leaders’ priorities and interests. “Not the priorities of investors and government officials”, they asserted.

What was brought to my attention quite frequently was how Enduimet leaders’ engagement in the second RZMP consisted of new strategies to enrol and mobilize support from CAWM, AWF, and other trustees. My discussions frequently revealed efforts to lobby and influence them. The chairman of the AA argued:

This is why you see such a different RZMP. We advised him [i.e. the main CAWM consultant]. From the beginning to the end. We told him how it was done the first time. We complained. We told him we would not accept this again. He listened to us.

It seems clear that Enduimet leaders made some new, strategic allies among the new trustees. From what I could deduce, their criticisms and interests did not fall on deaf ears, they enrolled them in their cause and mobilized their support in new ways.

With all of this in mind, it should be noted that the second RZMP frames Enduimet leaders and residents in new ways, which, I argue, reflects their new engagement with, and position in, the WMA. In the second RZMP, reference to “indigenous peoples” and “indigenous knowledge” became common. We already witnessed this in the above reference to ownership – e.g. the RZMP states that “indigenous residents” must feel that they own the plan (Longido District, 2011, p.5). The opening list of stakeholders includes a description: “indigenous residents with indigenous knowledge and skills” (Longido District, 2010, p. 5). One of the “exceptional resources” listed in the RZMP is the “cultures of the local people” (p.22). Remarkably, based on the persistent assertions from Enduimet leaders, the RZMP argues, “The Maasai culture has withstood the tide of change that has swept most other ethnic communities in East Africa.” (Longido District, 2011, p. 22). It goes on to assert that their pastoral way of life is threatened and that indigenous sovereignty should be respected: “the Maasai have the right of self-determination and those who wish to maintain pastoral traditions should be encouraged and actively supported.” (Longido District, p.22). Making the point even more clear, it states: “*The actions of others* should not be allowed to force the Maasai into giving up the values associated with their unique lifestyle” (Longido District, p. 22). According to my discussions, this emphasis on indigenous rights and sovereignty reflected leaders’ persistent assertions in planning meetings. Unlike the first RZMP, leaders made their interests loud and clear. Interestingly, following on concerns from the first phase, the “action of others”, in the above excerpt,

apparently referred to foreign investors and conservationists who wanted to place restrictions on livestock in the WMA.

The first RZMP had no mention of “indigenous people.” Including it in the second RZMP was quite a politically contentious move, given that the Tanzanian government opposes the concept. When I asked the CAWM facilitator about this, he stated that this was emphasized by Enduimet leaders and so was included in the report accordingly. It was clear, though, that he was sympathetic to their plight and was familiar with indigeneity discourse and claims.

Remarkably, the focus on traditional ecological knowledge conceives Enduimet leaders and residents as best equipped to design and manage the zonal plan. In one location, the new RZMP laments the omission of local knowledge and subsequent implications for the RZMP’s implementation (or lack thereof):

Until recently and this is still being doing in many places, planning has generally been done by consultants or a small group of specialists with little input from protected area staff or other knowledgeable local people. The plan that resulted from such an approach often were incomprehensible documents that did not meet the needs of the protected area being planned, had little or no support from the people who would be implementing the plan, and were therefore either not implemented or simply ignored. (Longido District, 2011, p.5)

The purpose of including the above details is to highlight some of the changes that occurred during the remaking of the RZMP. I maintain that it illustrates a new engagement, approach, and positioning of Enduimet leaders. Overall, Enduimet leaders engaged this process more substantially and meaningfully. The process also included new trustees who brought new ideas, approaches, and dispositions. They were enrolled and mobilized by Enduimet leaders in new

ways. The concept of indigenous peoples and traditional ecological knowledge conceived of Enduimet leaders and residents in new ways, positioning them as the legitimate owners of the WMA, including its design and management. “Indigenous ownership” becomes the order of the day. Ultimately, the WMA, at this time, comprised a different ensemble, different engagements, different alliances and different discourses – each of which served to redirect the WMA and, as will be seen, to favor popular interests.

b. Discursive shifts: new foci, concepts and emphases in the RZMP

On our side, we were of one voice. We wanted to erase hunting. We wanted more benefits from tourism. We wanted to stop the illegal use of our resources. We wanted to drive tourism. This is what we focused on in our meetings.

(AA representative, Elerai Village, August 2014)



What were some of the new foci, concepts, and emphases that arose in the second RZMP and unfold throughout this period of the WMA? As discussed in the last chapter, the planning meetings of the first RZMP focused primarily on the tropes of too many livestock, too many people, misuse of resources, and subsequent environmental degradation. These were the problems that the Enduimet WMA faced and needed to be resolved, at least according to AWF, CAWM, and District official trustees.

Remarkably, the primary problems and foci in the 2010 planning meetings stand in stark contrast. This is not to say that there still were not some of the same old tropes, from the first RZMP, in the second RZMP. Indeed, they are still present, at least to some degree. Sometimes, in fact, it appears that some sections of the first RZMP were merely cut and pasted into the second. This aside, though, my discussions with leaders indicate a dramatic shift in focus. The

focus shifted to more emphasis on Enduimet leaders' primary interests: e.g. issues of power, exploitation, wealth and privilege. These were sidelined and eclipsed while making the WMA by the simpler, technical issues emphasized and prioritized by trustees. In the creation of the second RZMP, the following issues become especially prominent, in planning meeting discussions as well as the actual RZMP document: historical grievances against trophy hunting and the reparations they sought, their search for economic justice in the face of an exploitive rural tourism, the hidden costs of conservation and subsequent inequalities, and the primary concern about pastoral livelihoods and food security. Let me address each of these independently.

(1) Illegal exploitation: the growing mobilization against trophy hunting

In the process of forming the second RZMP, the topic of “illegal harvesting of natural resources” gains prominence (Longido District, 2011, p.13). Discussions, in this regard, especially targeted trophy hunting. It reflects Enduimet leaders' new push to eliminate – or at least limit – the industry's presence in the WMA. The RZMP reads:

It has been observed in the EWMA that people have been hunting animals in excess of numbers detailed on their hunting permits and at times unauthorized species are killed. It is also occurring in the area that holders of hunting licences from other districts other than Longido use the EWMA for hunting contrary to their permits. (Longido District, 2011, p.13)

In an interesting turn, Enduimet leaders began adopting the discourse of “sustainability” to embolden their resistance to trophy hunting. It proved to be an interesting articulation of the popular discourse; in line with Enduimet leaders' preferences for photographic tourism, trophy hunting was categorized as “unsustainable” while photographic tourism was the “sustainable” alternative. One leader exclaimed: “Everyone wants sustainability. That's what everyone is

talking about. We asked ourselves, ‘how is hunting sustainable?’ We argued that photographic tourism is sustainable but not hunting, at least not how it is done most commonly in Tanzania.”

In one location, in the RZMP, it states that the type of tourism that is wanted in Enduimet is "sustainable tourism." As it was argued to me, for Enduimet leaders, attaching "sustainable" meant one thing: no hunting.

Suffice it to say that Enduimet leaders’ past grievances against trophy hunting – especially for those from areas with histories of conflict with Northern Hunting, such as Tingatinga and Sinya – came to the forefront in discussions in 2010. Following on Sinya’s key focus of eliminating trophy hunting, much of the RZMP presents the industry, for the most part, in a negative light. As will be seen, such sentiments underpin the subsequent actions to eliminate trophy hunting.

(2) Legal exploitation: the growing discontent with tourism inequalities

If “*illegal* exploitation” became the adage for Enduimet’s criticism of trophy hunting, “*legal* exploitation” captured the perceived economic injustice of the tourism industry more generally, including photographic tourism. Grievances about unjust distributions of tourism revenue pervade the RZMP and were reportedly a major focus in planning meetings. Echoing the sentiments that apparently characterized planning in 2010, one leader exclaimed, “we’ve grown so tired of not benefiting from tourism. We see their vehicles driving around our land. But we see no benefit of tourism. We receive nothing.” To be clear, this last statement is not completely true, as some of the money since 2007 had begun trickling into the WMA (see the overview of income in Figure 4 of Chapter One). Nevertheless, the point is well taken: whether or not some income was trickling down, it was deemed unfair and symbolized tourism’s inequalities.

In a section of the RZMP entitled, “Tourism Development and Revenue Principles” (Longido District, 2010, p. 41), grievances become highlighted by the principle of “Optimal and equitable funding” (p.42). It requires “a system that ensures equity in distributing revenue to villages” (p.42). Another section of the document criticizes: “the local communities do not tangibly realize benefits of legal utilization of wildlife” (p.13). It proceeds to especially disparage the centralized nature of hunting, arguing that revenue stays strictly for the Wildlife Division. For the most part, this was true until the 2012 WMA regulations instituted benefit sharing and decentralized management.

In reference to photographic (non-consumptive) tourism, it argues that revenue is insufficiently shared: “tourist camps do not produce enough tangible benefits or the sharing is inequitable” (Longido District, p.13). In a later section, the RZMP criticizes previous conservation policies and WMA regulations that necessitate revenue sharing but “do not define what equitable distribution means or what percentage will be given to the CBO” (p.18). The RZMP explicitly lists the rather paltry revenue that had been allocated to Enduimet from tourism, which in 2010 amounted to less than \$2000USD per village (Longido District 2017, p.18).

Remarkably, leaders strategically use the state's focus on self-sufficiency to push ahead their agenda. Similar to their articulation and deployment of “sustainability” discourse, “self-sufficiency” also becomes instrumentalized. It was argued in planning meetings, for example, that the WMA couldn’t be sustained unless more equitable sharing of tourism revenue could be achieved. It was explained to me on repeated occasions that “Tour operators are greedy. They want to keep it all for themselves.” Unlike the first RZMP, this focus on self-sufficiency becomes a priority in its stated purposes: “To enhance visitor enjoyment and satisfaction and

generate revenue that would raise and *sustain funding for EAA* and boost efficiency and effectiveness of EAA operations” (Longido District 2017, p. 42; emphasis added). An AWF facilitator explained to me that “if we want the WMA to be self-sufficient, then it will require more sharing. The companies can’t keep all the revenue for themselves. The government shouldn’t keep it either. It must be paid to the WMA so it can operate on its own.” It should be understood that such a focus on a sustainable source of funding arose amidst continual warnings from USAID and AWF that they could not continue funding Enduimet indefinitely.

Interestingly, grievances toward unjust distributions of revenue even got tied to a perceived escalation of lion killing. In the RZMP planning meetings, Enduimet leaders politicized lion killing, pointing the finger at tour operators’ insufficient payments as well as the central governments’ greedy appropriation of revenue. The RZMP reads, “The local people in the workshop insisted that the battle between lions and them shall continue as long as lions continue to eat their livestock and as long as the government refuses to compensate them” (Longido District, p. 19). The RZMP goes on to argue that killing lions is a political act: “recent kills however were mostly retaliatory and response to lack of compensation from the government” (Longido District, 2010 p.19). Notably, such arguments accord with Mariki et al.’s (2015) analysis of the retaliatory killing of elephants in Enduimet, which they conceive as a resistance to conservation. Remarkably, Enduimet leaders conceived killing lions in a similar fashion and, in so doing, they translated the government’s, tour operators’, and conservationists’ concern for wildlife to their political economic concerns of equitable revenue distribution.

(3) Who bears the costs of conservation? Human-wildlife conflict and related inequities

One question that reportedly animated discussions in 2011 was, “who should bear the costs of conservation?” The question focused on a perceived escalation in human-wildlife conflict and the property destruction that Enduimet residents faced. The topic gains much more prominence in the second RZMP and comes to be framed in a new way (e.g. in terms of equity and exploitation). There is a strong emphasis in the RZMP on “property damage by wildlife” (Longido District, 2010, p.14) as well as human fatalities from elephants. Interestingly, the RZMP reframes the problem as one of internalizing the externalities of tourism, insisting that wildlife is increasing at the behest of tourism while, subsequently, demanding that tourism operators bear more of the costs of human-wildlife conflict.

New to the second RZMP is also an emphasis on livestock killed by predators. It includes a map produced by AWF entitled, “Sites of Livestock Kills by Lions” (Longido District, 2011, p.20). It illustrates numerous sites throughout the WMA that has experienced livestock killed by lions and other predators. It was argued in the meetings that kills were increasing, the costs of which must be borne by tourism companies.

Another new focus relates to the electric fence that was built shortly before 2011 (recall my description of this conflict in Chapter One). Reportedly, this was a burning issue in much of the planning discussions. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, the effect of this fence meant an escalation of property devastation in Enduimet villages; when wildlife was obstructed from their customary migration routes due to the fence, they diverted to and idled in village lands, heightening crop devastation. The RZMP criticizes this development:

The emergence of agriculture in the recent times has also caused electric fences. These fences are erected to protect farms from wildlife and thereby block free movements of wildlife between the Kilimanjaro National Park and EWMA. The value of EWMA as a

wildlife corridor is further eroded by the existence of fence erected to protect agricultural products. (Longido District 2011, p.18)

Participants insisted that a picture of the fence was necessary in the RZMP (Longido District, p.18). In my discussions, the fence was held up as a symbol of injustice of the government favoring big business over citizens' interests. Residents argued that the existence of the fence symbolized that "the government cares more for those investors than us."

(4) Socio-economy and food security: "livestock is our life"

Starting in 2010, the WMA's institutions were altered to prioritize Enduimet's primary interests in property rights, livestock production, the protection of grazing, and the maintenance of customary systems of management and movement. The seeds of this were seen in the first phase, discussed in context of the WMA's logo and the "articulation" that it connoted (e.g. refusal to separate livestock and wildlife). As described in the last chapter, despite such articulations, the RZMP included a focus on too many livestock and contained some very startling restrictions on grazing. This all changes by 2010, reflected in planning discussions, the second RZMP, and corresponding actions. Here, I draw attention to two new concepts that are introduced in the second RZMP that express this renewed emphases: socio-economy and food security.

"Socio-economy" was used to refer to the Maasai's reliance on livestock and their unique system of livestock production, including the mobility it entails. According to participants, this becomes a key focus of discussions. As one leader argued to me, "we weren't playing anymore. Livestock and grazing were our priorities. We care about wildlife, but *livestock is our life*," "Livestock is our life" is a common Maa refrain that I heard frequently through my research period. It has become a call to arms, of sorts, across Maasai land, emphasizing the priority of

livestock above all other things. In the context of planning the second RZMP, this phrase was apparently used by Enduimet leaders to emphasize that the WMA was not just about wildlife. Conservation, leaders asserted, would not be tolerated at the expense of livestock production.

This becomes immediately apparent in the WMA purpose statements that begin the RZMP. In the first RZMP, the purposes were strictly related to wildlife conservation and tourism revenue: (1) To generate revenue from tourism activities; (2) To protect and preserve the wilderness character of the area; (3) To protect and preserve the variety of wildlife, including birdlife; and (4) To safeguard the wildlife corridor and migration routes for Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Amboseli national parks (Monduli District 2005, p. vii).

In contrast, the purpose statement in the second RZMP captures the new emphases and focuses related to pastoral livelihoods: “To conserve the EWMA as part of the Kilimanjaro-Amboseli ecosystem for biodiversity, tourism and *socio-economy* of EWMA and adjacent areas” (Longido District 2011, p.v). According to Enduimet leaders, via this purpose statement, *socio-economy* (i.e. livestock production) achieves an equal footing in relation to the WMA’s original, sole purposes of tourism and conservation. This is stated explicitly in the Executive Summary of the RZMP: “This is the second RZMP, and unlike the previous one... [it] takes into account the local people more in terms of their actual needs” (Longido District, p. iii). When reviewing this new emphasis in the WMA’s purpose, one leader restated a popular narrative, which I heard often: “It should not be a W-M-A but it should be a W-L-M-A”. Of course, the “L” in this revision refers to Livestock. The leader quickly corrected himself: “No. it should be L-W-M-A because livestock comes first. Livestock is our priority”.

A renewed emphasis on livestock and pastoral livelihoods was justified, in part, along the lines of practicality and feasibility. Reportedly, the question, “what is realistic in Enduimet?”

framed much of the discussion and foci of the planning meetings. Reportedly, participants repeatedly pressed upon AWF and CAWM facilitators that any WMA that restricts livestock would fail in Enduimet. Accordingly, the second RZMP has a section titled, “Practical and realistic plan” (Longido District 2011, p. 5). It states that, “the team agreed to develop a realistic vision and actions that would be jointly implemented by the key stakeholders” (Longido District, p.5).

Related to this renewed focus on pastoral livelihoods arises some other foci that were absent – or at least less prominent – in the first RZMP: food security, rural livelihoods, and development. Both of the RZMPs included a description of key international and national obligations, which reviews key policies implicated by the WMA. In the first RZMP though, the focus was primarily on environmental-related obligations, with a focus on the 1998 Wildlife Policy receiving most emphasis. In the second RZMP, most emphasis shifts to policies related to livelihood development and security. The WMA is, essentially, articulated with these priorities. Tanzania’s Development Vision 2025 is elaborated and emphasizes “high quality livelihood” (Longido District 2011, p.8), which includes “self sufficiency in food and food security” among other indicators of well-being. The National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction is highlighted, including foci of “growth of income and the reduction of poverty” (e.g. food availability and accessibility) and “improved quality of life and social well-being” (Longido District, p.6). Tanzania’s Rural Development Strategy and Community Development Policy are also referenced, reading “rural men and women should be empowered to manage natural resources for their own benefit” (Longido District, p.9).

In sum, my purpose of sharing the above is to stress how the second RZMP’s new foci, concepts, and emphases reflect a significant change in the WMA. They reflect a change in the

nature of Enduimet's engagement. They began to manipulate the deliberative spaces, which were opened up via WMA planning discussions and meetings. Whether due to this renewed engagement or the new trustees that were enrolled in the process of remaking the WMA, there is a discursive shift toward issues that matter to Enduimet leaders. There is a shift toward issues of exploitation, costs, injustice, and corollary grievances. As already stated, in my interpretation, many of these issues are about the politics and political economy of conservation and tourism. I argue that their renewed prioritization represents a 'rendering political' that was obfuscated in the first phase of the WMA, including its first RZMP. The following statement from the second RZMP sums up the discursive shift that characterized the WMA's remaking:

Summarily, EWMA continue to face colossal challenges. It has not shifted much of the traditional power structures and power relations between central government, village leaders and community members. People of Enduimet continue to burden the cost of wildlife, while their attitudes toward conservation and EWMA are ambivalent. For the past five years, EWMA has yet to generate significant income for the villages...Moreover, since there are many actors involved in tourism operations in EWMA, their many interests create a tug-of-war in the supposed community-based management of wildlife creating confusion, resentment and distrust on the part of local community members. (Longido District 2011, p.21)

In my analysis, the "tug-of-war", as conceived in the above excerpt, captures the politics that begin to define the WMA and is central to how the WMA unfolds – from a technical apparatus to a political one, from a simple and smooth operation to an all-out 'tug-of-war' of power and politics.

iii. Redirections: eliminating trophy hunting and prioritizing livestock

Following on some of the new foci and emphases above, two actions were taken in 2011 that remade the WMA in significant ways. First, Enduimet leaders prioritized photographic tourism and eliminated trophy hunting from the historically contentious hunting block in Sinya.

Essentially, this redressed the sense of alienation that Enduimet leaders had felt in the face of the trophy hunting industry, not too mention the disrespect many felt at the hands of the Northern Hunting Company. Second, the second RZMP sees Enduimet leaders prioritizing pastoralism in new ways, rejecting any restrictions on livestock grazing, and maintaining customary systems of management and use. In this section, I look at these two redirections, analyzing what comes to be included in the RZMP and what gets ‘zoned’ away – essentially, employing the technical zoning tools of the WMA for political ends. Both cases offer a glimpse at how Enduimet leaders begin to appropriate the WMA’s tools for their own benefit and based on their interests.

a. Zoning away trophy hunting

Enduimet’s first RZMP offered no changes to trophy hunting in Enduimet. Planning meetings for the first RZMP reportedly included some discussion about Enduimet leaders’ grievance toward the industry and their preference for photographic tourism. However, at that time, AWF and CAWM facilitators persuaded Enduimet leaders to postpone the discussion and forego any decisions that disrupted the status quo. “Don’t rock the boat” seemed to be the logic at that time, which Enduimet leaders strategically accepted.

In 2011, however, the debate returned with renewed conviction; this time, the debate was further animated by Sinya’s new membership. As touched on above, grievances were exacerbated by the notorious Northern Hunting saga, which had unfolded in Sinya since the initiation of the first RZMP. It cannot be overstated how the court’s decision to favor trophy

hunting in Sinya, and prohibit Sinya's independent photographic enterprise, embittered not only Sinya leaders but also other leaders throughout Enduimet and even the whole region. As a result, during the formulation of the second RZMP, Enduimet leaders were more adamant on eliminating, or at least limiting, trophy hunting in the WMA as one participant recalled: "We wanted to eliminate trophy hunting. If not all of trophy hunting, at least we wanted to get rid of [name of Northern Hunting operator]. We no longer wanted trophy hunting in Sinya."

Accordingly, the second RZMP includes repeated statements and messages against trophy hunting – some explicit and others implicit, strategically covert statements against the industry. The executive summary sets the stage and captures Enduimet leaders' agenda of limiting hunting. It summarizes many of the key issues and rationales that arose in the planning meetings:

Unlike the previous RZMP, the zoning puts more emphasis on *diversification of non-consumptive tourism and limited consumptive uses*. Tourist hunting is limited to the west part of the EWMA, away from the proposed lodge, and *area under hunting were cut by half*. This move intends to provide opportunity for *high value low volume non consumptive tourism uses* in the area. The decision was also made to *avoid existing conflicts* between non consumptive and consumptive tourism investors and *perceived reduction in numbers of wildlife species* in EWMA. (Longido District 2011, p. vi; emphasis added)

As told to me, what was clear in planning discussions was that – with its history of illegal exploitation, corruption, and mismanagement – trophy hunting was deemed less sustainable than its counterpart, photographic tourism (aka. non-consumptive tourism). It was argued that trophy hunting benefited the community less and jeopardized the goals of biodiversity conservation (e.g. preserving wildlife populations).

Accordingly, the EWMA's purposes become focused on "sustainable (low volume, high value) tourism" and "sustainable community benefits" through "good neighborliness" (Longido District 2011, p.27). The latter phrase was another one of the RZMP's implicit statements against trophy hunting. A popular refrain, "hunters aren't good neighbours" – as told to me by one Sinya leader – pervaded discussions in 2011 and became a primary focus in the WMA's strategic objectives. "Good neighbours" apparently referred to relations that foster equitable benefit sharing, secure livelihoods, and reduced conflicts. For many Enduimet leaders, trophy hunting did not offer such features. One leader exclaimed, "Hunters offer none of these things. We are given nothing. They use our land without any agreement with us. And they bring conflicts with the [photographic tourism] investors we welcome."

Sentiments against trophy hunting and in favor of photographic tourism were adopted in the WMA's proposed programs. In the second RZMP, the Visitor Use, Development and Revenue Program re-emphasizes "sustainable development" and the need to "reconcile conflicting resource uses" (Longido District 2011, p. 41) – an implicit message, I was told, about limiting hunting to only one, smaller zone in order to open up more space for photographic tourism. Remarkably, the program included the proposed Noombopong lodge. This lodge intended to displace trophy hunting in Sinya for an apparently more lucrative, non-consumptive joint-venture between Enduimet, AWF, and a non-consumptive operator (see Chapter Six for a discussion about Noombopong lodge).

The Natural Resources Management Program attacks the perceived degradation of wildlife at the hands of trophy hunting (Longido District, p.49). It calls for a better collection of wildlife data so as to monitor "consumptive uses" (i.e. trophy hunting) of wildlife. The program's "sustainability principle" insists that the "EAA shall ensure that there is sustainable harvest and

constant stock” (Longido District, p.49). As explained to me, the subtext of this was that trophy hunting was devastating the abundance of Enduimet’s wildlife population and, subsequently, photographic tourism needed to be prioritized and trophy hunting restricted.

What is most important for my analysis, is how all of these critical sentiments and rationales become operationalized in the RZMP’s new zone map and corresponding regulations. To put it one way, the new map represents a form of the popularized concept, “counter-mapping.” In her early use of the concept, Peluso (1995) outlined how customary resource-users of forests in India used community mapping as a way for customary users to resist dominant mapping strategies

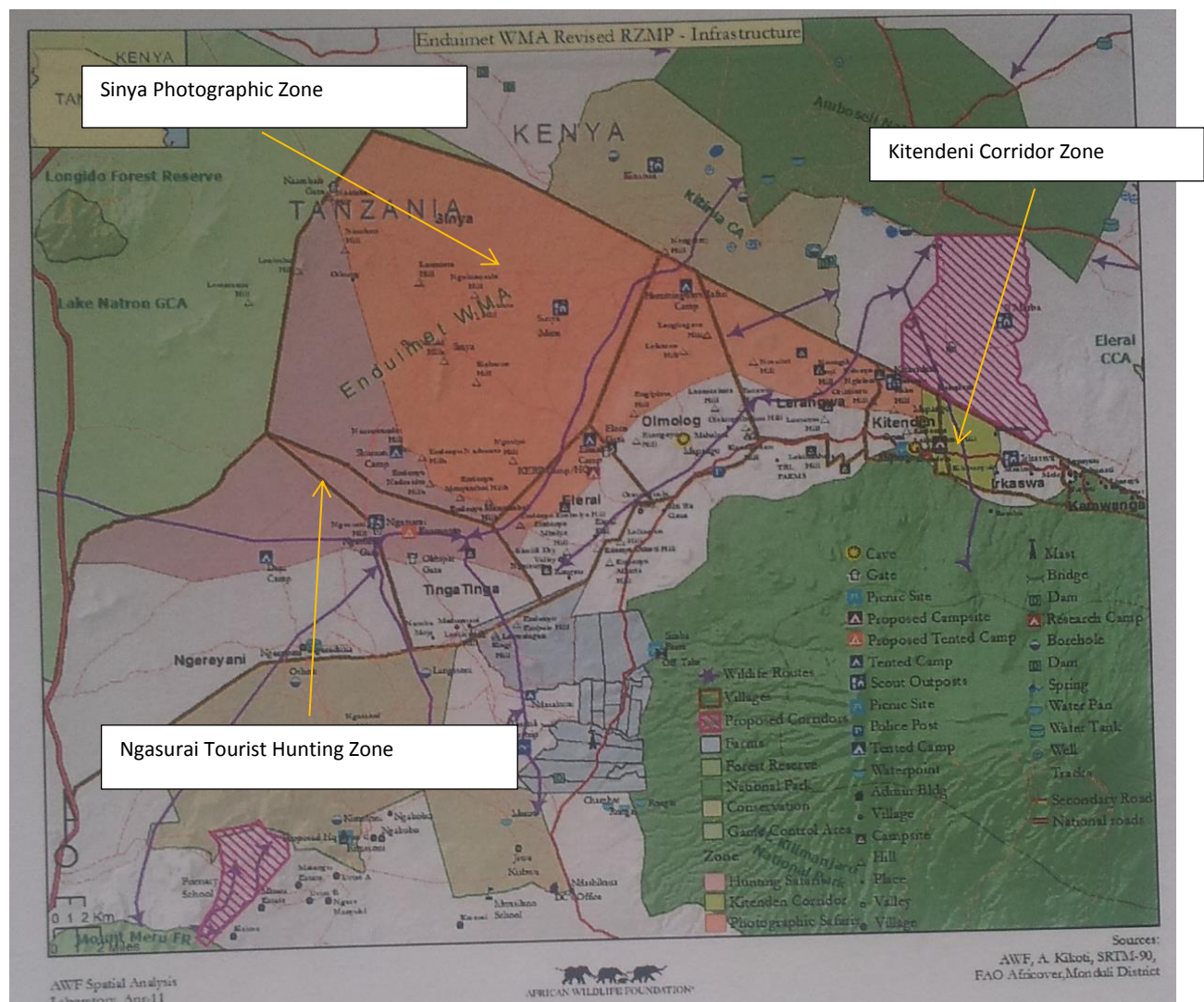


Figure 26 Enduimet's zonal map in the second, revised RZMP, which reduces trophy hunting dramatically, replacing it with photographic tourism (Reprinted from Longido District, 2011)

that too-often dispossessed them and furthered the interests of state and market actors. A focus on ‘mapping against power’ emerged in academic scholarship and advocacy circles (Dorothy L Hodgson & Schroeder, 2002; Peluso, 1995; Rocheleau, 2005). In Enduimet’s case, such a ‘mapping against power’ may be more aptly put as ‘mapping against trophy hunting’.

The new ‘counter-map’ of the second RZMP created three zones, two of which were new. To recall, the first RZMP map included four zones: Olkunonoi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone, which protected the historic Kitenden corridor between Amboseli National Park (Kenya) and Kilimanjaro National Park; the Ronjoo Zone, which encompassed most of the WMA and aimed at supporting trophy hunting as well as non-consumptive tourism; the Elatia zone, which encompasses neighbouring villages, ranches and farms; and, lastly, Embarnati zone, which comprised the settlement areas of the WMA. Basically, the map accommodated the historical hunting blocks that have always dotted Enduimet’s landscape. There are a few things to note in the second RZMP, which changed all this (see Figure 26). First, the new map reduced the number of zones to only three. Olkunonoi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone remained the same and continued the protection of the Kitendeni corridor. However, the other two zones were newly instituted via the second RZMP. Most significantly, the Sinya Photographic Safari Zone encompassed the designated village areas of Sinya, Olmolog, Lerang’wa and a small portion of Kitendeni. This zone encompassed most of the WMA and was the most contentious; basically, Northern Hunting’s notorious hunting block was eliminated. The Longido Game Controlled Area, which it depended on, was essentially zoned out of existence by the new map. Such a development was unprecedented in Tanzania. Trophy hunting has always been privileged in Tanzania and, by all accounts, no one anticipated that WMA zoning strategies would extinguish some of the country’s cherished hunting blocks.

In place of the hunting block, Enduimet leaders designed a zone reserved solely for photographic tourism. Notably, no mention of the area's historic entanglement with trophy hunting is even mentioned in this part of the new RZMP, and the RZMP focuses on the benefits of photographic tourism instead. It provides the following rather poetic rationale for the new zone, conveying its new life in 'aesthetics' rather than 'trophies':

4.4.4 Allowable Uses and Restrictions

<i>Allowed Uses</i>	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Limits of Acceptable Use</i>
	1. Photographic safaris	1 Filming Company at any given time
	2. Education and training visits	1 Training Group at any given time
	3. Beekeeping	Not more than 20,000 bee hives, and only Beekeeping Associations (not individuals) will be permitted.
	4. Cattle grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	5. Goat grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	6. Sheep and donkey grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	7. Tourist Camps, Hotel and Lodges	At Isiron, Noombopong, Nasiwande, Naambala, and Esusunoto sites
	8. Game drive	Along designated routes
	9. Agriculture	Bean, maize and wheat
	10. Research activities	Based on Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) Guidelines
	11. Cultural tourism	Maximum of 3 Bomas in each village
	12. Fishing	5,000 kg per annum
	13. Picnicking	1 group at a time, maximum of 10 people at a time
	14. Walking safaris	1 group at a time, maximum of 10 people at a time
<i>Prohibited Uses</i>	1. Mining as per WCA No. 4 of 2009 2. Night Photographic safari 3. Agriculture 4. Hunting 5. Off road driving 6. Tree felling 7. Animal capture 8. Camp sites, Hotels or Lodges	
<i>Other Conditions</i>	1. Village bye-laws 2. Mining Act 3. Village development plans 4. Village land use plans 5. EAA Photographers' Code of Practice 6. WMA Regulations 7. WCA No. 4 of 2009 8. Environmental Management Act of 2004	

Figure 27 Land Use Regulations in the Sinya Photographic Zone, as illustrated in the second RZMP (Longido District, 2011)

The wildlife photography helps tourist explore the spectacular wealth of experiences that capture the essence of Tanzania and its environments whether photography interest lies in wildlife, landscapes, villages, architecture, travel or culture of the local people. This kind

of photography allows our conscious and subconscious minds to ponder the mysteries of nature. This is of both aesthetic value, bringing the beauty of nature, captured in durable fashion, to our perception, and of practical value, helping us to maintain a respect for the beauty of the natural world and wildlife. (Longido District 2011, p. 36)

Figure 27 is an excerpt from the RZMP that illustrates the zone's allowable uses and restrictions. The Sinya Photographic Safari Zone's "prohibited uses" include all forms of hunting (Longido District 2011, p. 37). Its allowable uses highlight "photographic safaris," "walking safaris," "game drives," and "cultural tourism" (Longido District, p.37). It also includes "Tourist Camps, Hotel and Lodges" (Longido District, p. 37). In the description of the zone, there is a specific reference to a host of potential sites for developing accommodation ventures, including the proposed Noombopong site that was intended to host AWF's proposed "Tourism-Conservation Enterprise" initiative (van Wijk, 2015). As will be seen in Chapter Six, this proposed lodge was seen as Enduimet's 'saving grace' in terms of revenue and self-sufficiency. The plan represented Enduimet's new direction (e.g. away from trophy hunting) and a new hope in the riches expected to come from large-scale, photographic tourism ventures.

The RZMP's new zone management strategy delivered a strong, unprecedented blow to trophy hunting in Enduimet. Nevertheless, Enduimet leaders chose not to eliminate it entirely, and the third zone offers some consolation. This zone in the furthest south-western area of the WMA, takes the name, Engasurai Tourist Hunting Zone. Its allowable uses include "Tourist Hunting" from "1st July – 30th March", emphasizing that such allowance is strictly enforced, "as per hunting license" (Longido District, p. 35).

This hunting zone was very contentious, reportedly provoking much debate in planning meetings. Some Enduimet leaders wanted to eliminate trophy hunting entirely from the WMA.

Ultimately, though, arguments in favor of some trophy hunting won the day. Dissenters were apparently persuaded by economic arguments about trophy hunting's higher potential revenue.

Notably, CAWM and AWF facilitators insisted that, shortly, trophy hunting would be decentralized to WMAs, like photographic tourism had been. At the point of compiling the second RZMP, trophy hunting was still in a stalemate between central government authorities and villages; it had not been decentralized despite pressures to do so from donors and conservationists since the early 90s. Nevertheless, in the RZMP planning meetings, CAWM and AWF facilitators were adamant that the industry was on the brink of being decentralized. This finally happened in 2012, as discussed in the next chapter. It was strongly argued that, if duly decentralized and governed, the industry could be sustainable and lucrative.

Another argument that was raised in favor of trophy hunting was its relation to livestock production. Some leaders argued that a limited degree of hunting would keep wildlife populations down and, subsequently, minimize competition with livestock for grazing land. It was further argued that trophy hunting would reduce predators, which would mean a reduction in the number of livestock lost. One AA leader explained it to me this way: "Some hunting is helpful. The population of wildlife is reduced, which offers more grazing land for livestock. And they shoot lions and leopards, which also helps us." The legitimacy of such arguments is dubious, but suffice it to say that they animated discussions, nonetheless.

Another factor that supposedly mediated the decision was related to the area's history with one particular trophy-hunting operator. The area encompassed by the zone, in fact, had previously hosted trophy hunters for decades. Most recently, an internationally famed white hunter, Danny McCallum, had occupied the area via one of his companies, Old Nyika Safaris. According to many Enduimet leaders, Danny was a so-called, "good neighbour." While leaders'

complaints about the paltry benefits ever received from trophy hunting still held true, Danny reportedly built better relations with the villages – namely, Ngereiyani and Tingatinga – and offered some sporadic financial support to the them. One leader argued to me that “not all hunters are the same” and that, in Danny’s case, “he respected us.” Suffice it to say that this relatively positive relation may have been part of the reason for Enduimet’s choice to keep the hunting block. When forming the second RZMP, Enduimet leaders believed that Danny would continue his business in the hunting block, albeit in a new, more institutionalized and mutually-beneficial manner (e.g. a contract with the WMA that would spell out some benefit sharing scheme).

In the second RZMP, CAWM facilitators included several economic arguments to support the inclusion of one remaining hunting zone. Adopting a common discourse in Tanzania, they write that it is a superior source of tourism revenue because “Tourist hunters spend prodigious amounts, by far the highest tourist spending per tourist and per animal” (Longido District 2011, p. 34). Subsequently, it will “stimulate conservation incentives and generate operating revenue for conservation budgets” (Longido District, p.34). Further, it suggests, “there are no doubts that EAA will generate well above US\$1,000,000 from hunting each year” (Longido District, p.4). Each of these arguments are common in Tanzania, not to mention scholarship on tourism and conservation more generally (Booth, 2010; Peter A Lindsey, Alexander, Frank, Mathieson, & Romanach, 2006; Peter Andrew Lindsey, Balme, Booth, & Midlane, 2012). While \$1 million USD is arguably a gross exaggeration, there is some justification for the idea that trophy hunting generates more revenue than photographic tourism. At least in part, this is why Enduimet’s decision to prioritize the latter in the second RZMP was somewhat alarming to conservationists and government authorities alike.

Importantly, any arguments in favor of trophy hunting in the RZMP are juxtaposed with a lot of prefaces and caveats pertaining to the need for better governance over trophy hunting, which highlight persisting apprehensions about the industry in Enduimet. For example, the rationale section begins with the statement that hunting “is one of the foremost forces for conservation, *if properly conducted*” (Longido District, p. 34; emphasis added). Another section – highlighting the corruption that has plagued the industry – continues, “*if concessions are leased at the true market value*, hunting has potential” (Longido District, p.33). Chastising the Wildlife Division’s resistance to share benefits, it also states that “*If permit fees, conservation fees, observer’s fees, trophy handling fees, block fees and professional hunter’s fees are accurately collected by EAA*, no other tourism initiative can beat tourism hunting” (Longido District, p.33). Reportedly, these were key matters that were stressed in planning meeting discussions. They convey the grievances surrounding the politics of trophy hunting in Tanzania. One leader from Olmolog summed it up in the following: “we only want hunting in Enduimet if we control it and make money from it. If we are in control then we can decide which companies stay and which go. We can make sure that they pay their dues and follow the rules. They will respect us. It won’t be like it was in the past.”

Suffice it to say that trophy hunting was permitted to live another day in Enduimet. However, it was scaled down dramatically in line with historical grievances against the industry and subsequent preferences for photographic tourism. As will be seen in Chapter 5, the “chickens came home to roost” for Enduimet’s trophy hunting, provoking, at least to some degree, its own demise. Some leaders even argue that Enduimet’s decision to eliminate Sinya’s historic hunting block may have influenced the government’s long-awaited decision to finally decentralize the management of trophy hunting to WMAs and share benefits with them as instituted in the 2012 WMA Regulations (MNRT, 2012). Such a claim may over exaggerate the impact of Enduimet’s

decision, but it certainly captures the general significance of it and how unparalleled such an accomplishment had been.

b. Rejecting displacement & staying Maasai

As discussed in Chapter Three, one of the most bizarre dimensions in the first RZMP was that the “limits of acceptable use” in each of the zones included debilitating restrictions on livestock grazing. It contained surprising limits that would have devastated Enduimet livelihoods. In one case, cattle grazing in the dry season was limited to a mere 400 cattle in a zone that encompassed almost 90% of Enduimet (Monduli District 2005). As already highlighted in the above section, a different prioritization of livestock grazing comprised the second RZMP. Unlike in the first RZMP, the second included more of a focus on socio-economy, food security and indigenous knowledge.

Several of the second RZMP’s programs and principles capture such priorities. The newly proposed Wildlife-People Relations and Ecosystem Program highlights the “local people relation principles” (Longido District 2011, p. 47), which importantly include “recognising existing uses” (Longido District, p.47). This section reads, “when implementing the plan the need for the local people to continue sustainable harvesting and livestock keeping must be recognized and accommodated as much as it is practicable” (Longido District, p.47). Remarkably, all of this is reframed in terms of property rights and what is termed the “social principle” (Longido District, p.50):

The EAA shall ensure that there is equitable distribution of natural resources property and user rights i.e. distribute secure property rights or use rights to those that are in dire need. Community management of natural resources shall be encouraged and rely on

relevant community institutions for managing common resources for sustainability.

(Longido District, p.50)

This latter reference to “community institutions for managing common resources” touches on another relevant issue. In rather stark contrast to the first RZMP, the second RZMP includes a new focus on indigenous institutions and knowledge. As part of the “Local People Relation Principles” of the RZMP, the RZMP aims to, “integrate traditional structures in the management of the EWMA” (Longido District, p.46). It further states that, “whenever necessary the EAA shall work through the use of tribal systems to ensure strong leadership... The traditional roles and responsibilities in the management of EWMA shall be regularly reviewed and adapted to changing conditions” (Longido District, p.46).

In my discussions, this focus on indigenous knowledge and structures related to the RZMP’s new focus on “adaptive management” (Longido District, p.44). This was something emphasized strongly by Enduimet leaders. This becomes clear in the RZMP’s ‘limits of acceptable use’, where the static, rather arbitrary regulations that defined the first RZMP are replaced by a flexible, dynamic approach. “We eliminated the numbers,” one Enduimet leader explained. “Instead, we left it open which allowed us to be flexible and focus on traditional methods.”

What were the actual grazing stipulations that were included in the second RZMP? The only stipulations that remained similar to the first are those that correspond to the Okunonoi-Kitendeni Wildlife Corridor Zone. The number that is set is 2000 cattle per day (Longido District 2011, p.33), which is the same number proposed originally in 2005. Like in 2005, leaders argued to me that the number was not too restrictive. More significantly though, they argued that it was arbitrarily created and there was little belief that such a stipulation could be or would be enforced.

Grazing regulations in the other zones – Engasurai Tourist Hunting Zone and the Sinya Photographic Safari Zone – represent the stark contrast between the first and second RZMPs. Unlike the first RZMP that listed arbitrary numbers for all of the grazing stipulations (e.g. dry season cattle grazing, wet season cattle grazing, goat, sheep, donkey grazing), the second RZMP does something very interesting. As illustrated in Figure 28, which is an excerpt from the Tourist Hunting Zone’s management strategy, it replaces arbitrary numbers with the directive: “Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined” (Longido District, p.35). As it pertains to the Photographic Safari Zone, the second RZMP likewise replaces the arbitrary, restrictive numbers of the first RZMP, simply stating that numbers and regulatory mechanisms remain “to be determined” (Longido District, p.36).

This is an intriguing innovation, to say the least. “To be determined,” it was argued to me, eliminates the threats of the first RZMP. Most importantly, as argued by the Enduimet leaders I

4.3.4 Allowable uses and acceptable limits

<i>Allowed Uses</i>	<i>Uses</i>	<i>Limits of Acceptable Use</i>
	1. Fuel wood collection and 'masanzu' cutting	Dead wood only
	2. Education and training visits	1 Training Group at any given time
	3. Beekeeping	Not more than 5,000 bee hives, and only Beekeeping Associations to be allowed, not individuals
	4. Dry season cattle grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	5. Wet season cattle grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	6. Goat, Sheep, Donkey grazing	Numbers to be determined and mechanism to control numbers determined
	7. Research activities, based on agreement between EAA and research institution	Based on Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) Guidelines

Figure 28 Allowable uses in Tourist Hunting Zone, conveying the strategic inclusion of "to be determined" (Reprinted from Longido District, 2011)

spoke with, the “to be determined” guideline refuses any separation between livestock and wildlife. For them, rejecting any arbitrary numbers created space for traditional structures, institutions and knowledge. In effect, the “to be determined” clause allowed the traditional leaders to continue their management responsibilities. This was best captured in the following statement from one leader in Tingatinga:

We were very strategic in the second RZMP. We didn’t want any grazing regulations [from the WMA]. But, we couldn’t just say it this way. Instead, in the limits of use, we simply said ‘to be determined’. This was proposed by the Mweka [CAWM] facilitator, after we explained how our traditional approach works. We explained that it is impossible to determine a correct number. It all depends on rain and this changes all the time. Every season is different. Every year is different. This means that the situation must be assessed on an ongoing basis. And the people that can do this well are those that are observing everything closely. People who are living there. People who are watching the rains and the growth of new grass. Who knows best about the growth of the grass? The traditional leaders. This is their job. It is their specialization. They are the most knowledgeable and can tell us how to manage grazing. Making up numbers in an RZMP is just guessing and it is meaningless because it doesn’t coincide with what is actually happening. It doesn’t change with the rains.

The above statement captures well the traditional knowledge and approach to managing common rangelands. In stark contrast to the static nature of WMA “limits of use” stipulations, traditional approaches dynamically read the land, assess it, and determine use and movement accordingly – a system that has stood the test of time and proven the most robust approach (Mwangi & Ostrom, 2009). Then, with the insertion of the “to be determined clause”, Enduimet

leaders rejected conventional norms and resisted displacement, manipulating the RZMP in such a way as to respect and assimilate traditional knowledge and institutions. In short, as often seen with new reforms, development programs, and corresponding flow of ideas and technologies, I argue that Enduimet leaders effectively “domesticated” or “vernacularized” the WMA’s institutions (Alasuutari & Qadir, 2014; Appadurai, 1996; Levitt & Merry, 2009; Stenning & Wiley, 2010).

To summarize, Enduimet’s redirections via the elimination of trophy hunting in Sinya and the rejection of grazing restrictions transform the WMA in significant ways. Enduimet leaders’ manipulation of the WMA’s zoning institutions reflects a new “practice of politics” that begins to define the WMA’s second phase. Following on the theme of “institutional bricolage” (de Koning, 2014; De Koning & Cleaver, 2012), the changes discussed above can be conceived as “articulation” and strategic “alteration”. As already discussed in the previous chapter, De Koning and Cleaver use “articulation” to refer to communities’ efforts to prioritize their interests and protect traditional identities and institutions. This can be seen with the second RZMP’s foci on livestock, indigenous livelihoods, and knowledge, reflecting Enduimet leaders’ articulation of their priorities. Effectively, Enduimet leaders politicized the knowledge and assumptions that characterized the first RZMP: e.g. the dominant discourses pertaining to too many people, livestock and environmental degradation. In stark contrast, in the second RZMP they asserted the value and priority of their traditional livelihoods, ecological knowledge and their customary ways of using and managing their rangelands.

De Koning and Cleaver (2012) use “alteration” to convey how communities strategically alter government reforms so as to manipulate them in line with community interests and traditional values. “Alteration”, I argue, can be witnessed in leaders’ instrumentalization of

WMA zoning tools and regulations. Zoning and mapping institutions are altered in such a way as to reduce trophy hunting significantly, redressing Sinya and other leaders' grievances against the industry, especially with the notorious Northern Hunting company. Furthermore, the "limits of acceptable use" for livestock grazing were altered in such a way that rejected the prohibited stipulations that characterized the first RZMP. Most importantly, as they stood in 2011, the 'limits of use' were altered to facilitate and assimilate traditional structures and institutions of rangeland management.

It should be emphasized that such transformations in Enduimet and corresponding manipulations of WMA reforms were unprecedented in Tanzania prior to 2011. A hunting block had never been eliminated, the insertion of a "to be determined" clause never attempted, and livestock never fully integrated. This raised the questions, how did Enduimet achieve this? Since it must be approved by the Wildlife Director, how were they successful in getting such an RZMP approved by central authorities?

Ultimately, the answer to these questions is a matter of speculation and will vary depending on who you talk to. In terms of the issue of hunting, some argue that the notorious owner of the Northern Hunting Company fell into disrepute with many District and central government officials. Others argue that it reflects a more general growth in anti-hunting sentiments, including among AWF personnel. It may also relate to AWF's plan to initiate a Conservation-Tourism Enterprise, as outlined in Chapter Six.

As far as it pertains to rejecting grazing stipulations, some argued that many stakeholders, including government officials, began to accept the compatibility of pastoralism, livestock, wildlife, and tourism. As discussed above, this was embodied in much of the RZMP's new foci, emphases, and recognition of "indigenous knowledge and structures" (Longido District 2011,

p.5). One Maasai lawyer in Arusha argued that some progress has been seen in Tanzania concerning the positive appraisal of pastoralists' indigenous knowledge, traditional land use, and their livelihoods' compatibility with wildlife conservation and tourism.

The immediate response from most Enduimet leaders focuses on a different factor. They emphasize that it was simply due to the persistence and political acumen of key AA leaders. One leader argued the following: "We pushed them. They had to listen to us. We weren't going to back down. They knew this and they agreed with our plan. It was the only way forward." Other discussions revealed many lobbying activities: phone calls made to the Wildlife Division; personal visits to the office; lobbying the DC to make phone calls; convincing the MP to plead their case; and so on. Another leader explained to me that it was all a matter of knowing and playing "the political game":

At first, there was a delay on getting the RZMP signed. After some time, I went straight to Dar es Salaam and sat in the Wildlife Director's office. I put pressure on him, demanding that he sign the document. I told him I wouldn't leave until it is signed. He finally signed it the next day. He didn't want trouble from us, and he knew we wouldn't stop. In this country, you have to know how to play the political game.

When I inquired about what the political game entailed, he told me about the lobbying activities mentioned above. This included connecting to people with leverage (e.g. the DC, the MP, CAWM researchers and AWF personnel) to put pressure on the Wildlife Division. It was also about how to frame arguments, namely a focus on economic opportunity and conservation. "You have to know what they want," he explained.

Of course, it is hard to assess how big a role such self-acclaimed agency played in the RZMP's approval. In my analysis, though, such politicking should not be understated. As I stated

in Chapter Two, the composition of Enduimet's AA and Board comprise a significant degree of political experience and capital. I contend that their capacity to strategically align interests, enrol supporters, and mobilize diverse allies – their capacity to “play the political game” – characterizes the practice of politics that began to re-make the WMA by 2011. All in all, the second RZMP reflects a new articulation of the practice of government, which remains intrinsic to the WMA project and the practice of politics that became salient through the WMA's second phase.

Beyond actions against trophy hunting and efforts to prioritize pastoralism, Enduimet leaders also instrumentalize WMA institutions to reconstitute rural tourism, to which I turn now.

iv. Putting tourism to work: Enduimet's efforts to illuminate rural tourism's hidden economy

In recent years, Tanzania's annual real economic growth rate has been between 6 and 7 percent with GNI equivalent to about US\$340 per person. In addition, a “hidden” economy could potentially have contributed an additional US\$100 per person...It is hidden from our books, but not hidden from our view. “It” is, in short, the natural resource sector... It is this hidden part of the economy—the uncouned, the illegal, the unnoticed, or the squandered... While some parts of this natural resource trade are hidden only from the formal economy—because of improper pricing or lack of well-functioning markets—many parts are also hidden from the rule of law. Corruption, cronyism, and cover-up have become a systemic malaise in some parts of this hidden economy... Management under such circumstances is short-sighted and favors the powerful, further contributing to real imbalances in income and contributing to, rather than alleviating, conditions of poverty that still pervade in the country.

(Excerpts from World Bank's *Putting Tanzania's Hidden Economy to Work*, 2008)



Another important case of politicization, appropriation, and alteration of WMA institutions and structures relates to Enduimet's confrontation with tourism's hidden economy. One of the most significant grievances among Enduimet leaders that I immediately confronted in my field research was the perceived exploitive nature of rural tourism. Leaders frequently argued that it

lacked transparency and that operators were dishonest in their reporting, made false claims on their permits, and avoided any payments to communities. What I came to understand quickly was that the Enduimet leaders were aggrieved by and were criticizing the so-called “hidden economy” of rural tourism, as described in the excerpt above. The concept of “hidden economy” refers to economic activities that do not contribute to official statistics or to the national treasury, whether referring to illegal transactions of a service and good or to licit activities that don’t comply with reporting requirements – the uncounted, illegal, unnoticed or squandered transactions as described in the above excerpt (World Bank 2008, p.1).

As seen in the above quote, the “hidden economy” is commonly associated with Tanzania’s natural resource sector, including wildlife tourism (Ruitenbeek & Cartier, 2007). Among other organizations, the World Bank has put pressure on the Tanzanian government to “put the hidden economy to work.” Notably, this motif captures well what unfolded in Enduimet since 2011. In this period, I argue, Enduimet leaders began to put rural tourism “to work.” They used a host of WMA tools (e.g. business contracts, reporting, monitoring, policing activities, etc.) to not only put Enduimet’s tourism “to work” but, I argue, also to put rural tourism “in its place.” In other words, leaders used these tools to assert their authority over tourism investors and relegate them to subordinate positions. The idea that “they will respect us or they will leave,” as stated by one leader, began to define Enduimet leaders’ new engagement and repositioning vis-à-vis the rural tourism industry. As will be seen in my analysis, I suggest that such efforts to challenge tourism’s historic status quos forms the basis of Enduimet leaders’ engagement with the WMA and their desire to manipulate it accordingly.

a. Rural tourism’s hidden economy

My first introduction to the idea of rural tourism's "hidden economy" came from a discussion with USAID personnel in 2013. This individual had just come from a visit to a rural WMA and was taken aback by the resentment shared by leaders toward tourism companies. As in my experience in Enduimet, the tour operators were seen as deceiving the WMA and the government by underreporting client numbers and making false claims about the activities they embarked on.

The USAID personnel's first exposure to the problem was when the USAID vehicle was stopped by a log laid across a rural road and manned by some men sitting under a nearby tree. After some questions, they learned that this was the local community's efforts to monitor the activities of one big tourism company who carried tourists to its luxury lodge a few kilometers down the road. When the men learned of the nature of their visit and position with USAID, a heated discussion erupted wherein the men angrily shared their grievance toward the tourism company for not correctly reporting client numbers, duration of stay, or activities. Besides their haphazard roadblock, no monitoring mechanisms generally existed.

Before proceeding further, let me elaborate on the rather opaque and unmonitored system of rural tourism. To be clear, different applications, payment, and fee systems are associated with trophy hunting versus photographic tourism. They are nevertheless similar in terms of the problems being discussed in this section: reporting, transparency and accountability. It is also important to recognize that I am only referring to tourism outside national parks or other highly regulated conservation spaces – namely, in rural village lands such as those designated to WMAs. In these rural spaces, the onus is essentially on tourism companies to report honestly and conduct activities accordingly.

The way the system works is that, first, companies apply for permits and make payment at a government office, for example at a Wildlife Division office in Arusha or Dar es Salaam. In

recent times, such activities are under the jurisdiction of the Tanzania Wildlife Authority and can now be done online. What is important for our discussion is that the permits indicate the “who? what? where? when?” details of a company’s planned trip. Tour operators then pay the government in accordance with such reports and claims. Payments are spelled out in elaborate fee schedules, which are periodically published by the central government in tourism regulations. As dictated in the same regulations, this money is divided between various central governing entities, District-level authorities, Authorized Associations and villages. The upshot is that, with permit in hand, the companies are free to proceed with their clients to the area and continue with activities as paid for and approved on their permits.

The problem, as it relates to rural tourism, is that there have been very few, if any, mechanisms to monitor all this. Of course, in Tanzania’s national parks and other more formally protected areas, gates exist where government authorities and rangers monitor tourism entry and activities. Until recently, this has not been the case in WMAs and village lands for the most part. Companies are rarely forced to show their permits to any government or village authorities. No one verifies that the necessary, correct permits are acquired or that enough payments have been made. In Enduimet, there have never been points for verifying permits and no monitoring of activities. As it pertains to trophy hunting, one audit in 2013 concluded that, “Hunting activities are not monitored. Revenues are not fully collected from potential sources identified and the proportional distribution to parties is complex” (MNRT, 2013, p. xiii). The audit revealed that there were insufficient mechanisms for monitoring and holding companies accountable to government regulations, whether related to government-issued quotas, trophy size regulations, or payment requirements. Among other conclusions, the audit insisted that reforms must be made

so that “controls set for revenue collection are reviewed and full collections is done” (MNRT, p. ix).

While not as severe as those directed at trophy hunting, allegations surrounding photographic tourism are still ubiquitous. Few argue against the supposition that evasion and underreporting are pervasive. Some industry-insiders (e.g. tour operators) shared with me that every company is complicit in the “hidden economy.” One operator, who is widely respected in Arusha for his integrity and commitment to communities, stated,

At one time or another, every operator has added a client without reporting it on a permit, extended a night at a lodge without reporting it, conducted a spontaneous safari walk with guests without reporting it, and so on. I have. And I’m apparently one of the most honest ones.

Returning to the USAID story above, the USAID worker explained to me that with the initiation of the WMA the community leaders had apparently realized how much money they were losing. With the newfound authority vested in them vis-à-vis WMA reforms, they had begun taking matters into their own hands; using a roadblock, they began monitoring tour operators’ activities, surveying permits, etc. They claimed to the USAID worker that nearly every vehicle they stopped had underreported client numbers and made false claims concerning the number of nights and activities included in the safari. “We’ve been losing hundreds of dollars with every vehicle,” they exclaimed.

In my discussion with the USAID workers, they argued that this was all a common feature of rural tourism’s “hidden economy.” Like the World Bank statement above, they argued that it has generally favored big tourism while undercutting rural communities. One succinctly argued, “this is simply theft. Theft from those communities who are owed these payments for wildlife

utilization.” The USAID worker expressed hope that WMAs may offer some hope in reducing such practices.

They then drew my attention to the World Bank report mentioned above about the hidden economy associated with Tanzania’s natural resource sector. Among other things, the report calls for an elimination of corruption and illegal activities, an increase in business accountability via transparency and monitoring, and a more efficient and equitable distribution of benefits. Ultimately, much of the natural resource sector was conveyed as contributing to poverty rather than alleviating it. I was to learn that each of the above actions began characterizing Enduimet’s engagement with tour operators during the WMA’s second phase.

b. The hidden economy in Enduimet

In my discussions, Enduimet leaders and residents argued that the hidden economy characterizes tourism there. Leaders repeated concerns about evading and underreporting. While driving past a lodge, one Sinya leader argued that if we went in to count the number of tourists and how many nights they are staying, we would discover major discrepancies between those numbers and the ones listed on the company’s permit. He also argued that villagers often report seeing the company conduct walking safaris and, very often, these activities were never reported and paid for. He argued similarly about night game drives. For him, this represented a significant loss to the government and community.

Based on 2008 regulations, the financial loss amounted to \$30/person per night for hotel lodging, \$30/person for walking safari, \$50/person for a night drive. “After some days, you can see it becomes a large amount,” he explained. Another leader exclaimed:

Every day we see tourist vehicles drive through our land. They watch the wildlife. They watch us. They take many photos. There are always so many. Sometimes there are ten white people in one vehicle. Sometimes they travel with many vehicles. And the investors are always lying to us and to the government. They write that they have three tourists but there are ten in the vehicle. We have eyes. We can count. If we could stop the vehicle and see their permit. I'm telling you. You will see their lies. (Tingatinga Village leader 2013)

As a caveat, it is worth recognizing that some investors, operators, and companies were more trusted than others. It is difficult to know what mediated this trust and differing perceptions, but it seemed to come down to the positive personal relations built by some investors compared to others. Some built trust effectively while others did not. However, when probed, there was an apparent consensus that “all companies cheat sometimes. Some do it more than others. But all of them cheat.”

Whether such claims are legitimate or not is a matter of speculation. Irrespective of their legitimacy, what is important to my analysis is that such popular suspicions spurred a host of efforts from Enduimet leaders to address this perceived exploitation and redress their grievances. As will be seen, many of their subsequent experiences have reinforced rather than alleviated suspicions.

c. Enduimet's efforts to repair the hidden economy & reposition themselves

What has Enduimet done to ensure more accountability and capture the revenue that has been historically evaded or hidden? In this section, I first highlight the general effort of formalizing contracts with investors; essentially, contracts served to capture land rents, which were

historically never paid to villages²⁵. For many Enduimet leaders, the decentralized authority over such contracts via the WMA was one of the biggest incentives to originally join the WMA. I then turn attention to the issue of capturing wildlife rents (i.e. revenue from wildlife utilization), specifically efforts to monitor tourism activities.

(i) Formalizing contracts & capturing land rents

Stories abound in Enduimet about the challenges that historically characterized relations between villages and investors, whether due to either the lack of contracts, their inadequacy, or their insufficient enforcement. As it was recalled to me, in Enduimet's past experience companies often evaded formal contracts or did not live up to them. Further, when village leaders were discontent with contracts – for example, if they wanted to increase fees – there was often little recourse to ensure their interests could be met. In cases where villages wanted to evict a tour operator, there was often little they could do due to the prohibitive costs of legal measures or prevailing power relations with government authorities that favored investors. Ultimately, as argued by those I spoke with, rural tourism was predominantly an informal affair often amounting to dubious agreements and non-transparent transactions between investors and a few village officials. A perfect case-in-point relates to the Shu'mata saga, as mentioned in the above section about Sinya and elaborated in Chapter Seven.

For those I spoke with, the WMA's structures and institutions offered some promise. Equipped with more clear authority and legal mechanisms via the WMA, Enduimet leaders sought to redress these historical patterns and grievances. With assistance from AWF and District lawyers, business contracts were created to formalize obligations and payments. By

²⁵ To be clear, I distinguish in my analysis land rents and wildlife rents. While operators, for example Hoopoe in Olmolog or TWC in Sinya, have paid 'wildlife utilization' rents (e.g. a bed night fee for each visiting tourist), they rarely paid what I am considering as land rents (e.g. some form of lease payment for the area of their lodges)

2011, the AA embarked on obtaining contracts from each of the area's investors, namely Elerai Tented Camp (owned and ran by Kibo Guides) and the Shu'mata Camp (owned and ran by The African Embassy Safaris). A contract with the WMA's sole hunting company wasn't achieved until much later in 2015 (I discuss this in the next chapter).

For the photographic tourism investors, their contracts stipulate their use of the WMA's photographic zone (the biggest area of the WMA includes the highest density of wildlife and incorporates key migratory routes between Amboseli and Mount Kilimanjaro) while contracts with the hunting investor stipulate the hunting zone, which is restricted to a smaller area in the south east of the WMA (see Figure 26 in the previous section). While trophy hunting and photographic tourism have a distinctly different system of fees, their contracts with the WMA are similar in principle.

First, the contracts spell out the obligations of the AA and investor respectively. For example, the AA agrees to maintain zones for tourism free of "human settlement" and in accordance with the RZMP. The investor agrees to market the WMA, run a successful tourism business, and contribute to local development via relevant fees and employment. Commitments to the effective management of natural resources are specified in the contracts, with investors committing to ensure the protection of their respective zones and the AA committing to upholding the RZMP stipulations and strategy. A performance bond of \$5000 USD is included, which is deposited in a joint account and can be appropriated by the AA in cases that the investor breaches the contract. The duration of the agreement is also delineated; for example, in accordance with government regulations, 25 years with the possibility of renewal for another 15. Finally, dispute protocols are laid out, which protect both parties against unjustified departure from the agreement and invite independent arbitrators to hear and rule on any grievances.

For our purposes here, the most important section of the contracts is titled, “Fees for the right to operate and community development contribution.” This includes reference to three primary payments that the investor must pay on an annual basis. The first one requires the investor responsible to pay all wildlife utilization fees to the Director of Wildlife, as stipulated by the Wildlife Conservation (Non-Consumptive Wildlife Utilization) Regulations. These are the payments I alluded to extensively in the “hidden economy” section above, such as number of clients, duration and conducted safari activities as specified in paid permits.

A second payment delineated in the contracts is referred to as a contribution to “Community Development.” This is an annual payment made to an account reserved for the purpose of social development projects. In Enduimet, such projects have ranged from scholarship funds, microenterprise programs, to infrastructural development (e.g. water-related infrastructure). The contracts allow investors to collaborate to determine the nature and timing of such projects. Currently in Enduimet, the payments stand at \$5000 USD per year. Leaders say that they will increase this in future contracts.

The third payment is specific to land rent. The contracts include an “annual concession fee.” This fee relates to the exclusive use of a designated amount of land for the purpose of building a lodge and hosting guests thereafter. These vary in size but, for the most part, remain relatively small (e.g. 10 hectares). Currently, the fee stands at \$15,000 USD for each photographic tourism investor who operates lodges in Enduimet (e.g. Elerai Tented Camp and Shu’mata Camp). Arguably, this is a relatively low amount for leasing several hectares of land for a lucrative international tourism business that operates a luxury lodge in one of Tanzania’s most attractive landscapes and wildlife tourism sites. When I inquire about this, leaders told me that this amount was simply accepted based on the advice of AWF and District advisors. Most tended to agree

that the rate was insufficient and indicated that they intended to increase it in future contracts. In the future, they intend to lease their land, and corresponding user-rights to the area, to the highest bidder, hoping to surpass the rather paltry amount settled on in 2012.

Irrespective of the amount, Enduimet leaders believed the formalized payment was a step in the right direction. In past experiences, companies generally evaded concession fees. In some previous village joint-ventures, companies argued that their contributions to villages should be based solely on revenue generation, so, for example, they wouldn't pay any land rent (i.e. a "concession fee") but they would pay bed-night fees for their clients. In cases where a concession fee was paid, it was apparently a negligible amount. One village leader summed it up this way: "It is much better than what we had before, when most didn't pay a concession or some only paid \$5000 USD." It must be understood that concession fees are of secondary concern for leaders, as most revenue is generated through the fees paid for tourism activities (i.e. "wildlife utilization fees"). These payments are discussed in the following section.

In reference to trophy hunting, it is worth noting that land rents are expected to amount to \$60,000 USD in Enduimet's last remains hunting zone. Unlike photographic tourism contracts that stipulate "concession fees" for the area where their lodges are situated, land rents for trophy hunting investors come in the form of what is called, "block fees." These fees cover the exclusive use of the designated hunting area. These are relatively large areas of thousands of hectares. Their quality is categorized by the central government in relation to a host of factors, including types of trophy species and trophy populations. Enduimet's hunting area was historically a Category II area but was re-categorized to Category I in 2013. Notably, the WMA only receives 75% of this fee with 25% going to central authorities.

(ii) Monitoring, surveillance & capturing wildlife rents

Capturing land rents (i.e. concession fees and other payments for residing in and using WMA land) is an important step to mitigate the hidden economy. More importantly though, are Enduimet's strategies to ensure the capture of fees accrued from what is called "wildlife utilization" in government regulations (MNRT, 2008a). As explained above, these are fees paid by each tour operator on behalf of each visiting client in accordance with their duration of stay and their consumptive (i.e. hunting) or non-consumptive (i.e. photographic tourism) activities.

As of 2008, photographic tourism required payments including game viewing fees (e.g. \$20USD/day), camping fee (e.g. \$30/person/night), walking safari (\$30USD/day), and night game drive (\$50USD/day) (MNRT, 2008a). Some changes were made to these fees in 2016 with the introduction of new non-consumptive regulations (MNRT, 2016), with most of them reduced slightly due to lobbying from tourism operators. As discussed elsewhere, these payments are divided between central government bodies and the WMA. Prior to 2016, the divide was 65% for the WMA and 35% remainder for the central government. Since 2016, the WMA's amount was increased to 70% (MNRT, 2016).

Tourist hunting promises to generate more revenue than photographic tourism as more fees and higher costs are implicated. Notably, prior to 2012, no benefit sharing mechanisms were officially in place. For over a decade, the Wildlife Division resisted sharing hunting benefits with WMAs purportedly due to the Wildlife Division's history of rent-seeking and collusion between its officials and hunting operators. As identified in Chapter 1, this changed in 2012 with new WMA Regulations. These regulations stipulated the distribution of trophy hunting revenue illustrated in Figure 29. TWPF refers to the Tanzania Wildlife Protection Fund – a central government body launched in 2009. TR refers to the National Treasury. As illustrated in Figure 29, since 2012, WMAs have earned 75% of all block fees (i.e. the annual concession fees paid by

companies for exclusive use of the designated hunting zone) and a proportion of all other trophy hunting revenues.

		TWPF	WMA	DC	TR
1	Block fee	25%	75%	0	0
2.	Game fee	25%	45%	15%	15%
3.	Conservation fee	25%	45%	0	30%
5	Observers fee	25%	45%	0	30%
6	Permit fee	25%	15%	0	60%

*** Block fees to be subjected to sharing is the statutory block fee of that category of the particular hunting block. The excess money negotiated by the AA to be paid as block fees shall not be subjected to sharing.**

Figure 29 Distribution of Trophy Hunting Revenue, according to WMA Regulations in 2012 (Reprinted from MNRT, 2012)

Whether in reference to photographic tourism or trophy hunting tourism, it is these “wildlife utilization” payments that comprise most of rural tourism’s hidden economy. Too often companies allegedly underreport numbers and make false claims about activities.

In my discussions, Enduimet leaders highlighted two key strategies to prevent underreporting or false claims. The first arises via the contracts signed by operators. Section 10 of the contracts includes stipulations related to “access to recordings and reporting” (WMA, 2012, p. 11). There are two subsections. One specifies the requirement that investors must keep detailed records pertaining to guests’ accommodation at their lodges. Most importantly, the second requires investors to submit reports to the AA every six months that essentially outline the following: (1) the number of guests received and duration of stay (2) the subsequent fees that were paid to the government.

Such reporting requirements have served to monitor the company’s reporting and keep it accountable. By comparing the company’s reports with the numbers recorded at the National Treasury (e.g. the numbers recorded in the purchased tourism permits), a more transparent system has been created. It allows the AA more opportunity to keep all the respective parties

accountable. This includes central authorities, who are believed to sometimes underreport numbers and fees paid so as to reduce payments owed to WMAs. With these reports, the AA can track the reporting and payments of investors as well as the payments that are due from the government.

Of course, all of this relies on the cooperation of all the parties. Like any system of accountability, it does not always run smoothly. WMA managers informed me that getting information from the National Treasury is especially difficult. Most requests are not responded to or information is not provided in a timely fashion. This is a challenge that faces all WMAs across the country according to USAID's WMA evaluation in 2013 (USAID 2013).

Beyond access to records and reports, Enduimet's second strategy involves the deployment of Village Game Scouts (VGS) to monitor guest arrivals and company permits. It should be highlighted that part of the evolution of the WMA has included the construction of anti-poaching infrastructure, including ranger posts that dot the landscape and gates that aim to inspect vehicles going in and out of the WMA for illegal goods. Starting in 2009, as part of USAID's Tanzania Financial Crisis Initiative and "cash for work" program (USAID, 2012), USAID and the World Wildlife Fund embarked on the construction of these ranger posts and gates. For USAID, it was part of their effort to assist vulnerable communities who may be hurt by the financial crisis of 2008. For WWF, this aligned well with its anti-poaching efforts. What neither organization anticipated was how such initiatives would be deployed by Enduimet leaders to control and monitor tourism. Notably, the infrastructure included five ranger posts situated at various strategic lookout points across the WMA. As well, it included three gates that monitor traffic in and out of the WMA.

These gates have proved instrumental to Enduimet's efforts to redress grievances with the hidden economy. Each gate structure comprises a small office to receive guests. On the road, a heavy metal bar, which can be raised and lowered, prohibits vehicles from passing. When tourist vehicles arrive, VGS stop them. I have witnessed many of these engagements, as much of my time was spent staying at VGS posts and gates. VGS inquire about tour operators' activities and destination. Importantly, as directed by Enduimet leaders, they request to see the tourist permits. They review these and ensure the number of clients on the permits match the number in the vehicle. This information is then recorded in a log, including the number of intended nights. It is then communicated to the WMA's head office where the information is registered. When relevant, the information is then communicated to other relevant gates and posts in cases where vehicles depart different gates or conduct activities in the vicinity of other posts. Upon departure of the same vehicle, VGS confirm that the duration of stay matches original plans as described on the permit. Overall, it amounts to an elaborate system of recording, communicating, and monitoring. It does not always run perfectly. Nevertheless, it is impressive. During my own fieldwork, I was always impressed that respective VGS at each of my points of entry and exit commonly knew my activities and itinerary due to their monitoring and communication. To the chagrin of tourism operators, who historically benefited from the hidden economy, the WMA became quite a space of surveillance. Not much can happen beyond the watchful eye of Enduimet leaders, via their VGS representatives.

I witnessed the system in practice several times. One example is when a vehicle from one of Enduimet's investor companies reached a gate where I was conducting an interview. The vehicle approached the gate on the road. One VGS approached, greeting the driver and the five white tourists inside. The VGS lifted the gate and instructed the driver to report into the office with his

government permit. He did so and a lengthy discussion ensued before the vehicle was permitted to continue. I inquired later with the VGS about what unfolded. He informed me that the company's permit listed three guests yet five were in the car. Further, while the permit listed a two-night stay, it didn't include any reference to game-viewing activities. This provoked questions about what the guests intended to do during their stay, if not view wildlife. The VGS informed me that this usually indicates that the company didn't report honestly to the government and hence, didn't pay their full dues. The VGS and driver agreed that he could proceed into the WMA with his guests under the condition that he would report to the WMA office in Olmolog to reconcile the evident discrepancies on the permit. I spoke with a WMA manager a few days later. As it turned out, the driver had proceeded with an "illegal" game drive later that evening – meaning an activity not reported on the permit and not paid for – which was reported to the WMA office by a VGS from a central ranger post who had spotted the vehicle. Ultimately, the manager phoned the company owner about the violations. The owner apparently made some excuses about how it had unfolded, made the additional payments, and promised to ensure better reporting in the future. The manager smiled when recalling this story ending with the comment, "You see. We now have the authority. Investors are scared of us. They know we can chase them away, if they don't comply. They must respect us."

Overall, I was unable to get a full picture about how many times such incidents are discovered, remedied, and what the actual financial implications have been for the WMA. By all accounts, discrepancies are discovered frequently. According to the VGS I spoke with, they argued that they identified discrepancies several times a month. Some WMA managers argued that these discrepancies amounted to thousands of dollars. In one case, WMA personnel argued that in July of 2014, VGS revealed up to 400 errors on tour operators' permits.

As may be expected, tourism investors and operators became very angry about Enduimet's new efforts. They argued that the actions merely amounted to undue harassment and disrupted visitors' experiences. In one case, after VGS stopped one company's vehicle, the driver phoned the company's owner. Within minutes, a white manager from a nearby lodge arrived in a vehicle. The manager had grown very angry about VGS' monitoring activities. The manager yelled at the VGS, who ignored the manager, continuing with their effort to report some discrepancies to the WMA's head office. After the incident ended, the VGS joked amongst themselves about it. One summed up the situation as follows:

They [tourism operators] are complaining about harassment simply because they are used to hiding things and now we are not accepting this new system. We are their bosses now. So, they are angry. Of course, they are angry because we are forcing them to pay what is actually due to us. They are angry because their profits are decreasing. They must share now.

In sum, in the second phase of the WMA, Enduimet leaders and VGS began redressing their grievances toward rural tourism's "hidden economy." This was in line with broader efforts to "count the unaccounted" in Tanzania's natural resource sector (World Bank, 2008). Importantly though, while efforts were certainly about "getting the market right," as conceived by the World Bank, USAID, AWF and others, I witnessed something more significant in Enduimet's efforts. In my observations, these actions were more about "getting the politics right." Certainly, I perceived an economic motive in the various conflicts, struggles, and efforts I witnessed. However, what struck me was the sense of how for Enduimet leaders and VGS, monitoring and penalizing operators was more gratifying, not simply because of the economic implications but in terms of power relations. In many of the above examples, these ostensibly economic actions

were more about repositioning – the repositioning of Enduimet leaders, VGS, and corresponding constituents in relation to a tourism industry that has historically been perceived as exploiting them, disrespecting them, and showing general disregard for their interests. In my experience, this is what animated the encounters in interesting ways – it is what animates the WMA, more generally, in interesting ways.

One of the most succinct ways of putting all this came from one of the above VGS, who simply said, “we are their bosses now.” I heard this reference and other similar sentiments often while discussing the changes brought by the WMA. It became a common theme, revealing the political dimensions to Enduimet leaders’ actions – in my analysis, something more about power than money. It reflects a focus in Enduimet of not only putting rural tourism “to work” but also “putting it in its place”²⁶ – a combination of not only seeking economic justice but also political power and sovereignty over the tourism industry. These were long-held aspirations and the WMA began to offer new tools to achieve them. There is an irony in the fact that the VGS begin to play a role in this. What was originally intended as simply an instrument of policing Enduimet residents’ resource use, as part of a technical project of conservation and making tourism space, is turned around on the tourism industry, policing and regulating it, instead.

v. Rejecting and evicting unwanted investors

Beyond eliminating hunting, prioritizing livestock, and confronting the hidden economy, remaking the WMA also included efforts to reject and evict unwanted tourism investors – another dimension of the WMA’s politicization. Especially in Sinya’s experience, Enduimet had

²⁶ For those not familiar with the idiom, to “put someone in their place” means to humble them, confront their pride or arrogance or to challenge their self-appointed, high status. The expression seems relevant to Enduimet’s efforts to reposition themselves vis-à-vis tourism.

a history of tourism investors who entered village lands in dubious ways, often disregarded village authorities' efforts and interests, and refused to leave when requested. Often, they were emboldened by suspicious relations with government officials and the protections these afforded. Village sovereignty often proved ineffective in many cases. By 2012, this began to change with the renewed authority afforded by WMA reforms; Enduimet leaders began to confront past grievances with unruly investors and avoid future dissatisfaction.

One case-in-point included the selection of a trophy hunting investor for the Ngasurai Trophy Hunting Zone. I elaborate on this in Chapter Five but, here, let me simply highlight a few key points to further substantiate this chapter's argument. In 2012, the new WMA regulations decentralized authority to the AA to tender and select trophy hunting operators (MNRT, 2012), and Enduimet leaders immediately launched themselves into this process. One leader explained to me,

We have had a long history of problems with trophy hunting. Look at the Northern Hunting case. Northern Hunting troubled us for a long time. In 2012, we knew that this was our opportunity to select a company we wanted. A company that we could stay well with. Someone that will respect us.

Remarkably, central government authorities sent them a candidate shortly thereafter. Deliberations began. There was reportedly pressure from authorities to accept this candidate. They got very close to accepting the company, but then some leaders raised reservations. Concerns were raised about the investor's reputation vis-à-vis relations with rural communities and, hence, whether the investor would treat Enduimet with respect. As a result, Enduimet did not proceed further in their negotiations with the company. Rather, they continued meeting with companies and finally selected a company they felt more comfortable with and would be a "good

neighbour.” When challenged about this by government authorities, because the investor was apparently the highest bidder and willing to pay a lot of money, leaders responded with explanations about the importance of respect and good treatment, not money.

The first effort to evict an unwanted investor began in 2013, implicating a white German operator who owns and operates Shu’mata Camp. As seen in the first section of this chapter, Shu’mata had entered Sinya village in 2007 and relations soured shortly thereafter. Attempts to evict the company were reportedly disrupted by interventions by District government authorities. As noted above, this experience, at least in part, provoked Sinya’s decision to join the WMA, believing that it may prove more effective in getting rid of such investors.

True to form, the Enduimet leaders began targeting Shu’mata as early as 2011. They made repeated attempts to formalize a contract with the company, which failed repeatedly. By 2012, Enduimet leaders issued their first eviction letter to the company. In May 2013, I received my first introduction to Shu’mata and the intense protests and politics that characterized the saga. In short, the meeting amounted to what may be conceived as a lengthy public shaming. An interesting theme that arose was “neocolonialism” (*ukuloni mamboleo*), which leaders associated with Shu’mata’s treatment of the community. After outlining a long list of grievances against Shu’mata, Enduimet leaders collectively asserted “their right” to evict the company. A tumultuous battle unfolded, which is the focus of Chapter Seven. Here, let me just say that after much contentious politics Shu’mata was finally evicted in July 2014. Unfortunately, though, by September 2014, the company took the AA to court, which launched an excruciating legal battle that continues to date.

I share this here to further stress how Enduimet began to use the WMA for their own political ends. With the politicization of EWMA since 2011, it begs the question: “For Enduimet, was the

purpose of the WMA ever about wildlife conservation or was it always about a larger struggle for power and profit within tourism's political economy?" This has become an important question, which I return to later in this dissertation. Here, suffice it to say that politicized negotiations with potential hunting investors and the Shu'mata case epitomizes the "tug-of-war" that has escalated across the WMA, as Enduimet leaders reposition themselves vis-à-vis tourism and employ WMA institutions and structures to redress perceived exploitation and maltreatment. Each of Enduimet's investors and operators are facing the repercussions of changing authority and power relations in the tourism industry. It has become a different playing field and game of power, where history, politics and political economy are paramount.

vi. Becoming indigenous

Before closing this chapter, I want to highlight an interesting discourse that begins to characterize Enduimet leaders' refusals and their struggles against tourism investors and operators. A theme that caught my attention very early in my fieldwork was indigeneity. We have already seen above how the concepts of "indigenous people" and "indigenous knowledge" became deployed in the new RZMP. Here, I focus on how certain dimensions of indigeneity discourse began characterizing the struggles and repositioning of Enduimet leaders. Following on Tania Li's (2000) thesis about indigeneity in Indonesia, I contend that 'indigeneity' "found its subject" (p.173) in Enduimet during the processes of remaking the WMA and its corollary politicization. Enduimet leaders repositioned themselves accordingly.

To be clear, it was not common for Enduimet leaders to use the title "indigenous" or the concept "indigeneity" in my discussions or in the conflicts I observed with investors. There is not any easy translatable concept in either Maa or Swahili. Nevertheless, I contend that this notion of

‘indigeneity’ and such discourse underpinned how Enduimet leaders began defining themselves. I refer to ‘indigeneity’ and ‘becoming indigenous’ to denote the novel ways that Enduimet leaders begin to frame their arguments. When leaders retold stories to me about conflicts or when I sat in heated meetings between the AA and investors, I began hearing a combination of references like “we were here first” and “this is our land.” Often, this prefaced arguments that “you must leave” or “it is our right to refuse you.” I heard reinforcements of their cultural uniqueness and distinction, such as: “we have always been Maasai;” “other tribes in Tanzania have lost their traditions, but we will always keep our traditions. We will always be Maasai;” and “livestock is our life.” I also heard suggestions of discrimination and marginality: “people like you [a tourism investor] say we are backwards... We don’t care. We will always continue with our traditions” and “the government never hears us.”

In my analysis, this all reflects something akin to “becoming indigenous” (Hodgson, 2011). In *Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*, Hodgson argued that many Maasai of Tanzania through the 90s and into the new millennium began articulating their history of displacement and discrimination in Tanzania with transnational networks, social movements, and discourses associated with being indigenous peoples (e.g. claims to ancestral arrival and occupancy, cultural distinction, political marginalization, etc). I maintain that indigeneity began to characterize how Enduimet leaders framed their identity and struggles. As Li (2000) and Hodgson (2011) stress in their work, such an articulation of their identity and struggle with the broader discourse of indigenous peoples reflects a strategic repositioning within histories of exploitation and dispossession. In the face of threatening actors or forces, Hodgson argues that ethnicity becomes “reinvigorated” and instrumentalized in corresponding struggles (Hodgson, 2011). It is also notable that, in such processes, Enduimet

leaders reinforced Moore's (2005) point about "selective sovereignty" (p.3): the state, its associated actors and respective technologies have no claim to absolute sovereignty in the face of other histories, traditional territoriality, customary systems of rule and corresponding identity.

The remaking of the WMA in recent years is comprised by such articulation and repositioning. In my analysis, "being Maasai" characterized the making of the WMA, a period wherein politics were generally sidelined but it, nonetheless, remained important to assert pastoralist identity, values and interests. In remaking the WMA, though, politics and repositioning become paramount. As Enduimet's "tug-of-war" and conflicts with tourism investors ramped up, 'indigeneity' was likewise invigorated and instrumentalized. Subsequently, claims of first arrival and unique cultural distinction, alongside memories of marginalization and discrimination, began to characterize social struggle. Enduimet leaders began drawing on these characteristics of their history and identity to remake the WMA and reposition themselves vis-à-vis conservation and tourism. In short, remaking the WMA coincides with "becoming indigenous".

Interestingly, in his work, Peter Geschiere (2009) refers to such identity politics and processes as part of a new "politics of belonging", associated with processes of globalization, decentralization and corresponding government through community. As in WMA reforms, historical status quos and social, political-economic configurations are being thrown into flux with all the new changes. New struggles emerge, which are sometimes centered on who belongs and who does not. Geschiere argues that indigeneity discourses become employed, as a result. At times, Enduimet's politics can be conceived in this way. Amidst WMA reforms, Enduimet leaders are staking a claim to their ancestral place, insisting that their culture and livelihood

belong and, concomitantly, telling some investors “you don’t belong here”. We will see much more of this in Part II.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I offered a glimpse into how the WMA began to change in its second phase. My argument is that, at this time, Enduimet leaders began to engage the WMA in meaningful ways. While in the period of making the WMA they were merely passengers along for the ride, they became the drivers in the WMA’s second phase and steered the WMA in new directions. Fundamentally, they politicized the WMA, using it as a tool to redress long held grievances about the exploitation, alienation, and marginalization they have felt at the hands of unruly tourism investors and an uncaring state. They appropriated, remade, manipulated, and redeployed the WMA’s institutions and structures for their own political ends.

Ultimately, I maintain that through the practice of politics they rendered conservation and tourism political. Since 2011, unlike in prior phases where the practice of government and rendering technical dictated the WMA’s terms, a rendering political changed the game. If ‘rendering technical’ is defined primarily by the “constitutive *exclusion*” of political economic issues (Li, 2007) – and, more generally, political contestation (Buscher, 2013) – ‘rendering political’ is defined by the constitutive *inclusion* of contest and political economic issues – e.g. the explicit inclusion of issues related to exploitation, unfair distribution of revenue, marginalization, and so on. As seen above, Sinya’s entry foreshadowed all this with leaders arguing a “stronger together”-type logic that would help redress and repair experiences of exploitation, disregard, and alienation. In my discussions, leaders conveyed that their choice to join was not about money, per se, but about politics. It was about local sovereignty, a desire to

achieve new authority and self-determination over tourism and conservation, putting both ‘in their place’.

Such sentiments begin characterizing the WMA’s trajectory more generally. The new RZMP’s language and framing immediately turns the focus to trophy hunting’s illegal exploitations, hunting and photography tourism’s legal exploitations, the inequalities and injustices associated with human wildlife conflict, and the paramount importance of the Maasai’s socio-economy and reducing patterns of impoverishment at the hands of conservation and tourism. The counter-mapping actions of the RZMP reduced trophy hunting accordingly. “Limits of use” stipulations were “to be determined” in an unprecedented refusal of conservation orthodoxies and associated separations between livestock and wildlife – a rejection of tourism’s illusions of wild, untouched Africa. Also, a rejection of the cattle complex and tragedy of the commons narratives that defined the first RZMP. Using the WMA’s institutions and structures, tourism is “put to work” in new ways, addressing economic injustices with the hidden economy while also shifting power relations in favor of Enduimet leaders and communities. Asserting their new authority and indigeneity, leaders begin rejecting and evicting unwanted investors and operators. “We are their bosses now” became Enduimet’s manifesto, of sorts, indicating at once leaders’ achievements vis-à-vis tourism investors and their general objectives vis-à-vis the WMA. “Mamlaka” is the Swahili word commonly used to refer to “authority” and the power to influence. Suffice it to say that the WMA’s second phase became defined by this concept, as Enduimet leaders began asserting it. I recall one leader cogently reflecting, “maybe the WMA was always about mamlaka?” This, I believe, is the defining question when thinking about Enduimet leaders’ engagement with the WMA. It implies something foundational to my analysis: while the WMA was originally envisioned as a technical apparatus with the singular

purpose of creating wildlife conservation and tourism space, as it became situated in the history and politics of Enduimet, it was remade into a political apparatus with multiple purposes associated with challenging conservation orthodoxies, wresting control away from the state, redressing political economic grievances concerning rural tourism, and so on. This, I contend, explains some of the unexpected outcomes that have been witnessed via Enduimet's engagement with the WMA.

EPILOGUE

To wrap up Part I, let me highlight a few key themes and implications, as well as engage the idea of “governmentality’s limits” (Li, p. 17), reflecting on some of the paradoxes that characterize the “will to conserve” in Enduimet.

First and foremost, some key themes that arise via Enduimet’s encounter, making and remaking of the WMA are transformation and change. Enduimet’s early encounter with conservation, and then later phases of politicizing it, represents the dynamism of Enduimet’s entanglement in conservation and the “will to conserve”. While a practice of government became salient in early periods, a practice of politics emerges salient in later periods. The WMA, which first reflects the hallmarks of a technical apparatus – an “anti-politics development machine”, to recall Ferguson – is remade into something more political. It has become a political apparatus.

This all reinforces the temporality of development and improvement schemes. Drawing on Foucault’s idea of “permanent provocation”, Li (2007) argues that with politics, improvement schemes are always in a state of movement characterized by openings and closures, refusals, and perpetual linking and reversals (p.10). Remarkably, as Enduimet’s case demonstrates, the degree of provocation and what it looks like changes through the lifespan of projects. In Enduimet’s case, for example, subjects feign compliance and employ political optics in early phases but reposition themselves and ‘pull no punches’ in later ones. Positions and practices change.

Institutional bricolage is another theme that I want to emphasize. Indeed, I argue that the art and practice of bricolage is often overlooked in critical representations of WMAs. Very often, there is little acknowledgement or documentation of rural leaders who strategically engage WMAs in attempt to “make do with what is at hand”. Most literature either extols leaders who

have rejected the WMA or laments the supposed, self-inflicted domination of those that do engage them. There is little space in between. Enduimet leaders demonstrate how institutional bricolage can appropriate, manipulate and alter WMA reforms, while all the while refusing different elements that are deemed threats. Following on James Scott's concepts (2009), Enduimet's strategic and creative engagement with the WMA indicates more of an 'art of *being* governed' as opposed to one of '*not being* governed'. In my experience, the latter seems to be most sensationalized and represented in critical scholarship. The case of Enduimet indicates how this impoverishes our analysis.

I will not repeat the various types of institutional bricolage that were witnessed throughout making and remaking WMA. These have already been highlighted in respective chapters. Rather, let me emphasize one of De Koning and Carrier's (2012) overarching points in their theory. They argue that processes of institutional bricolage transform development projects from single-purpose ones, as conceived in official documents and government discourse, to multi-purpose ones. Subsequently, development reforms, such as those of the WMA, often look starkly different than how they were originally conceived, serving different purposes and, subsequently, resulting in unexpected outcomes. Essentially, state projects and reforms are invariably remade, as they are embedded in place histories and situated struggles.

Such analysis helps capture what has occurred in Enduimet. The WMA was officially created with a singular, technical purpose of wildlife conservation through tourism. This technical vision was characterized by all the dominant discourses concerning conservation and corollary objectives of excluding people and human uses – in other words, making space for giants always included making a place without people (except for the tourist kind). Not surprisingly, this all characterized the making of the WMA and corresponding practices of government. Enduimet

leaders passively – albeit strategically – accepted this vision and original design of the WMA. *Remaking the WMA*, though, has altered, transformed, and manipulated WMA reforms in such a way to serve Enduimet leaders’ interests, namely to rectify historical grievances toward tourism and conservation, challenge conservation orthodoxies (e.g. separating people and wildlife) and redress the political economic injustices associated with tourism. From a single purpose of wildlife conservation, the WMA’s new trajectory became defined by purposes of politics, struggle and, what we may conceive as, achieving more indigenous (or local) sovereignty. Undoubtedly, it looks far different than originally envisioned and intended by the trustees who designed it in 2005. Politics has a funny way of making ‘government’ incomplete and facing unexpected trajectories.

Overall, the recent trajectory of the WMA and its politicization highlights “governmentality’s limits” (Li, 2007, p.17). Practices of government cannot possibly contain politics, all of the time. Beyond this factor, though, I want to reflect on two other dimensions of governmentality’s limits. First, there is the issue of contradictory effects. In particular, I suggest that Enduimet’s case reflects something we can consider as a “Ferguson paradox”. I have in mind James Ferguson and his thesis about the anti-politics machine and development’s effects. As stated in the introduction, Ferguson argues that development invariably leads to the expansion of bureaucratic state power, often into places where it previously had little presence. In other work with Gupta, Ferguson refers to this as “state encompassment” (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002). My argument, and what we can see in Enduimet’s case, is that this effect, which we can consider as a first-order effect, leads, in time, to a second-order effect: new opportunities for politics and citizenship, as subjects wrestle their way into the spaces that sometimes open up with new state encompassments. One effect leads to the other and often back again. New state encompassments

and corollary expansions of bureaucratic power create new avenues for domination, coercion and subjectification but, at the same time, new avenues for political struggle. Of course, this is not always the case, but is certainly the case with neoliberal schemes, which include democratization and/or decentralization initiatives. Along with state encompassment, then, a parallel process of opening up new democratic spaces and arenas unfolds, which that can then be instrumentalized by aggrieved subjects. Gillian Hart captures this dynamic in his work about “articulations of neoliberalism in South Africa” (2006): “In these and other ways, what James Ferguson (1990) termed the “anti-politics machine” of Development could become part of a revitalised politics to press for greater economic justice to realise the promises of democracy.”

Much of the politics, struggle and contestation in Enduimet arises out of another paradox, this time related to ‘government through community’ and the role of history. Rose (1999) argues that the creation and manufacturing of “community” within “government through community” is an achievement defined by “the birth-to-presence of a form of being which pre-exists” (in Li, 2011, p.100). Li points out the paradox of this: communities are often seen “to have the secret to the good life..., yet experts must intervene to secure that goodness and enhance it” (p.101). Certainly, this can be seen in AWF’s engagement with Enduimet.

My interest in this paradox differs from Li’s. I am especially interested in the dimension of making something new out of *a being that pre-exists*. In my analysis, this “being that pre-exists” captures how history unfolds and distorts ‘government’. Development often treats “community” as something ‘tabula rasa’, as something bare, something like a clean slate, as something that can be molded anew through government. This, of course, is never the case. “Community” brings with it a history, replete with distressing memories and insurgent identities. All this history which intrinsically comprises the *pre-existing* community often makes for a complicated process

of *bringing into presence something new*. Therein lies a paradox and an unwieldy challenge of ‘government through community’: while trustees aim for the “new” community to “do as they ought” (Li, 2007, p.5), as these schemes articulate with the “pre-existing” community, its history and situated subjectivities, communities sometimes ‘do what they may’ instead. Of course, in Enduimet’s case, indigenous identity, history and ‘becoming’ makes for unruly, entangled subjects and an incredibly messy, conflict-ridden trajectory. Recalling the discussion in Chapter One and Moore’s (2004) thesis, if Enduimet’s landscape can be conceived as entangled in sedimentations of history, so too are its subjects. If the discussion that began this epilogue demonstrates that the practice of government’ cannot contain politics, then, my point here is that it also cannot contain history.

PART II:
TURBULENT TIMES

PROLOGUE

One way of conceiving the trajectory of the WMA in Enduimet is a journey that starts with a seeming order and, at least illusion of, simplicity and linearity to one that unfolds into contest, conflict and complexity. It is a bumpy road between the seeming straightforwardness and singular logics of ‘government’ and the multiplicity and messiness of ‘politics’. This section highlights the latter, the contests and conflicts that began defining the WMA by 2012 and continue to configure it today. As discussed in the epilogue of Part I, ‘government’ can neither contain politics nor history. This part demonstrates further how history plays out in the present. Much of the current conflicts in Enduimet can be conceived as “fighting history today” (Wright, 2016; Unruh, 2014).

This part reinforces, and builds on, my argument that WMA reforms, especially processes of decentralization and democratization, have created avenues for a practice of politics that leads to some unexpected directions and outcomes. Through a host of bricolage practices, Enduimet leaders have transformed an originally-intended technical apparatus with a singular focus on wildlife conservation to a political one with focuses on power, privilege and profit vis-à-vis rural tourism and conservation. The upshot is that power relations have shifted, challenging historical status quos. Tourism investors and operators have been rejected, evicted and controlled in new ways. Enduimet leaders have asserted their new maxim, “We are their bosses now”.

Expectedly, one of the effects of all this has been new contests and conflicts, namely, between Enduimet, unhappy investors and an often-heavy-handed state. Ultimately, what we see in this part is that Enduimet’s ‘will to conserve’ cannot be divorced from capitalist relations, conflicts and contradictions. In today’s ‘neoliberal conservation’, capitalism is the shifting

terrain on which the ‘will to conserve’ stands – and not just any capitalism but a specific form of “crony capitalism” (Chua, 2004) that has often favored tourism investors at the expense of rural communities. Suffice it to say that it all makes for turbulent times.

In the following chapters, I reflect on and apply Amy Chua’s (2004) thesis about the new conflicts arising via “free market democracy” reforms. I turn the reader’s attention back to my introduction chapter, where I explain her thesis in detail. Indeed, Chua would tie the current politics and conflicts in Enduimet to the neoliberal reforms that many associate with Tanzania’s WMAs. As has already been seen, the WMA reforms were fundamentally about freeing up the tourism market from the state’s historic domination and control and democratizing decision-making over not only tourism but also conservation. Figuratively-speaking, following on her general argument, Chua may refer to Enduimet’s current status as “a world on fire”. It is a world embroiled in what she refers to as “combustible conditions” (Chua, 2004, p.9) arising from histories of inequality and injustice. “Free market” reforms, she argues, tend to exacerbate such inequality while, at the same time, “democratization” reforms spur retaliatory actions against the market actors held responsible for aggrieved histories. Put simply, a “collision between market and society” erupts.

As already described in the introduction, Chua (2004) argues that the actions that arise from this collision may be best conceived as two forms of backlash. First, a “backlash against the market” refers to actions taken by groups of the majority population to challenge the historic status quos that have favored the market-dominant minority and fostered economic injustice. Such actions intervene in the market or against dominant-market actors in one fashion or other. Indeed, it should be noted at the outset that these actions are typically not backlashes against the “market”, per se, but, rather, they are backlashes against how markets have historically been

configured and operated (e.g. exploitive, alienating, etc.); furthermore, they are often against specific, dominant actors that are perceived as harmful and have proven unruly and unscrupulous. Put simply, Chua's 'backlash against the market' captures the struggles aimed at transforming reigning configurations of political economy and the actors that have been privileged by it. To be clear, Enduimet leaders want 'the market'. They want tourism and the revenues associated. What they do not want, though, are some of the market's distasteful players and the exploitive patterns that have tended to characterize the market to date in Enduimet.

The second form of backlash is what Chua refers to as "a backlash against democracy". This includes actions, by an array of state and market actors, which undercut democratic processes, subverting popular decisions, agendas and interests. As they pertain to Enduimet, I refer to 'democracy' and 'democratic processes' in association with the decisions arising from the WMA's elected body, the Authorized Association (AA). Of course, this body, as well as the processes and deliberations comprising it, rarely achieve any ideal of 'democracy' per se, but, nevertheless, I refer to it as 'democratic'. Accordingly, for the sake of my analysis, I conceive efforts to undermine the decisions arising from the AA, or efforts to compromise the AA's autonomy, as a "backlash against democracy".

Often, such actions aim to defend the market dominant-minority and corollary status quos. Historic status quos have benefitted these actors as well as those actors allied with them. When democratization processes threaten their power, privilege and profits, efforts to undercut popular interest, struggle and decisions often arise. Often, as argued by Chua, these actions are characterized by "crony capitalism" (Chua, p.111), by which she means the mutually-beneficial collusions and alliances between market-dominant actors and political elites. Often, when market-dominant actors are threatened by the above-mentioned 'backlashes against the market',

they employ their government allies to defend them. This may take on licit or illicit means. Either way, such actions often amount to a suppression of popular struggle and democracy. Importantly, Chua stresses that such collusions and alliances are often hidden. She aptly refers to this as “invisible government” (p.149), which will become prominent in the coming chapters and coincide with Martin Walsh’s (2012) idea of “hidden histories and invisible hands”. Indeed, one of the themes that arises in this part is the “hiddenness” of so much of the politics that now embroil Enduimet.

Chapter Five dives into the history and politics of trophy hunting in Tanzania, generally, and Enduimet, specifically. I reflect on the industry’s rise and demise, arguing that today’s trophy hunting is caught between a rock and a hard place, between pressures from above and below. WMA reforms, especially democratic decentralization, have exacerbated it all. For the most part, this case reflects Enduimet’s backlash against the trophy hunting market, the conflict I touched on in the last chapter. More recently, though, the case also reflects some backlash against democracy, as central government authorities suspiciously intervene in favor of preferred trophy hunting investors.

Chapter Six looks at what I refer to as the Noombopong crisis. By all accounts, this case typifies Chua’s conception of “crony capitalism” and a backlash against democracy. As Enduimet’s plan to build and operate a luxury lodge on Noombopong hill threatens the business interests of powerful tourism operators in Kenya and Tanzania, the plan is abruptly eliminated. Enduimet leaders are left surmising about the “hidden histories and invisible hands” (Walsh, 2012, p. 323) of Tanzania’s tourism. I use the case to reflect on this dimension of Tanzania’s rural tourism and the political economy that perpetuates unfair patterns. Many of the examples thus far in this thesis reflect Enduimet leaders’ efforts to put conservation and tourism ‘in their

place'. This chapter, to the contrary, shows how Enduimet was put back in its place, once too many lines were crossed and the dominant actors were subsequently threatened. Despite all the rhetoric about community empowerment and benefits, this case makes it clear that Tanzania's big tourism players are not ready to share much of the pie.

Chapter Seven outlines Enduimet's biggest conflict and the most important case of my research, the Shu'mata saga. I alluded to this case in the last chapter, whereby Enduimet leaders evicted the company after an embittered history and accusations of "neocolonialism". In Chua's terms, the case, at least at first, reflects a backlash against the market. As the collision unfolds, though, a backlash against democracy arises as Shu'mata rejects the AA's decisions and solicits interventions from central authorities and Tanzania's High Court. In terms of the latter, I discuss the pattern of "judicialization of politics" that characterizes some backlashes against democracy in Tanzania.

CHAPTER 5

TRIBULATIONS OF TROPHY HUNTING

People are angry with the hunting industry. They are tired of being ignored. If communities are given authority to decide, I think it's likely that hunters will have to go. Or, at least their way of working will have to change. They will have to respect local communities. If hunting persists, it will be on the community's terms. What's the expression about chickens and roosting? When the chickens come to roost? I forget, but I think it means something about how bad behaviours will come back to impact you in the long term. This is my argument about what will happen soon to hunting. In fact, it's already happening in some places.

(AA leader, July 2015)



Trophy hunters may not be good neighbours, but they have big friends

(Government official, September 2014)



Introduction

Trophy hunting is one of Tanzania's most significant industries and foreign exchange earners (Booth, 2017). Tourists from all over the world, especially the USA, visit the country every year to hunt its trophy wildlife. In terms of direct contributions, the industry is expected to generate upwards of 30 million USD annually (Booth, 2017, p. x). Some of this income is now coming from trophy hunting in WMAs. In recent years, though, the industry has faced some crises and shrunk accordingly (Booth, 2017). It reflects an industry in flux and crisis, with many grievances and pressures coming from all sides.

In previous chapters, it has become clear that Tanzania's rural communities have been especially embittered by trophy hunting. In this section, I want to elaborate on the history of trophy hunting in Tanzania and the politics that have arisen in rural communities, especially Enduimet. I first take a brief detour through trophy hunting's general history and its rise to

prominence. I do so to situate today's conflicts in a long history of rural displacement, alienation and dispossession. I then look at the trophy hunting debate in Tanzania, from international anti-hunting movements to impassioned national debates and, on the village level, the popular sentiments that trouble the industry. Finally, I turn to the critical sentiments that pervade Enduimet, the tribulations with the industry and the backlashes that have arisen against it. I conceive these as a combination of backlashes against the trophy hunting market while also, most recently, against democracy. Legacies of the centralized industry and its crony capitalism continue to influence some trajectories.

i. Trophy hunting's rise

Before getting to trophy hunting's specific status in Enduimet, it is helpful to consider some elements of its general history. Trophy hunting in Africa, and Tanzania, has gone through various articulations since the 19th Century. It has evolved through and been a constitutive element of colonial empire-building, nation-building, and most recently, liberal economic restructuring. According to many, it reflects a long, tumultuous history of enclosures, displacement, alienation and dispossession.

As it pertains to the colonial period in Africa, John Mackenzie asserts in, *The Empire of Nature* (1988), that trophy hunting was fundamentally constitutive of empire building. Mackenzie argues that wildlife offered essential food and wealth to early colonial regimes. Such regimes were often in desperate need of resources to administer their vast, often unruly, territories. To put it succinctly, he argues that Africa was "conquered on the back of its animals" (MacKenzie 2013, 2). Elephants, specifically ivory, were especially a target, which devastated the population through the late 19th and early 20th Century. As ivory and other trophies gained

value and became scarcer, indigenous hunting became more and more criminalized. Steinhart (2006) describes such criminalization via the epithet, “black poachers, white hunters”, indicating how hunting by black indigenous residents became illegal while the hunting activities of white settlers and tourists gained recognition via a burgeoning hunting industry. Essentially, black hunters were prosecuted while white hunters were praised. This further facilitated dispossession and, sometimes, provoked violent conflict (Steinhart, 2006). Sunseri’s (2010) historical research in Tanzania illustrates how conflicts over the ivory trade underpinned much conflict and rebellion in Tanzania through the colonial era. He argues that, although often associated with German policies that forced rural inhabitants to grow cotton, the well-known Maji Maji rebellion of 1905, which took the lives of up to 300,000 indigenous Tanzanians, was rooted in grievances surrounding hunting rights and the ivory market

Much critical scholarship ties trophy hunting in Tanzania, and other colonies, to imperial expansion and domination (Neumann, 1996; Neumann, 1998; Neumann, 2001; Yeager, 1986). MacKenzie (2013) argues that trophy hunting discourses emboldened ideas of white superiority and manifest destiny. He frames trophy hunting in colonized spaces as a “spectacular display of white dominance” (MacKenzie, p.7). Herman (2003) argues that English hunters in Africa “paved the way for colonization of lands” (p.460). American trophy hunters, with extensive media coverage in books, magazines and newspapers, “sought to demonstrate the scientific, sporting, and racial superiority of Americans” (Herman, p.460). According to Neumann, it all served to legitimize colonial rule (Neumann, 1996).

Whereas early trophy hunting was primarily for the commercial purpose of exporting ivory and other trophies, by the early 20th Century, hunting tourism enterprise began to take root. Global elites and aristocrats the world over sought out hunting adventures in Africa. Adams

(2004) writes that trophy hunting tourism “was a specialized business before the First World War, but by the 1920s, the safari had become a fad for the rich in both Europe and America” (p.39). Famous expeditions, like that of Theodore Roosevelt in Kenya in 1909, provoked the growth of trophy hunting tourism among the world’s elites. It grew rapidly across Africa, generally, and Tanzania, specifically. By 1903, a group of aristocratic, big-game hunters in England had formed the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire. This organization influenced greatly the policies in British colonies, including Tanzania (then called, Tanganyika), promoting the creation of protected areas and privileging their hunting interests (Neumann, 1996).

In Tanzania, trophy hunting tourism began formally in 1946 (Baldus, 1994; Nigel Leader-Williams, 2000), and by the end of the colonial era, the British were leasing hunting blocs to outfitters in a vast network of trophy hunting reserves, amounting to at least 8% of the land (Nigel Leader-Williams, Baldus, & Smith, 2009, p. 301). At this stage, a burgeoning trophy hunting tourism industry began to generate a ‘handsome sum’ for the colonial administration and it had become a highly international affair (Mbogoni, 2013, p. 41). By the end of the colonial era, Tanzania’s trophy hunting tourism industry began to take root, and, concomitantly, as Yeager (1986) argues, “Thus were introduced two policy conceptions that yet prevail in modern Tanzania – consolidating local populations for economic and social reasons and denying the settlement of large tracts, set aside as game sanctuaries” (p. 13). While photographic tourism began to gain prominence at this time, trophy hunting remained the primary source of foreign revenue.

Following independence, the early national era continued colonial processes of gazetting protected areas and “reordering rural space” (Neumann, 2001). Tanzania’s “export of

wilderness”, as Nash (1982) describes it, was seen as the mainstay of the young nation’s aspirations. As stated in Chapter Two, in 1961, flanked by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Tanzania’s founder, Julius Nyerere, presciently oriented the country’s tourism trajectories to the “strange urges” of the international community, believing that wild animals, next to diamonds and sisal, would become the countries “greatest source of income” (as quoted in Honey, 2008, p. 221). This set the stage for expanding the country’s conservation spaces and tourism.

The game sanctuaries of the colonial era were quickly nationalized. Rather than for imperial service, wildlife was conscripted for building the new nation. With nationalization, colonial patterns of enclosures and exclusions remained remarkably the same (Nelson et al. 2009; Honey 2008; Nelson, Nshala, and Rodgers 2007; Neumann 2002). In 1961, the Game Department opened up 90 of the colonial period’s Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) for regular hunting, ramping up the country’s revenue production (Baldus, 2004, p.3). In 1965, game reserves were also declared hunting areas. At this time, one of the world’s most famous hunting spaces, the Selous Game Reserve in southern Tanzania, was divided into 47 hunting blocks (Baldus, 2004, p. 4). Hunting concessions reached up to 9000km² in some cases (Baldus 2004, 4). In the new nation, trophy hunting was encouraged in three types of protected areas, Game Reserves, Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) and Open Areas (Leader-Williams 2000). Each represents variable degrees of dispossession, with evictions and total exclusion in the case of Game Reserves. Trophy hunting spaces grew through the early independence period to encompass over 19% of the country’s land mass (Ndolanga, 1996, p. 14).

The distinct change in the post-independence period was the government’s efforts to decolonize the trophy hunting industry. After a ban between 1974 and 1978, the hunting industry was reopened under the exclusive control of the governmental parastatal, Tanzanian Wildlife

Corporation (TAWICO) (Nelson, Nshala, and Rodgers 2007). As identified in Chapter Two, the 1980s represented a period of economic crisis for Tanzania. This applied to tourism as much, or more, than other industries in the country. Revenues depreciated and wildlife numbers decreased

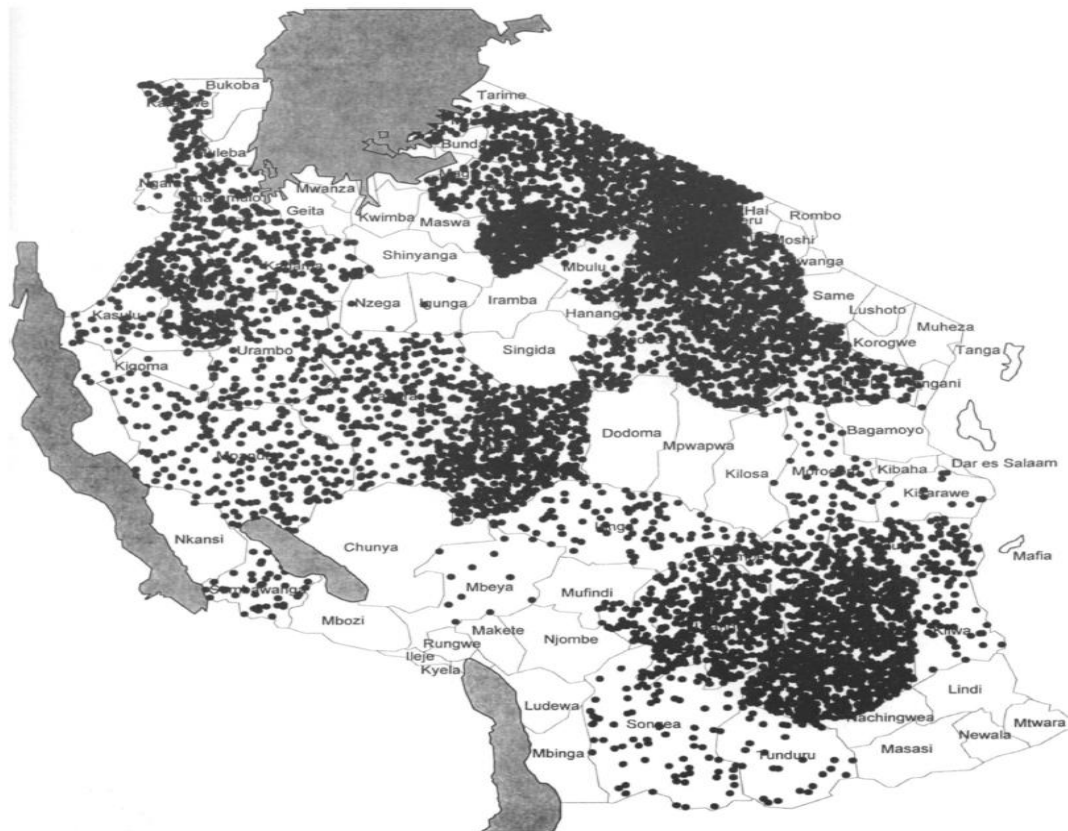


Figure 30 The locations where hunting fees were earned in 1992-1993 hunting season (Reprinted from Leader-Williams, Kaye & Overtoil, 1996)

alongside growing allegations of government corruption (Garland, 2008; Nigel Leader-Williams et al., 2009; Nelson, Gardner, Igoe, & Williams, 2009). While the state's protected areas for wildlife utilisation continued to increase, a host of international and national crises meant that funds to administer the state apparatus and corresponding industry began to dry up. Trophy hunting enterprise stumbled along through this period but diminished under the allegedly corrupt authority of TAWICO. As part of Tanzania's restructuring by the late 90s, trophy hunting was

subsequently shifted to the Wildlife Division in 1988 when it began to grow again (Baldus and Cauldwell 2004).

Tanzania's so-called "neoliberal era" (Shivji, 2009) further privatized and opened the trophy hunting industry to foreign investment. Invariably, hunting areas multiplied as the number of private companies vying for space increased, often to the clear detriment of wildlife populations (Baldus and Cauldwell 2004). Over 131 blocks were available to hunters by the late 90s (PAWM 1996; Barnett and Patterson 2006). Expectedly, revenues have grown exponentially, as a result.

Figure 30 is a map from the early 90s, borrowed from Leader-Williams, Kayera, & Overtoil (1996), that illustrates the immense breadth of trophy hunting across the country. The black points on the map reflect where game fees from trophy hunting were reportedly accrued – in other words, where wildlife were legally shot and trophy fees paid for. As seen in the map, a large portion of the country has become a trophy hunting estate. Today, over 160 blocks are being utilized (Booth, 2017). The vastness of hunting spaces has reached over 250,000 km² (Nelson & Blomley, 2010). While half of this area is reserved exclusively for trophy hunting tourism in Game Reserves, half of it is shared by, and overlaps with villages lands (Nigel Leader-Williams, 2000) – e.g. trophy hunting in the Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) and Open Areas that often overlap with villages.

The number of private operators has invariably increased alongside the expansion of the country's trophy hunting estate and neoliberalization. Only nine companies existed in the 80s and, by 1999, 35 were identified (Barnett & Patterson, 2006, p. 64). Today, up to 60 companies vie for hunting blocks (Booth, 2017). In terms of revenue, it is estimated that the overall gross value of the hunting industry was \$5,800,000 USD in 1988, but grew to \$56,379,798 USD in 2008 (Booth, 2010, p. 22). The revenue accruing to the Wildlife Division has increased from

\$1,200,000 USD to \$12,352,180 USD between 1988 and 2008 respectively (Booth, 2010 p. 22). Today, it reaches upwards of \$30 million USD annually (Booth, 2017). In 2015, the Tanzania government reported that the Wildlife Division accrued \$135,177,494 (Booth, 2017, p.x).

ii. Trophy hunting's demise?

In recent times, trophy hunting has begun to face a lot of discontentment and some argue that it could face its own demise. With growing resentment from multiple levels, the industry finds itself between a rock and hard place (Wright, 2016). A recent study by economist Vernon Booth (2017) demonstrates that Tanzania's hunting industry is in a state of disarray and crisis. The study shows a shrinking, underperforming industry and illustrates that, despite efforts to overhaul the industry in recent years, corruption remains high, often including blatant contraventions of official policies. The study concludes "This [gap between policy and practice] carries through to the 2015 Regulations that contain sufficient safeguards to ensure that wildlife is utilised sustainably and transparently but fall short with respect to day-to-day administration in the field, and is weak in the governance and quota allocations" (p.xi).

Resentments and resistance toward the industry are rooted in grievances about land, money and corruption. Considering land issues, trophy hunting is perceived to be the source of much rural displacement and dispossession. This follows on the long history of expansion illustrated in the last section. Figure 31 illustrates Tanzania's trophy hunting estate today. Each of the numbered Game Reserves, Game Controlled Areas and Open Areas host trophy hunting blocks. Evidently, it constitutes a large portion of the country. Sulle, Lekaita, and Nelson (2011) estimate that hunting space encloses 35% of Tanzania's land area.

Each of these areas have different implications for land dispossession. First and foremost, all of the country's Game Reserves comprise histories of removal and eviction. They are exclusively used for tourism. Other trophy hunting areas have historically provoked less dispossession, at least in terms of customary land and resource use. Open Areas and Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) have always overlapped with Village Land and have permitted ongoing customary use.

More recently though, the status of Game Controlled Areas (GCAs) has changed. The Wildlife Conservation Act of 2008 increases regulatory protection for trophy hunting significantly. For the first time in history, according to the stipulations of the policy, all livestock-grazing and cultivation is prohibited in GCAs, reserving them exclusively for trophy

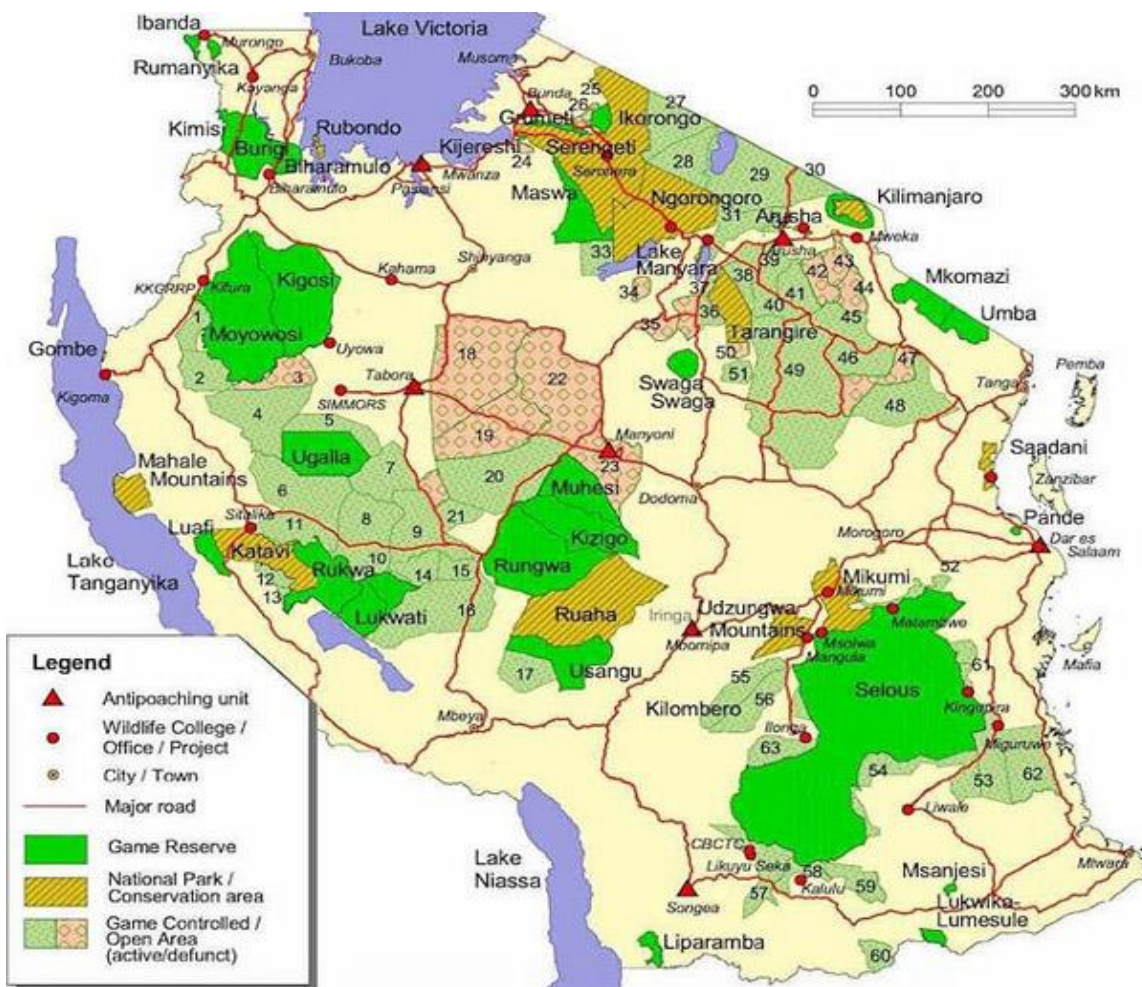


Figure 31 Tanzania's conservation estate and trophy hunting spaces (each of the numbered areas contain hunting blocks, illustrating the exceptional breadth of hunting)

hunting and photographic tourism (MNRT 2008). The crisis this represents for rural communities cannot be overstated. As seen in Figure 31, GCAs cover a significant part of the country's rural territory and significantly overlaps with village land that is depended on by rural inhabitants. It remains unclear how the government will manage the conflicts that will surely arise if the policy is ever enforced. The conflict in Loliondo has become the most internationally renowned case, where Maasai communities face losing 1,500 km² of ancestral territory due to the new policy (Gardner, 2016). A recent report from The Oakland Institute (2018) entitled, "Losing the Serengeti", castigates the Tanzanian government for prioritizing trophy hunting at the expense of approximately 50,000 indigenous Maasai who call the place home. Beyond grievances about land, anger about money – more specifically, benefit sharing – also plagues the industry. Very little revenue trickles down to the rural communities that host the industry. It has been one of the most notorious and contentious issues facing the trophy hunting industry (Leader-Williams 2000; Nelson and Blomley 2010; Booth, 2017). At best, in the past, some revenue reached District authorities. Little, if any, reached villages. A government audit in 2013 demonstrated that, despite regulations that require 25% to be given to District governments, this was often not implemented (MNRT 2013). The audit further highlighted that no formal mechanisms exist to distribute this revenue to villages (MNRT, 2013). Village leaders and residents have largely perceived trophy hunting as merely exploiting their land with little regard for their interests and development, stoking the anger that is discussed below, not to mention the conditions for backlash. In exceptional cases, this anger was abated by periodic donations from trophy hunting companies to local communities, but such efforts rarely resolved general contentions. If anything, such gifts, most often, just reached the pockets of local village elites.

Grievances also relate to the poor governance of the industry. Allegations of corruption have always plagued the trophy hunting industry. With few exceptions, such corruption has typified patterns of crony capitalism and clientelism (Nigel Leader-Williams, 2000; Nigel Leader-Williams et al., 2009; Nelson & A. Agrawal, 2008; Nelson & Blomley, 2010). As early as the 70s, its notorious corruption provoked President Nyerere to close down the industry for a few years before opening it again in nationalized form. Allegations got only worse through the 80s and 90s and through the 2000s (Nigel Leader-Williams et al., 2009; Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). In 2008, a corrupt deal, between government authorities and some hunting investors, was revealed. It involved the leasing of hunting blocks for less than market prices, siphoning off up to \$80 million USD every year (Ihucha, 2011). Most recently, the newly appointed Natural Resources Minister, Hamisi Kgwangalla, uncovered corrupt dealings between a notorious company in Loliondo and Tanzania's ruling CCM party. The then Wildlife Director was suspended and accused of "creating a syndicate of government officials in the ministry who have been compromised" (Kabendera, 2017). Suffice it to say that, at least in the popular perception, corruption has become synonymous with trophy hunting in Tanzania.

Not surprisingly, the topic of trophy hunting raises strong emotions in the country. The debate surrounding its status in Tanzania has a long history and frequently fills the pages of Tanzania's news media. In 2015, the debate reached unprecedented heights, which I watched intrigued and serves as a helpful case in point about trophy hunting's status in Tanzania. This recent debate was spurred by the 'Cecil the lion' saga. For those unfamiliar, the saga involved a trophy hunting incident and the subsequent killing of a lion on the boundary of a national park in Zimbabwe. In July 2015, the American dentist, Walter Palmer embarked on a trophy hunting expedition. A local company made all the arrangements for Palmer, who assumed everything

met legal regulations. After some effort, which included controversial baiting techniques, Palmer shot a prized lion that had ventured out of the nearby national park into a private hunting reserve. As it turned out, the lion was a famous Zimbabwean lion named Cecil, who was a long-time, adored subject of an Oxford University study and had gained some popular fame in Zimbabwe. There was a public outcry, which went viral and circulated throughout the world. A legal case was opened against Palmer in Zimbabwe with American and Zimbabwean activists asking for his extradition.

A shocking media storm erupted, as did protests around the world. The slogan “I am Cecil” began to circulate throughout the world in protest against trophy hunting generally and Walter Palmer specifically. In the mayhem, and facing threats to his life, Palmer was forced to shut down his business and go into hiding for fear of violence. Environmental correspondent Jacalyn Bales captures the gist of the saga and the corresponding popular sentiments in her op-ed piece titled ‘Cecil: The Lion that Rocked the World’:

In early July 2015, Zimbabwe lost one of its most revered icons, Cecil the Lion [. . .] Cecil’s death took the world by storm. [. . .] It was a dark day for Zimbabwe, but the clouds would not linger for long. In fact, in the words of Dostoevsky, Cecil’s death was the spark which lit the forest on fire and ignited an international outcry for justice and retribution. As the clouds parted, the death of Cecil shone on every corner of the world like a glaring beam of light, unrelenting in its task of exposing the cruel underbelly of lion exploitation in Africa (Photographers Without Borders, August 19, 2015).

By the end of it all, trophy hunting in Africa came under public scrutiny in ways never before seen. Big airline companies joined in the protests, prohibiting the transport of trophies on their planes. In the USA, a “CECIL bill” was formulated to tighten regulations on the import of

trophies. It all revealed, once again, the contentious cultural politics that comprise and threaten the industry.

It was not long before the “international outcry” reached Tanzania. I was in Canada at the time, but I saw it engulf the country via social media and other news outlets. I was bombarded by messages and group posts on a daily basis. Facebook friends and colleagues in Enduimet and throughout Longido District posted “I am Cecil” statements. Discussions about trophy hunting broke out on my Facebook Groups, including some youth groups associated with politics in Longido. In general, these discussions launched the manifestos against trophy hunting that I had already become well familiar with in Enduimet and Longido.

On a national level, the case emboldened an already existing anti-hunting discourse and movement. This debate has a long history in Tanzania. Much of the country’s wildlife tourism has been characterized by conflict between industry leaders who want to shoot wildlife versus those who want to photograph them. The powerful photographic tourism lobby group, Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO), has been at the forefront of trying to convince the government to eliminate trophy hunting. The Tanzania Hunting Operators Association (TAHOA), the key trophy hunting lobby group, tries to maintain the country’s trophy hunting trajectory.

With growing international pressures and ongoing reputation crises, TAHOA fights an uphill battle. The anti-poaching discourse and global movement has emboldened TATO. TATO leaders have wisely capitalized on international and national concerns about poaching, especially concerns about the illegal ivory trade which has decimated the continent’s elephant population – an intriguing articulation of global conservation discourses and tourism’s economic interests. In one meeting, the head of TATO argued that for every wild animal killed legally there is another

killed illegally and “no one can tell the bullet killing our elephants comes from professional hunters or from poachers. In this situation it is difficult to control malpractice” (Ihucha, 2014). Another TATO leader echoed such concerns: “Let’s face it. The state should ban trophy hunting and switch to photographic activities in the face of growing poaching which threatens the survival of our wildlife” (Ihucha 2014).

Not surprisingly, the example of neighboring Kenya often arises in such discussions. Kenya eliminated its trophy hunting industry in 1977 and has continued to pursue a lucrative photographic tourism industry. For trophy hunting opponents, they want to follow Kenya’s example. One TATO member expressed to me that “Kenya does not have all these headaches and they have less poaching. It’s ridiculous that we still accept this barbaric practice in Tanzania, all because of a small collection of foreign investors and their government supporters”.

Proponents of trophy hunting have tried to respond to such critical discourses. TAHOA persistently tries to shed light on the industry’s contribution to the national economy and, purportedly, to wildlife conservation. In 2013, such arguments were reflected in an op-ed opinion piece in the New York Times on March 17 from Tanzania’s then Director of Wildlife, Alexander Songorwa. Songorwa was writing in an attempt to protest the USA’s threat to list lions as an endangered species. The piece is contentiously titled, “Saving Lions by Killing Them”. In it, he argues that “the millions of dollars that hunters spend to go on safari each year help finance the game reserves, wildlife management areas and conservation efforts in our rapidly growing country” (Songorwa, 2013). From 2008 to 2011, he argues that hunting generated \$75 million dollars for the Tanzanian economy, and furthermore, “hunters spend 10 to 25 times more than regular tourists and travel to (and spend money in) remote areas rarely visited by photographic tourists” (Songorwa, 2013). He concludes that losing hunters would be “disastrous to our

conservation efforts... add further strain to our already limited budgets, undo the progress we've made, and undermine our ability to conserve not only our lions but all of our wildlife"

(Songorwa, 2013).

Remarkably, though, the above Director's legitimacy has come into question in more recent times. Songorwa's role as Wildlife Director has been suspended. He stands accused of abhorrent corruption, profiteering and collusion with trophy hunting investors. It may be said that his above treatise on the value of trophy hunting represents a conflict of interest, to say the least. Whatever the case, it all reflects the crisis that trophy hunting faces in Tanzania.

Overall, Tanzania's anti-hunting discourse has grown and swayed public opinion quite significantly. The hunting industry remains plagued with a bad reputation of exploitation, corruption, and either directly or indirectly contributing to wildlife declines (Booth, 2010; Dickson, Hutton, Adams, & Wiley, 2009). Concerns about corruption loom largest. It is commonly believed that the industry stumbles along in Tanzania, merely propped up by the private benefits accumulated by a far-reaching syndicate of government officials.

This perception was well summed up in one memorable discussion I had with an official from the Wildlife Division. In relaying my findings from Enduimet, I made reference to the popular "hunters are not good neighbours" sentiment that is common in rural communities and which, I suggest, may spell the demise of trophy hunting in many of Tanzania's rural spaces. He agreed with my analysis but cautioned against any premature conclusions about the apparent demise of the industry: "they [hunters] may not be good neighbours but they have big friends". For many, this sums up the industry in Tanzania: irrespective of any discursive battles or rural resistance, the industry remains propped up by a supportive political economy. Those awaiting the industry's demise may need to temper any near-term expectations.

What is trophy hunting's status, and how is it perceived, at the village level? This is most important to my analysis. Rather expectedly, I have always found an overwhelming critical stance. At least in the villages that I spent time in, there is little debate about trophy hunting, *per se*. Its associations are almost exclusively negative. Undoubtedly, there is pragmatic acceptance of trophy hunting, given the financial implications for many rural communities, many of which do not have the necessary infrastructure (e.g. decent roads) or are too geographically isolated to attract lucrative, photographic tourism ventures. Such pragmatism and financial logic was seen in Enduimet's case, as outlined in Part I. Nevertheless, even in these cases, I found that there is a general criticism about the industry, a wariness about trophy hunting investors and operators, assumptions about the corruption that invariably pervades the industry and, subsequently, concerns about the heavy-hand of the state that always threatens to subordinate community interests. Where trophy hunting exists in village lands, it is fair to say that, with few exceptions, it is accepted begrudgingly and with trepidation.

As an important caveat, I should make clear that while the general public discourse is overwhelmingly critical, this does not preclude the presence of some trophy hunting allies and supporters in the villages where it operates. Trophy hunting operators inevitably cultivate some positive relations with key elites in villages. As I have stated elsewhere, this is a common characteristic of rural tourism, whether photography or hunting. For one reason or other (e.g. whether out of a genuine desire to share benefits, for marketing purposes, etc.), trophy hunting companies often build some relations with local elites and provide some financial or other support, accordingly. Such practices have mobilized some village-based allies.

Sinya is a case in point. Despite the clear criticism and mass mobilization against trophy hunting (described below), there have always been some proponents and allies in the village. In

reference to the Northern Hunting Company (NHC), for example, while a large majority of Sinya residents despised the company, it always cultivated relations with some key village leaders and some of the key traditional leaders. The company brought clients to these leaders' households for 'cultural tourism' experiences, offering some financial contribution in exchange. In other cases, other support and gifts characterized these relationships, including support for the leaders' children's school fees, assistance with medical fees and, in urgent cases, offering help to transport sick people to the hospital in Longido. Such support and gifts invariably nurtured support for the company among these leaders, even while the tide of popular support was shifting through the early 2000s.

As conflict with the company began coalescing and building, not surprisingly, these leaders defended the company. Indeed, the situation and competing interests caused a deep fracture and social division in the village. The legacy of this can still be witnessed in today's social divisions, conflict and tensions. Leaders have not forgotten the past hurts and losses that arose through the conflict. As will be seen, it is a situation that one company, Shu'mata, has recently exploited in efforts to find support. The company successfully won support from the small contingent of leaders that historically fell from grace in Sinya for their support for NHC. This has poured fuel on the fire, as it pertains to escalating social divisions in Sinya.

Returning to the subject of village-level perceptions, let me highlight some of my findings from 2015. In August of that year, I set off to investigate this question not only in Enduimet, but also the proposed Lake Natron WMA, Randilen WMA and Makame WMA. I wanted to see whether the critical sentiments I witnessed in Enduimet were common elsewhere. Generally, I found they were. Backlashes against the tourist hunting market are unfolding in many WMAs. In one discussion with a leader of the Authorized Association Consortium (AAC), the lobby group

that is supposed to represent AA interests to the central government, he summed up my general experience in the following: “Fights against trophy hunting are happening everywhere. Not just trophy hunting of course. Communities are fighting many investors. They now have power. And they are angry”.

My experiences in Makame WMA, illustrated many of the critical sentiments, backlashes and strategic ways that leaders are repositioning themselves vis-à-vis trophy hunting. The following comment captured common, aggrieved sentiments. It provides good overview of the range of grievances toward trophy hunters, also government complicity, feelings of disregard and economic injustice:

Hunting operators ignore us. All the decisions are made up there [meaning in Dar es Salaam, the headquarters of the government’s wildlife sector]. The hunters make their friends up there. Down here, we aren’t engaged. We are just told that this operator or another has a contract to hunt in our village. We have no say, and we receive no benefits.

The following quote from another leader foreshadows the backlash that threatens the industry:

People are angry with the hunting industry. They are tired of being ignored. If communities are given authority to decide, I think it’s likely that hunters will have to go. Or, at least their way of working will have to change. They will have to respect local communities. If hunting persists, it will be on the community’s terms. What’s the expression about chickens and roosting? When the chickens come to roost? I forget, but I think it means something about how bad behaviours will come back to impact you in the long term. This is my argument about what will happen soon to hunting. In fact, it’s already happening in some places.

In Makame, leaders have deployed their new authority via WMA reforms to challenge the historical status quo. Like in Enduimet, discussion has emerged about whether to continue with trophy hunting, as there remains a preference for photographic tourism business. However, given Makame's geographical isolation and less dense populations of wildlife (which may undermine the feasibility of photographic tourism), not to mention the promise of higher benefits from tourism hunting, the AA continues its engagement with the industry.

To counter past patterns of exploitation though, Makame has been vigilant about who they engage and quick to reject any investors that provoke concerns. In 2013, this included a contentious rejection of the Wildlife Division's efforts to appoint an investor. Allegedly, the investor had ties to a central government authority. A conflict erupted with much pressure from central authorities, but Makame stood their ground. Ultimately, they selected an investor that met their interests. In 2015, I joined one meeting with the chosen investor. I was impressed by the engagement and, following the meeting, it was explained to me that "we trust [name of investor]. We met with him. He agreed to pay more than others, meeting our financial interests. He treated us with respect. He has continued to engage us well and we'll continue working with him as long as he continues this way". When probed further, the leader explained that "For us, money was one factor. But good relations was even more important. We want investors that treat us well. It's not just about paying us well. It's about how they treat us." Remarkably, summing Makame's experience up, one AA member argued that "trophy hunters have been humbled". Another stated that "We have the authority now. The game has changed".

Another key focus in my investigation was the proposed Lake Natron WMA, which borders the Enduimet WMA to the west. Since 2013, alongside my research in Enduimet, I have been watching grievances toward trophy hunting unfold there. Lake Natron hosts the most contentious

WMA in Tanzania: it encompasses five of some of the country's most lucrative hunting blocks, which have been entangled in many conflicts in recent times. Hunting investors include companies from American billionaire, Thomas Friedkin's group of companies as well as ruling families and oil barons of the United Arab Emirates. An article's title in *The Guardian* in 2016 captured well the nature of Lake Natron's conflicts, foreshadowing the challenges that beset the WMA: "Billionaires battle for control of big game hunting" (*The Guardian*, July 4, 2016). The Lake Natron WMA has been outspoken about its intention to follow a path similar to Enduimet, prioritizing pastoral livelihoods, reducing trophy hunting and replacing it with photographic tourism.

Since 2014, the operationalization of the WMA has been stalled. WMA leaders continue to await the issuance of user-rights from the Wildlife Director. While details have not been made public, the opinion of all the village and District leaders I spoke with is that a strong hunting lobby is prohibiting any progress. Hunting investors are very worried about the implications of a WMA. The WMA's proposed zone management plan threatens to strip trophy hunters of large stretches of land that they have historically used (Lake Natron CBO, 2014). Increased prices and stricter monitoring will increase business costs, which is another concern. The biggest concern though is that Lake Natron WMA leaders will adopt Enduimet's trajectory: limit trophy hunting in favor of photographic tourism. Lake Natron WMA have been outspoken about this throughout early planning processes. For one reason or other, a contingent of investors and operators have allegedly obstructed the WMA villages from obtaining user-rights. Of course, WMA leaders believe that central authorities are complicit in the obstruction, as they fear the loss of illicit rents that they have allegedly enjoyed historically.

In 2013, I sat in two WMA planning meetings that included village leaders, WMA leaders and trophy hunting investors. On several occasions, tension arose as historical grievances were repeated by village and WMA leaders: in their view, hunters were devastating wildlife populations, they poorly engaged communities and shared little benefit with them. At various points, village leader after village leader stood up, shared lengthy criticisms while pointing fingers at the investors huddled in the front of the room. Periodically, applause from other village leaders drowned out speeches. On a few occasions, responses from investors were rejected and interrupted by another leader standing up to counter the investor's argument. It was often chaotic with facilitators trying to maintain some sense of order. In my analysis, the chaos and conflicts that comprised the meetings were simply a microcosm of what promises to unfold in the WMA.

I travelled through several of the Lake Natron WMA villages, interviewing leaders and residents. Like elsewhere, the bitterness against trophy hunting was palpable. Anger toward the government was likewise significant. One leader lamented that "Hunters build their relationships with the government. Then we're ordered to live with them. We benefit nothing. The government officials are the only ones that eat. The people are left with nothing." The common sentiment was that hunting investors prioritized relations with the central government while mostly ignoring local communities. "How can we stay with a company that refuses to even listen to us?" one leader rhetorically asked.

Expectedly, it was argued that the whole industry is corrupt. Swahili slang was frequently used to describe its dubious operations: *ujanja ujanja* (trickery), *njia za corna corna* (cutting corners) and *njia mkatwa* (shortcuts). Revealing the anger toward the government and the nature of the industry, another leader argued, "We own the land, but the government brings us the contract on behalf of the hunters. They are the hunters' friends. We don't know what they are

paid for it. This shouldn't be the way it is." Expressing the common preference for photographic tourism, a leader explained:

People prefer photo tourists. They visit our communities. They buy our traditional crafts... They visit our homes to learn about our culture. Hunters just come to kill wildlife. It ruins our environment. If they want to kill a lion, they will do it. Photos don't destroy anything. It's only a photo.

What followed most expressions of grievance was reference to the anticipated redress of WMA reforms. Whether or not leaders' expectations are legitimate, their aspirations were clear: with the expected devolved authority of the WMA, leaders are committed to limiting trophy hunting or at least holding it more to account (e.g. in terms of sharing benefits and meaningfully engaging communities). One leader summed up aspirations by saying, "with the WMA, we hope we will be the owners again". One woman warned hunters with the following: "they've gotten used to taking corners and shortcuts when they operated up there [in Dar es Salaam]. If the WMA starts, these shortcuts will no longer exist. We will be their bosses." One impassioned statement arose in a meeting in Kitumbeine Village from a youth that had worked with a trophy hunting company for two years. He argued,

Once the WMA begins, wildlife populations won't decrease again. The wildlife will be left in peace ... We will be left in peace. Our livestock won't be disturbed again. The disturbance of guns will end. The common people will be given authority. The hunters received ownership without engaging us. We will be the owners. The hunting will end when the WMA begins.

To be clear, at times, it seemed that ideas of the WMA were romanticized by many village leaders and residents in Lake Natron. They spoke with much optimism about the authority they

would be afforded, at times seeming naïve about some of the politics that invariably characterize WMA governance, the abuses of power by central authorities that still occur and the authority still maintained by central government, including that of the Wildlife Director (e.g. authority to approve or disapprove the Resource Zone Management Plan, which determines hunting zones and regulations in a WMA). Many of the anticipations and heightened expectations were clearly based on Enduimet's experience and achievements vis-à-vis trophy hunting. In using Enduimet as a point of reference, there was often little regard for how the particularities of Lake Natron may influence trajectories differently. While I cannot elaborate on this here, suffice it to say that financial stakes are much higher in Lake Natron WMA, given the size of trophy hunting business in the area and, hence, only time will tell how dynamics between central authorities, investors and WMA leaders may unfold. The current prevention of issuing user-rights may foreshadow a very different, and much more difficult, trajectory than that of Enduimet. Ultimately, there is more revenue at stake and more significant political economic ramifications, especially for central government authorities who may be benefitting from the status quos. Maintaining our motif of a world on fire, while it is clear that Lake Natron promises a backlash against the trophy hunting market, recent conflicts also suggest a backlash against democracy has unfolded and may continue to define Lake Natron.

Enduimet residents' sentiments are similar to those in Makame and Lake Natron. Since first arriving in Enduimet, I was overwhelmed by the intensity of criticism against the industry and many of its actors. Enduimet has not faced land dispossession at the hands of trophy hunting; the area has no Game Reserves and the Game Controlled Area that encompasses it has never excluded human use and settlement. For Enduimet residents, their grievances are more financial and political. The "hunters don't make good neighbours" type narrative is common. Reportedly,

this emphasis on “good neighbourliness” is why a focus on this became so prominent in Enduimet’s second RZMP, as described in the last chapter. Grievances surrounding perceived economic exploitation are prominent. Given the circulation of news media in recent times, many have become aware that the hunters they see, in the fancy 4x4s rapidly driving through their villages, pay a few thousand dollars a day. Understandably, leaders ask why they get no share of it? “Hunters never share”, as put by one Tingatinga resident, is a common refrain. Often, government authorities are blamed for the situation. One leader explained, for example, “hunters don’t share with us because they have to pay their government friends”. Corruption was seen as a key source of the problem.

Overall, what I was most struck by in Enduimet was that grievances toward trophy hunting often seemed less about money and more about politics. Of course, this is a general theme in this thesis, as seen in the last chapter. As it relates to trophy hunting, I found that angry discussions about economic matters (e.g. sharing revenue) concealed a much deeper subtext: general feelings of disregard and anger over a sense of mistreatment, disenfranchisement and alienation. When probing discussions about economics, sentiments about “they don’t respect us” invariably rose to the surface and commonly overwhelmed discussions. Ultimately, these sentiments underpinned the concerns about hunters as unwanted neighbours. Residents typically express feelings of disregard and disrespect.

Discussions repeatedly provoked strong emotions. Voices were often raised. Abrupt interruptions arose. Sometimes, participants would walk out of meetings in a display of disgust. As stated in the last chapter, it often left me with a sense that ‘getting the economics right’ was less important than ‘getting the politics right’. What matters most to village leaders and residents is not so much related to money but, often, related more to transforming power relations, and

gaining authority and control over trophy hunting. It is political dissatisfactions, I argue, which animate backlashes against the industry.

iii. Hunting's history and tribulations in Enduimet

Spotted across Enduimet's landscape are memorials to the area's colonial and postcolonial history with trophy hunting and, also, its more recent history of the industry's rejection. The following is a research anecdote that I wrote in my field notes in August 2013, which touches on the long history of the industry in Enduimet:

In a remote spot at the margins of Tingatinga village there stands an old, decrepit cement building. Time has worn it down. Rains have eroded its once solid foundation. Depending on who you talk to, winds tore off its metal roof or rebellious youth tore it off for their own uses. It is a structure that easily catches one's eye and invariably provokes questions. It's set in an isolated site. No human presence can easily be identified for as far as the eye can see, with only the possible exception of a spear-bearing, young Maasai herder and his cherished livestock. Acacia trees dot the otherwise dry, fairly barren terrain. The only evidence of life are the herds of zebra, wildebeest and gazelle that graze peacefully across the space. On my first encounter with this odd, worn down structure, I was on a foot patrol with some VGS from a nearby ranger post. I couldn't help but to inquire with them about the building. "This is our history of trophy hunting", one VGS responded. Confused, I asked what he meant. He went on to explain that the structure was "built by Nyerere". It was apparently a trophy hunting structure from Tanzania's postcolonial period. We stood near the building and proceeded in a long conversation about trophy hunting in Tanzania. The VGS shared all the common, critical sentiments about trophy

hunting. One concluded that “this building reminds us that trophy hunters have always been here. The Arabs were here. Then the Germans. Then the British. Now, the Arabs are here again”.

Indeed, the VGS that day had a valid point. The building is a memorial of sorts. It is set in an area that has always hosted Africa’s “trophies”, including the elephants who fed the earliest Arab traders and then German and British empires. It is a trophy hunting space iconicized in colonists’ memoirs, like *The Other Side of Kilimanjaro* by Johnson, whose family resided on the nearby slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Apparently, it was also an area that became targeted by Nyerere’s efforts to build the new nation. Since the 90s, it was carved into a hunting block and henceforth entangled in the now notorious trophy hunting industry, whereby private, often foreign hunting businesses scramble to gain privilege vis-à-vis hungry officials. Most recently, in its new attire as a WMA hunting zone, the area is occupied by powerful oil barons of the United Arab Emirates.

A few kilometers down the road from the building just mentioned, another, much more recent structure also carries much symbolism in Enduimet, concerning trophy hunting. This time, though, rather than symbolizing trophy hunting’s historic rise and long history in the area, this structure symbolizes the industry’s demise in Enduimet: a stone and brick structure that holds a large wooden sign inscribed with the words “no hunting beyond this point”.

I wrote the following research reflection in August 2015. It offers an important, additional glimpse of today’s Enduimet and corollary politics. Between the previous anecdote and this one, are reflected two symbols, two spaces, each juxtaposed beside the other but carrying very different significance:

As you enter the Enduimet WMA's western gate, near the boundary of Tingatinga village and Sinya village, you find yourself in Enduimet's last remaining hunting block. Looking east, you can see in the distance a luxury camp balanced on the top of one of Kilimanjaro's foothills, which spot that part of the landscape. This lodge is unique in the WMA. I visited it in 2015. Like other camps, luxury safari tents encircle the hill top. A nice dining area is centered on the precipice of the hill, looking out over Mount Kilimanjaro and the surrounding Enduimet plains, which are spotted by abundant herds of wildlife. One difference with this lodge: one of the camp buildings set down the hill and away from the lodge dwellings is designated for cleaning and dressing the wildlife carcasses successfully hunted by the camp's guests. In this small building, clients' trophies are cleaned and processed for shipment to Dar es Salaam before being exported to clients' chosen taxidermists in Europe, USA, South Africa or the Middle East. On any day during the hunting season, you may find everything from a wildebeest's head, to a lion's head, the long neck of a gerenuk, a leopard's spotted skin, a zebra's stripes or, possibly even, elephant tusks. These are just some of Enduimet's sought-after trophies.

As you proceed north-east along the road, from the aforementioned WMA's gate, you leave behind the view of the hunting lodge and soon approach the border of the WMA's sole hunting zone. Before long, you will see a bizarre structure in the middle of an otherwise empty plain, often surrounded by grazing wildebeest, zebra and gazelle and browsing giraffe. As you get close, you will see a pile of rocks cemented together. On top, there's a large wooden sign. It reads, in capitalized letters: No Hunting Beyond This Point. It declares the endpoint of the hunting zone in Enduimet. It was placed there following the decision to restrict hunting in 2011. It's an icon, of sorts, for Enduimet

leaders and residents. Besides its practical purpose, the sign's construction was a symbolic, political act. It sits on the historic hunting block that was forced upon the Sinya community in the past, which was notoriously embroiled in conflict with the Northern Hunting Company, and which fed resentment and protest for years in Enduimet. Today, nothing remains of that hunting block. The above sign represents Enduimet's line in the sand. The sign is now a reminder of trophy hunting's tumultuous history in Enduimet. Most importantly, for many, it's a statement about its now restricted status and a symbol of Enduimet's refusal of the industry. The zone beyond this sign is now strictly used for photographic tourism, the long-standing preference of Sinya leaders and community members. Shortly after passing the sign, another tourist lodge is perched on a hill. It is also a luxury, tented camp, which has hosted its share of international celebrities. This time, though, in stark contrast to the hunting lodge situated only a few kilometers away, only the barrels of expensive cameras can be found for shooting Enduimet's wildlife.

I share the above anecdote and reflection to offer a glimpse to the reader about the history of trophy hunting and current politics that have arisen. They preface the following discussion about Enduimet's struggle with and backlash against trophy hunting – this collision, in Chua's words, between history, market and society. In the following, I first review Sinya's struggle with the Northern Hunting Company and related conflicts. I then consider the backlashes that have unfolded in Enduimet, since becoming a WMA.

(i) The Northern Hunting saga: setting the stage for backlash

Martha Honey calls the conflict between Sinya Village and the trophy hunting enterprise, the Northern Hunting Company (NHC), "Tanzania's most notorious ecotourism saga" (Honey, 2008, p. 247). Certainly, most of my discussions with Sinya leaders, as well as leaders from

neighbouring villages, invariably raised this saga and its legacy. It should be highlighted that while Sinya village was at the center of the conflict, the implications of the battle (e.g. the legalities of photographic tourism ventures in hunting blocks) were felt throughout Enduimet. This was especially the case for villages, like Olmolog, where there was also a history of photographic tourism ventures within areas that were, officially-speaking, a hunting block.

Similar to almost all of Tanzania's private trophy hunting companies, the Northern Hunting Company (NHC) arose out of Tanzania's restructuring and economic liberalization in the late 80s and 90s; one of many companies that scrambled for a piece of what promised to be a lucrative industry. It arrived in Sinya in the 90s after being awarded the Longido Game Controlled Area as its private hunting concession. The concession overlapped with the village lands of Tingatinga, Elerai, Sinya and Olmolog. Of course, as was the nature of the trophy hunting industry, the villages were never consulted. Given the centralized nature of the industry, they had no legal authority over such matters.

The beginnings of conflict arose by the late 90s when Sinya village authorities were approached by photographic tourism company, Tanganyika Wilderness Camps (TWC), a subsidiary of Kibo Safaris. After agreeing with Sinya authorities on a visitor fee structure, Kibo built a tented camp in a northern area of Sinya village, in the heart of Sinya's wildlife-rich landscape. Although NHC's guest camp was in Longido village about twenty kilometers west of Sinya's village center, much of its prime hunting overlapped with the area that TWC began occupying. NHC began raising complaints about TWC's presence by the late 90s. The company made repeated complaints to central government authorities.

Notably, the owner of NHC was a board member of the Tanzania National Parks Authority at the time and a renowned figure in Tanzania. He had a long, contentious history in Tanzania

relating to corruption and collusion with government. As argued to me by one tourism operator in Arusha, “[Name of investor] represents everything that is wrong with the trophy hunting industry. Hunting has a bad reputation, in large part, due to people like [name of investor]”. It is hard to bring up his name in Tanzania, without commonly witnessing some disdain. His reputation has reached global levels. In 2014, The Economist ran a story about elephant poaching, corruption in Tanzania’s trophy hunting industry, and dubious collusions between trophy hunting investors and government officials. The article stated that the complicity of Northern Hunting Company’s owner “merits further investigation” (The Economist, Nov. 8, 2014). In my discussions, such associations were not overlooked by Enduimet leaders. They remain adamant that the investor’s alleged corrupt relations with central authorities were the source of their grief.

Despite Sinya leaders’ efforts to plead with Wildlife Division authorities, who oversee trophy hunting, they continued to face threats from central authorities to cease their joint venture with TWC. During this early period, according to Sachedina (2008), the Wildlife Division tried to take Sinya to court but apparently failed to build a sufficient case against the village. Despite the threats, Sinya leaders persisted. As retold to me, leaders were emboldened, at least in part, by the TWC owner, an outspoken Danish-Tanzanian investor who has had a large presence in Tanzania’s photographic tourism scene, most recently, becoming the primary spokesperson for tour operators in Tanzania via his role in the Tanzanian Association of Tour Operators (TATO). Another NGO, the Sand County Foundation, ran workshops during the period, emboldening Sinya leaders’ resistance. One leader recalled to me that “Sand County taught us about village land rights. They taught us about the village land act number five, which was passed in 1999. We

learned that we had rights over our village land. The government could not tell us to stop our tourism business”.

As discussed in Chapter One, the Village Land Act (No.5) in 1999 was one of the most progressive land laws of its time. Essentially, it empowered village councils to govern land use and allocation in village territories. For land rights advocates, like Sand County Foundation, this law formed the basis of village leaders’ resistance to trophy hunting and other unwanted foreign investment and enterprise. Notably, other actors, including central government authorities in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, argue that certain conservation and tourism regulations supersede stipulations in the Village Land Act.

The conflict escalated through the early 2000s. It reached violent extremes, at times, with Sinya leaders and residents trying to prevent NHC’s vehicles from accessing the farthest, north-eastern reaches of the village territory. In 2002, the conflict reached global heights, even implicating the United States’ government. In an effort to assert claims over their land, a group of Sinya *olmurran* stopped one of Northern Hunting’s safari vehicles, allegedly surrounding it in a threatening manner. One leader recalled,

When we heard that [name of Northern Hunting operator] was entering our land, we sent the *olumrran* to stop him. We didn’t want hunting in our land anymore. We wanted [name of Kibo operator] instead. [Name of TWC operator] benefited us. What did [name of Northern Hunting operator] help us with?

Unbeknownst to the youth and village leaders, the vehicle was carrying the US Ambassador to Tanzania, one of NHC’s trophy hunting clients. The conflict produced a “diplomatic row” between Tanzania and Washington authorities (Mbaria, 2002). Central government authorities responded in violent fashion, sending police to accost Sinya leaders, some of the youth involved,

and some personnel of TWC who were accused of being behind Sinya's resistance to NHC. As recalled to me, police beat up some of the youth involved and were physically aggressive with some TWC personnel.

Around the same time, Hoopoe Safaris personnel were also harassed by police. As discussed in Chapter One, in the mid-90s, Hoopoe Safaris built a photographic tourism lodge in the northern reaches of Olmolog village. This area was also part of the Longido Game Controlled Area and, hence, overlapped with NHC's hunting area. According to Olmolog leaders, Hoopoe staff were frequently harassed by police and, in one incident, they were apparently held in jail until the Hoopoe owner arrived to negotiate with government authorities. The message was made clear: Hoopoe was not welcome by central government authorities or by the NHC to conduct photographic tourism in Enduimet.

In the early 2000s, NHC finally took Sinya village to court, suing them for jeopardizing their hunting business and breaching hunting regulations. The case became an international affair, with a host of international conservation groups joining national organizations to lobby the state, hoping to influence a positive outcome for Sinya. The prospect of ecotourism and community-based conservation in Tanzania, it was believed, rested on the case's outcome. "At the time, this was the most important case in the history of Northern Tanzania that would either put a nail in the coffin of village joint ventures or embolden trophy hunting and further recentralize control over village land and rural tourism", recalled one NGO advocate. Some NGOs, including the Sand County Foundation, lobbied the government, trying to convince the government to intervene on behalf of Sinya.

Despite efforts, and to the chagrin of most Sinya leaders, in 2005, the court ruled in favor of NHC. The ruling was based largely on the tourist hunting regulations of 2000, which actually prohibited photographic tourism within government issued hunting blocks. Shortly after the loss, TWC closed down its camp in Sinya, moving to the neighboring village of Elerai on the highland slopes of Kilimanjaro. It continued using Sinya's territory for wildlife viewing activities, although most of the benefits from these activities now flowed to Elerai. It was a huge financial loss to Sinya. Essentially, in a few years period, Sinya went from one of the highest earners of

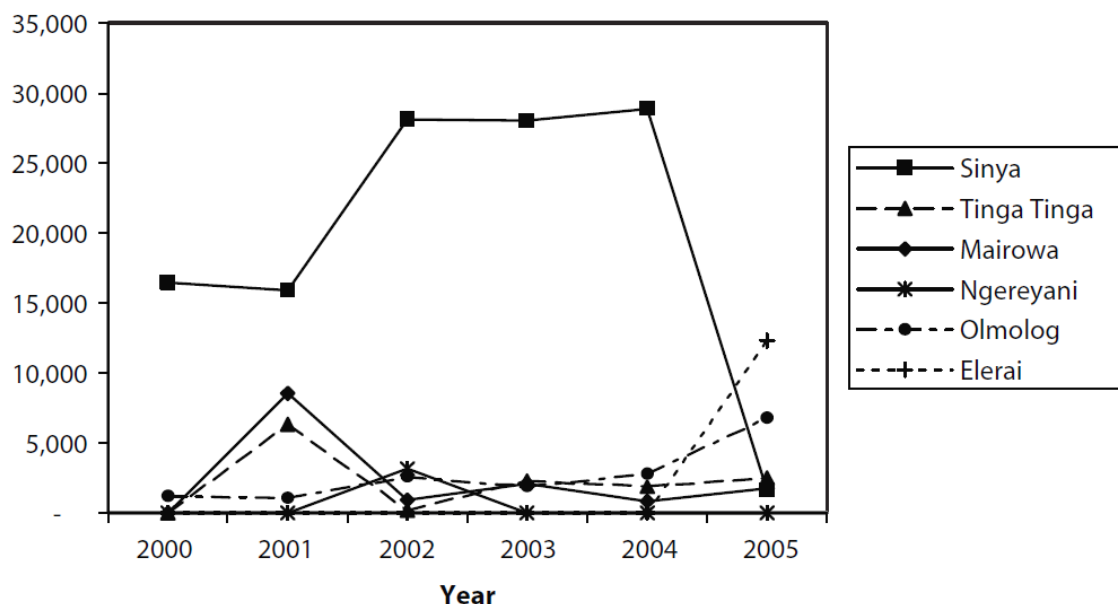


Figure 32 Wildlife/conservation income at the community level (Reprinted from Homewood, 2009)

tourist revenue in northern Tanzania to earning almost nothing. Figure 32 illustrates this intense drop in Sinya's income, due to the devastating court loss.

Hoopoe Safaris left Olmolog Village around the same time. This created further economic loss, although not as significant as Sinya's. Olmolog leaders look back to the period in frustration: "Trophy hunting and the government have really hurt us in the past. Sinya lost TWC. We lost Hoopoe. All of this is due to trophy hunting and greedy government officials".

Despite the loss and corresponding state reprimands, Sinya's resolve to conduct photographic tourism on its land was not dampened. In 2007, Sinya deployed another effort to stake claim to its territory and tourism. In direct defiance of the court decision in 2005, Sinya leaders agreed to a ten-year lease with another photographic tourism company, Terengire River Camp, to conduct tourism activities across its land. Like TWC, it was another offshoot of Kibo Safaris. The agreement in 2007, as recalled to me, would earn \$10USD per visitor according to this deal in exchange for exclusive use of the area. The Longido District Commissioner (DC) responded in rapid, not to mention bizarre, fashion: he issued an arrest order for the entire village council. In response, hundreds of villagers reportedly demonstrated at the police's central command in Longido village. The arrest order was subsequently withdrawn. The DC arrived in Sinya with armed police, demanding that the agreement be cancelled. Reportedly, the DC argued that the agreement was illegitimate due to insufficient engagement of the Village Assembly and lack of authorization from the Commissioner for Lands. The DC further accused the leaders of being corrupted by the tour operator's gifts and private financial incentives. He argued they were being paid off. The agreement with the company was subsequently dropped.

This, and all of the prior experiences, further reinforced resentment against trophy hunting throughout Enduimet. Capturing the popular bitterness that generally characterizes leaders' perspectives, a leader argued "It was another example of the government preventing us from benefiting from tourism. The government doesn't want to share. They want everything for themselves". In this context, one can begin to imagine that the WMA, and corollary reforms, offered some new hope for reconfiguring relations between Enduimet, the state and the trophy hunting market.

(ii) Enduimet's backlash against trophy hunting

As mentioned in the previous chapter, everything changed for NHC by 2011. In this year, Sinya joined the WMA. The WMA's first RZMP ended in 2010. The planning meetings to form the second RZMP were pervaded by relentless criticism of trophy hunting. Of course, the NHC crisis was on everyone's mind, as was the owner of the company, whom many despised. Accordingly, the WMA's second RZMP prioritized photographic tourism as the expense of trophy hunting. The RZMP's new map and zonal management strategy replaced Northern Hunting's historic hunting block with the "Sinya Photographic Zone" (Longido District, 2011, p.35). With this move, after its approval by the Wildlife Director, Northern Hunting's famous hunting block was formally re-gazetted as WMA land. The land and its administration immediately fell under the AA's jurisdiction.

With the stroke of a pen, Enduimet leaders essentially 'mapped away' the problem of NHC, rebuked the owner and eliminated trophy hunting in Sinya. In contrast to shooting trophies, Enduimet leaders designate the area for "ponder[ing] the mysteries of nature" (Longido District, 2011, p.36). It was reserved for "aesthetic value, bringing the beauty of nature, captured in a durable fashion, to our perception" and "for practical value, helping us *to maintain a respect for* the beauty of the natural world and wildlife" (Longido District, 2011, p. 36). This point about respect, Enduimet leaders argue, was a purposeful statement against the disrespect popularly associated with trophy hunting. In the "allowable uses and restrictions" section, it clearly states that hunting is a "prohibited use" in the area (Longido District, p.37).

This, in my analysis, represents Enduimet's first backlash against the trophy hunting market and the most obvious. It fits well in Chua's thesis (2004): e.g. the "combustible conditions" that arise at the intersection of aggrieved histories, inequality, democratization reforms and the subsequent actions taken against market status quos and dominant actors. It is worth

remembering that, according to many Sinya leaders, such conditions and actions were a key incentive for joining the WMA. As retold to me countless times, “We were tired of trophy hunting. It was time to end its time in Sinya”.

Some hunting proponents were critical of Enduimet’s decision, given the purported economic advantages of trophy hunting. “Hunting pays more” was a common argument in the 2011 meetings, put forward by Enduimet’s trustees. Remarkably, when I posed such arguments to Enduimet leaders, they typically argued that money was not their primary concern. As told to me by one Olmolog leader, “Of course, we knew that trophy hunting would pay more money. Many people told us this. Everyone believed that the government would begin sharing trophy hunting fees with us. We didn’t care. For us, we were just tired of trophy hunting.”

In contrast to concerns about money, issues of power, alleviating conflict and reparation were most prominent. One leader stated that “it was time that hunters faced the consequences of their behaviour”. As discussed in the last chapter, in the second RZMP, this all translated into a focus on “eliminating uses” that “create undue burdens” on the AA (Longido District, 2011, p.31). Trophy hunting, Enduimet leaders argued, was an “undue burden”, irrespective of how much money could be made from it. One Enduimet leader summed this up their new position vis-à-vis trophy hunting in the following:

Things have changed for trophy hunting. The past problems that Sinya faced with Northern Hunting are over. We now have authority. We will decide which investor we will welcome and those we will not. And we will make sure they pay us and treat us fairly. If they don’t, we’ll send them away. It is a new time. Everything has changed.

By 2012, another phase of backlashes unfolds in Enduimet. This time, the collisions between Enduimet leaders and trophy hunting does not pertain to re-zoning and eliminating hunting areas.

Rather, it relates to the politics of selecting an investor to hunt in Enduimet's last remaining zone, the Ngasurai Trophy Hunting Zone. Enduimet leaders began engaging the political and ethical questions concerning who has authority to choose investors for Enduimet's hunting zone and what criteria are used in awarding them the opportunity. Once again, aggrieved histories and corollary precautions mediated leaders' decisions and actions. In these cases, the actions taken by Enduimet leaders are not a backlash against the actual market of trophy hunting, in general. Instead, they represent backlashes against the historical status quo of the industry and some of the unruly actors associated with it – not a refusal of the industry as a whole but a refusal of old patterns of exploitation, mistreatment and disregard.

The backlash that has arisen since 2012 are rooted in the The Wildlife Conservation (Wildlife Management Areas) Regulations, 2012. These most recent WMA regulations transformed tourist hunting's playing field. While previous regulations created the conditions for 'mapping away' trophy hunting, the 2012 regulations introduced reforms that decentralized and democratized actual authority over the market's operations and investors. Remarkably, these reforms were lobbied for since the earliest conception of the WMA model in the early 90s.

After almost two decades, finally, things changed. According to Section 51 of the regulations, the AA was afforded power "to appoint a tourist hunting company to conduct tourist hunting activities in its Wildlife Management Area", "scrutinize and assess tourist hunting companies" and "appoint and sign an investment agreement with the successful hunting company" (MNRT, 2012). Essentially, the regulations reflected an opportunity to assert local sovereignty over trophy hunting for the first time in the country's history.

It should be recognized, though, that the regulations maintain powers of mediation and oversight for central authorities, including the Wildlife Director's authority to vet and approve

agreements. As already seen in previous chapters, this issue of central oversight remains a contentious issue in most of the WMA regulations. Irrespective of such oversight, though, the regulations still dramatically reshuffle rural communities' position vis-à-vis the trophy hunting market and its actors.

Enduimet leaders first put the new reforms to the test in 2012 when they began asserting their authority to choose a trophy hunting company for the Engasurai Tourist Hunting Zone. In theory, at least, this was meant to be a 'free', competitive process, based on highest bidders and other suitable criteria. As the process unfolded, Enduimet's immediate preference was the company that had previously built positive relationships with Ngereyani and Tingatinga villages, Old Nyika Safaris. A famous, third-generation hunter named, Danny McCallum, leads the company. By all accounts, McCallum nurtured relatively good relations with village leaders and offered periodic support to village projects. An agreement was nearly concluded when Wildlife Division authorities intervened, arguing that the hunting area was miscategorised. While previously a Category II block, the Wildlife Division argued it is, a Category I block. Government authorities subsequently insisted on a much higher fee for the concession area, from \$30,000 USD to \$60,000 USD annually. The AA complied with the Wildlife Division's argument. This led to Old Nyika Safaris ending negotiations and departing Enduimet.

Shortly thereafter, the Wildlife Division introduced another investor to the AA. This was apparently contentious and provoked some frustration, for Enduimet leaders. Some argued that the Wildlife Division was compromising the AA's new-found authority and jurisdiction, by meddling in their affairs. Some went even further to suggest that the changing of the area's category was all part of a bigger plan to push McCallum out and open up the opportunity for an investor more 'friendly' with government authorities. Leaders were angered because they were

well aware that the 2012 regulations ascribe them the right to advertise their hunting area independently. One leader explained the conundrum:

The government officials propose their friends. They want the companies that they have relations with, and benefit from, to gain the contracts. They no longer have authority to do this but they do it anyway. It's difficult to reject these companies because there is a lot of pressure from government.

By 2013, rather begrudgingly, the AA began negotiations with the designated investor. Negotiations did not last long, though. The AA made an unprecedented stand against the government's meddling. As retold to me, despite the fact that the company was ready and willing to pay all the requested fees and had a strong economic profile, the AA, surprisingly, rejected the investor. As far as I could deduce, the reasons behind the decision were two-fold. Some argue that it was in blatant reaction to the Wildlife Division's role in seemingly pushing the company onto the AA. Others, though, argue that it was related to concerns about the company's reputation with other communities, which apparently was not positive. One leader explained,

We met with [name of the investor]. We looked at his history. We saw that he wasn't good. We didn't think that he would treat us well. We don't want any more conflict with hunting investors. As a result, we rejected the company. It is our right now. We now have the power.

Reportedly, this angered some government authorities who tried to convince Enduimet leaders to accept the company. Government authorities' arguments purportedly focused on matters of economics and financial profile, but Enduimet leaders defiantly reasserted that it was a matter of history and politics, not money.

By 2014, with the help of the Authorized Association Consortium in Dar es Salaam, Enduimet advertised its hunting area. A number of companies apparently applied. Some central authorities also continued their meddling. Despite the previous fallout, some government authorities introduced another company to Enduimet, Shangri-La. As in the past instance, authorities strongly recommended this company to the AA. After some months of deliberation, Shangri-La was ultimately accepted by the AA and, before long, a contract was signed.

How this decision was reached is open to some debate. Some leaders presented the decision as an autonomous, well-reasoned choice: “We liked Shangri-La. They were always very nice and respectful. It was very different from the company before them. It is a new company in Tanzania, so they don’t have the same bad history with communities”. Leaders argued that the investor would build positive relations with the WMA and promised substantial hunting revenues, including a concession fee higher than what was originally advertised.

When pressed about the government’s involvement, though, there is some admission that the decision was partly related to government pressure. One leader confessed that “It is true. The big people [i.e. central government authorities] influenced the decision. They phoned the AA chairman. It was clear that they wanted us to choose Shangri-La”. One leader argued unequivocally that the AA did not actually choose Shangri-La. One day, outside the WMA office, an AA leader pulled me aside and in a hushed voice exclaimed the following:

Some will say that we chose Shangri-La. I don’t think we chose Shangri-La. I think the government forced some leaders to accept Shangri-La. I don’t think we had a choice. The company was ok. So we agreed with the government. We did not choose independently. Really, we didn’t look at other companies or do research... This isn’t how it should be. The government should let us advertise and chose freely between different investors. This

isn't the way it happened. Others don't want to admit this but, really, we did not choose Shangri-La. The government chose Shangri-La.

According to this leader, while the WMA reforms have certainly bestowed more authority to communities, some characteristics of the historic trophy hunting industry evidently persist: centralized control, corruption and clientelism

Interestingly, concerns over Shangri-La have grown since the original contract was established. The company is apparently associated with the notorious Green Mile hunting company. In 2014, Green Mile fell into disrepute in Tanzania and lost its license in 2014. This was due to a leaked video – a “snuff film”, as described by many (Fernholz, 2016) – that revealed egregious contraventions of hunting policies, including horrific abuse of animals. The video went viral across the world and a public outcry erupted (Gaworecki, 2016). Sheikh Abdulla Bin Mohammed Bin Butti Al Hamed, who is a member of the United Arab Emirates ruling family, reportedly owns Green Mile, alongside one of Tanzania's homegrown oil barons and billionaires, Awadh Ally Abdallah. Forbes magazine refers to the latter as “the 36 year-old entrepreneur who built \$1 billion oil company in Tanzania” (Nsehe, 2017). Allegations abound over the company's dubious relations with central government authorities. Reflecting cases in Loliondo that also involves investors affiliated with United Arab Emirates' ruling family (see Gardner, 2016; The Oakland Institute, 2018), Green Mile allegedly gained hunting concessions in Longido District via “back room deals” amidst many suspicions of illegal transactions (Fernholz 2016).

After having their hunting license suspended, Green Mile returned to business by 2016. Reissuing their permit was a very controversial and suspicious move on the Wildlife Director's part. It provoked a public outcry and further allegations. More conflict unfolded as Green Mile

was given a permit for a hunting block that was apparently already occupied by another of Tanzania's large hunting companies, Wengert Windrose Safaris, which is part of the American conglomerate, Tanzania Game Trackers. A long conflict between the companies ensued over rights to one of Longido's most lucrative hunting blocks. One title of a Guardian article captures the subsequent conflict well: "Billionaires battle for control of big game hunting" (The Guardian, July 4, 2016). The heading goes on to say, "Questions have been raised over the government's handling of the dispute against the backdrop of allegations of corruption in the allocation of hunting blocks in the country" (The Guardian, July 4, 2016).

Returning to the case at hand, Shangri-La's connection to Green Mile is rooted in multiple factors and has become common knowledge in Tanzania. The group, WildLeaks, claims that the owner of Green Mile indeed started the Shangri-La company after Green Mile was suspended and in order to appropriate more hunting blocks in the country. The Lion Aid advocacy group reports that Green Mile "resurrected itself as a company called Shangri La and began operating again" (Lion Aid, 2017). Popular perceptions have become unanimous that the two companies are effectively one.

Some leaders in Enduimet have learned of this association. Responses and attitudes about this are relatively split. For some, it substantiates suspicions that the government had ulterior motives for pushing Shangri-La on Enduimet. It foretells a difficult road ahead, if Shangri-La's actions and dubious relations with government prove to be similar to Green Mile. For others though, they have little concern. They rejected my concerns that such connections and histories may spell trouble for Enduimet's relationship with Shangri-La. In response to such concerns, many leaders demonstrated the type of attitude and elevated confidence I have grown accustomed to in Enduimet: they argue that, whatever the connection between the two, such

atrocities would never be permitted in Enduimet due to leaders' authority and vigilance.

Remarkably, they go on to argue that the Green Mile tragedy would not have happened if it were in a WMA where communities have the authority to regulate it. "We won't let such abuses happen in our WMA. We will monitor them and evict them if they abuse wildlife and regulations", it was exclaimed to me.

According to Shangri-La representatives, Green Mile's reputation has reportedly affected Shangri-La's capacity to mobilize business in the UAE. As of 2017, Shangri-La has received very few clients in Enduimet. Hunting revenues have been relatively negligible for the WMA, as a result, provoking further growing resentment. Resentment has been somewhat dampened by the fact that the company apparently continues to pay other annual fees, as contractually required (e.g. \$60,000USD/year as a concession fee plus 40% of its annual wildlife quota). In what some argue was a publicity stunt to placate concerns over the lack of revenue being generated, Shangri-La donated \$45,000USD to villages in the WMA, purportedly to assist with desk shortages in Enduimet elementary schools.

Only time will tell how relations between Enduimet and Shangri-La proceed. Overall, while concerns about the lack of current revenue from Shangri-La are common, there seems to be relative contentment with the company's efforts to maintain positive relations with the WMA and respective communities. Hopes remain high that the company will successfully generate more business in future hunting seasons. If not, leaders continue to remind me "If the company does not go along well, then we will choose another company. It cannot play with us anymore".

Conclusion

It is clear that trophy hunting has a notorious history in Tanzania. The government has made many efforts to transform the industry. This includes some regulations in 2015 that, at least on paper, offer the necessary reforms that could ensure a more accountable, transparent and lucrative industry (Booth, 2017). Nevertheless, the legacy of corruption still plagues the industry. According to many, the country's new, firebrand Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), Dr. Hamis Kigwangalla, seems hell-bent on excising the corruption in the industry. In an unprecedented move, in January 2018, the Minister circulated a list of prominent trophy hunting companies, individual investors and government officials. He claimed to have incriminating evidence on these actors. He stated publicly in a press conference that he believed these companies and individuals were responsible for "criminal deeds", including corrupt payments to government and wildlife poaching. Not surprisingly, the notorious investor that Sinya and Enduimet struggled with for so many years was prominent in the list. The Green Mile company was also listed. At the time of writing, it is unclear what the follow-up, and fall-out, of all this will entail. According to most, it spells some positive change. Others, though, argue that Kigwangalla is 'punching above his weight class' and little change will subsequently unfold.

Irrespective of what unfolds at the national level, "collisions" and backlashes will surely unfold at the community level, at least in WMA spaces. Rural leaders and residents share aggrieved histories with trophy hunting. WMA reforms have, at least to some degree, decentralized and democratized decision-making and authority over the trophy hunting market. Subsequently, as seen in Enduimet, histories of inequality and perceived exploitation, combined with the new authority afforded by WMA reforms, promise turbulent times and backlashes against the market. Eliminating Sinya's historic hunting area represents the most obvious backlash against the market. In 2012, the rejection of the trophy hunting company, which central

authorities dubiously proposed and Enduimet leaders deemed unacceptable, reflects another backlash. Unlike the first backlash, which was against the whole market generally, the backlash in 2012 was more related to the rejection of historical status quos: e.g. a refusal of investors who may not treat communities justly and a central government that intervened uninvited.

Despite the above achievements, how things proceeded during the second round of selecting an investor offer reason for pause. On hindsight, in my analysis, it seems apparent that the central government, at least to some degree, pressured the AA to accept Shangri-La. A cynical view, which I tend to share, would suggest that the government's actions were entwined with the Green Mile saga and reflected the central government's efforts to maintain relations with the associated United Arab Emirates oil barons. At that time, if the association between Shangri-La and Green Mile is true, the government may have had a lot riding on its capacity to proffer a lucrative hunting area to Shangri-La.

If this is true, then, in fact, the government's meddling can be conceived as a backlash against democracy, as well as the "crony capitalism" that Chua (2004) argues often characterizes such actions. Central authorities apparently played a heavy hand pressuring the AA to accept Shangri-La, compromising what otherwise could have been a more democratic process and, potentially, a rejection of the company. As felt by at least some leaders, it was not really a choice.

In sum, the combination of unjust history, significant inequality, and recent democratic reforms creates a collision between the trophy hunting market, aggrieved Enduimet leaders and residents, and, at times, also the state. As seen in Enduimet's case, while "big friends" still may help, the game has undoubtedly changed as rural communities, holding some heavy grudges,

reposition themselves vis-à-vis the market and the state. It has amounted to turbulent politics and, undoubtedly, turbulent times still lie ahead (Wright, 2017).

CHAPTER 6

THE NOOMBOPONG TRAGEDY

The infamous structure sits on the Noombopong hill – a beautiful setting in the thick of Enduimet’s wildlife-rich plains and at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. Cottages waiting to be completed dot the top and southern slope of the hill. A huge dining and lounge area lie closely under them and a large, infinity pool stretches out toward the landscape. Perched on top of the hill, you can see elephants on their march back to the nearby Amboseli National Park in Kenya. The sun rises behind the glorious mountain, glimmering off Kilimanjaro’s snow peaks. You don’t have to be a tourism industry expert, entrepreneur, or marketer to immediately see the potential of the lodge. It’s a gold mine. As it stands today, though, the structure cries incompleteness and disappointment. It leaves an eerie presence. Something haunting. An abandoned, seemingly forgotten place replete with falling-down structures, rotting roofs, and eroding foundations. The only sound is wind through broken bricks, and the birds and bats that now nest in unfinished rooms... Visiting the place invariably spurs the immediate question, “what tragedy happened here?”

(Excerpt from field notes, June 2016)



When tourism investors say they want us to make money from tourism or they want to share benefits, it is a lie... They may share but only a little. Their priority is just to protect their business and their profits... Noombopong is our example.

(Tingatinga leader 2014)



Introduction

Up to this point, I have focused largely on the many achievements, or at least laudable struggles, of Enduimet leaders and residents – a practice of politics, as I have argued, that has repositioned Enduimet, domesticated the WMA, and appropriated the WMA’s structures and institutions. As seen in the last chapter, the WMA’s decentralized, democratization reforms led to backlash against trophy hunting that has eliminated the industry in one case and, in another, transformed its trajectory and patterns of exploitation.

In this chapter, I do not focus on achievements but, rather, disappointments. I focus on backlashes, but, this time, I focus on backlashes against democracy – actions taken by market-dominant actors to subvert popular interests and undercut democratic decisions²⁷. Here, I outline a conflict that arises when Enduimet leaders and AA members embark on a project with AWF to build a luxury lodge on the Noombopong hill.

Noombopong is situated in the wildlife-rich plains at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, in the northernmost reaches of the WMA, and along the Tanzania-Kenya border. The project came to be referred to as simply the Noombopong lodge project, one of AWF's "tourism-conservation enterprise" initiatives (Rita et al. 2011). It also came to be referred to as a tragedy and Enduimet's biggest disappointment. The general plot of the story is straightforward. The subplots and behind-the-scene activities, however, are not. For Enduimet leaders, this story reinforces the common perception that what happens behind the scenes often matters most. According to Enduimet leaders and some AWF personnel, some 'dirty games' unfolded between big tourism companies and central government authorities in order to squash the project.

I also focus in this chapter on photographic tourism and corresponding market-dominant actors. I argue that, while trophy hunting's unscrupulous history in Tanzania is well documented and often focused on, photographic tourism has escaped similar attention and criticism. It is possible that the highly publicized corruption of trophy hunting has helped photographic tourism avoid the spot light.

²⁷ To reiterate, I refer to democratic decisions in this chapter as simply those decisions made by Enduimet's Authorized Association. For the purpose of this chapter, as an ostensibly elected group of village representations, I consider the AA's decisions as part of the WMA's democratic system and, concomitantly, efforts to undercut such decisions as a backlash against democracy. It is debatable how 'democratic' the AA decisions actually are but I put aside such discussions here.

At least in Enduimet's experience, differences of corruption between the two industries seem to be more in degree than kind. Like the hunting industry, Tanzania's photographic tourism is dominated by a relatively small number of wealthy, powerful businesses, many of which are owned by foreign (e.g. white European, American or South African) or Asian-Tanzanian investors. Undoubtedly, these actors wield a lot of power in Tanzania. Similar to trophy hunting, many of them have alleged, dubious ties to governing officials. To be fair, the apparent unscrupulousness in the photographic tourism industry sometimes pales in comparison to trophy hunting, but as it was repeatedly told to me by industry insiders, "you are naïve if you don't think corruption is still significant in photographic tourism."

I focus this chapter on the case of Noombopong to generate some discussion about and reflection on the nature of Tanzania's tourism industry. In particular, I am interested in the unscrupulous, hidden and dishonest affairs that sometimes manipulate tourism's practices and trajectories. To be clear, it is debatable how much can be extrapolated from what we actually know about the events surrounding the Noombopong case. Despite such limitations, and the clear risks associated, I nevertheless use it as an avenue to provoke important reflection. It should be made clear at the outset that, as I relay this story, I do not intend to present any conclusive judgements on the case, actors involved or corresponding allegations. We do not have sufficient facts to do so. Nevertheless, I feel obliged to relay this story and share the perspectives of the Enduimet leaders. I leave it to the reader to determine the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Enduimet leaders' allegations and perspectives. For my purposes, I am less concerned about the actual status of what happened as I am about the troublesome patterns they seemingly reflect in Tanzania's tourism industry – patterns that deserve critical reflection, irrespective of the particularities of the Noombopong case.

Over the past 15 years, much of my time in Tanzania has included close relations with tourism investors, operators, and personnel. My field research invariably included time interviewing many of them and participating in the industry's events, whether cocktail parties for business promotions, casual gatherings at their "expat" Arusha hangouts (i.e. what Schroeder (2012) aptly calls "white spots" (p.140), attending speaker sessions, or joining their anti-poaching street marches. In my experience, I was left with the impression that there are a lot of laudable investors and an abundance of great intentions, but, at the same time, few hands are clean and some are dirtier than others. This is something that needs to be addressed in Tanzania's tourism, if it hopes to create a more ethical industry, especially one that benefits local communities in a more significant way. The Noombopong case, I argue, offers a window, of sorts, to glimpse the machinations and politics of Tanzania's tourism.

As stated in my introductory chapter, I take some inspiration in this chapter from the anthropologist, Martin Walsh (2012). In Walsh's effort to expose what he calls tourism's "hidden histories and invisible hands," he faced some of the dilemmas that I face in recounting the Noombopong saga. He explains that his "access to these histories has been both privileged and partial" (Walsh, p. 305) and "the nature of their temporal and spatial extension precluded the kind of participation that conventional ethnography demands" (Walsh, p.305). He goes on to say, "I make no apology for writing from a personal perspective, and acknowledge that my description of these episodes is provisional and open to challenge" (Walsh, p. 305). This resonates with my own experience and perspective and should be kept in mind throughout this chapter. Much is unknown about what unfolded through the Noombopong crisis, but I still maintain the importance of using what we do know to reflect on the political economy of tourism and some of its unscrupulous patterns.

In this chapter, I will first consider AWF's turn to what they call Tourism-Conservation Enterprise (TCE). TCE represents one of AWF's key efforts to "leverage space for wildlife" (AWF, n.d.) Second, I will review the story of the Noombopong project from its early proposal to initiation, construction, and, ultimately, failure. I then use this as an opportunity to reflect more generally on tourism in Tanzania, by which I review some of my relevant experiences and key scholarship about the ominous nature of many tourism encounters. I conclude with some thoughts about the future prospect of the Noombopong lodge.

i. Leveraging space for wildlife: AWF goes shopping

Before addressing the specifics, it is helpful to understand how the Noombopong project fits into some broader processes of conservation, development, and tourism. Following the trends of so-called "neoliberal conservation" (Igoe & Brockington, 2007), one new phenomenon is for big conservation organizations to enter into tourism enterprises, partnering with communities and private investors (Rita, Mwongela, & Zellmer, 2011; Van der Duim, Lamers, & Van Wijk, 2014; Van Wijk, Van der Duim, Lamers, & Sumba, 2015). By creating economic incentives to dedicate land to conservation and tourism, all such initiatives aim to "leverage space for wildlife," as AWF describes it (AWF, n.d.). It amounts to the "enterprising wildlife" that has become a driving force in Enduimet.

These joint business initiatives are now known as Tourism Conservation Enterprises (TCE): "a commercial activity that generates economic benefits in a way that supports the attainment of a conservation objectives" (Elliott & Sumba, 2011, p. 4). The purported goals of these initiatives are conservation, national economic development, and rural poverty alleviation. While some initiatives can be as small as village-level, honey production businesses, they can be as large as

multi-million dollar investments into luxury lodges. Elliot and Sumba (2011) report that by 2009, 31 conservation enterprises existed in East Africa, amounting to an investment of over 11 million USD.

AWF has been one of the key pioneers of these conservation-enterprise approaches, including some of the largest projects in East Africa with luxury tourism lodges in Uganda and Kenya (Van der Duim et al., 2014; Van Wijk, Van der Duim, et al., 2015). In one of its online fliers, AWF writes about its conservation enterprise:

Africa's dazzling parks and game reserves simply don't harbor enough terrain to sustain the large herds of elephant, zebra, wildebeest and other migratory animals that comprise Africa's unique heritage... If natural habitats are to be conserved, the people who depend on them must also survive. AWF believes that through conservation enterprise, conservation can be development as a commercially viable land use that *can leverage space for wildlife*. By assisting rural communities with a few other resources to establish conservation enterprises, the presence of wild animals becomes a potentially profitable opportunity rather than a costly nuisance. (AWF, n.d.; emphasis added)

The flier proceeds to outline the host of such initiatives in East Africa, such as ecotourism lodges, honey production businesses, fishing camps and general tourism services.

Via ongoing investments from USAID and other international donors, AWF has a history of experimenting with how big conservation NGOs can facilitate private tourism enterprise development. As specified in the above quote, this is believed to be a fundamental intervention for "leveraging space for wildlife" (AWF, n.d.). In the early 90s, the organization participated in USAID's Conservation of Biodiverse Resource Areas (COBRA) program in Kenya, which initiated a number of tourism-conservation enterprises, including the Il Ngwesi Lodge in

Laikipia, Kenya (van Wijk, Lamers, & van der Duim, 2015). Building on this program, USAID started the Conservation of Resources through Enterprises (CORE) program in 1999. AWF was one of the program's primary partners, investing into and brokering such lodges as the Koija Starbeds Lodge, also in the Laikipia area of central Kenya (Elliot and Sumba 2011). By the late 90s, AWF started the Wildlife Enterprise and Business Services (WEBS) and then the Conservation Service Centers in Tanzania, which both aimed to broker deals between community and private stakeholders (Van Wijk et al. 2015 a). By the 2000s, such tourism-conservation enterprise approaches became a fundamental part of AWF's broader 'Heartland' program²⁸. Large tourism enterprise was intended to be the economic driver of conserving the large landscapes of the Heartland program in Samburu land of Kenya, Maasai land of Kilimanjaro in Tanzania and Kenya, as well as the Maasai Steppe in Tanzania. By 2010, AWF was viewed as a pioneer of this approach and tried to evaluate and standardize it in order to expand it through other big conservation organizations and donor agencies. Moving ahead with TCE ambitions in 2011, it launched the African Wildlife Capital – a social impact investment company (Van Wijk, Van der Duim, et al., 2015). The organization continues building such initiatives, continuing to assert that the secret to successful conservation lies in the capacity of big conservation organizations to fill “market voids:” “the absence of (effective) market intermediaries that provide services to enhance transactions between buyers and sellers...as well as of institutions that support the poor to participate in such market transactions” (Van Wijk 2015, p. 117 - article). AWF saw itself as the harbinger of “pro-poor” growth while, simultaneously, protecting wildlife habitat – the ultimate “product” of its new entrepreneurial foray. Its portfolio now includes over nine major lodge ventures in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania,

²⁸ See Chapter Two for a discussion of AWF's Heartland initiative

Botswana, and Zambia, implicating millions of dollars in investments and encompassing hundreds of thousands of acres of rural lands (van Wijk, Lamers, et al., 2015, p. 212).

There are different institutional arrangements that may comprise TCEs. Each type includes different arrangements concerning enterprise ownership and management vis-à-vis the two primary stakeholders: the local community and private investors. AWF advocates a model of local community ownership together with private sector management (Elliot and Sumba, 2011). AWF cautions against private sector ownership *and* management, because it ultimately alienates community assets with often little benefit to communities (p. 20). Communities, AWF argues, should remain the owners of lodge assets. AWF assumes the role of trusted mediating third-party with the understanding that they can achieve a high equity arrangement.

AWF seeks to run such enterprises according to a ‘consolidated revenue’ model (Elliot and Sumba, 2011). Effectively, enterprise revenue translates into a stream of benefits to community owners. This may include land leases, bed night fees (e.g. an agreed payment for each guest), and conservation fees among other negotiated payments identified in a legal contract. By 2009, AWF claimed their enterprises generated between \$61,000USD to \$378,300USD per year (Elliot & Sumba, 2011, p. 11). This amounted to a per capita amount of \$4 to \$259, with the higher range being exclusive to exceptionally large enterprises and smaller community stakeholder groups. Most enterprises fell within the ranges reported elsewhere in Tanzania and Kenya – between \$15 and \$24 per capita per year (Elliot and Sumba, p. 11).

What are the implications for rural communities? “Success” is in the eye of the beholder. Williams et al. (2017) point to some conservation benefits in AWF’s enterprises (e.g. reducing anthropogenic-based depletion of wildlife habitat). Van Wijk et al. (2015a, 2015b), on the other hand, highlight some of the adverse effects; for example, their research highlights the fact that

many of AWF's TCEs are entangled in ominous conflict, including some threatening divisions within communities and mounting grievances toward private investors and AWF. One thing is for certain: intrinsically, the TCE approach, like other neoliberal conservation approaches, seeks to realign market-society relations and opens up new terrain for the private sector. In their work, Van de Duim et al. (2011) highlight the "new alliances" this represents and corollary opportunities for economic growth. Many critical scholars, though, focus on the threat and adverse impacts this simultaneously creates, given the power asymmetries that typically characterize such relations, merging together an often powerful private sector with commonly, ill-equipped, poorly resourced rural communities (Igoe & Brockington, 2007). As Enduimet's case certainly makes clear, Tourism Conservation Enterprise can lead to new alliances and positive outcomes but also new alienations and conflict.

ii. The Noombopong Lodge: from dreams of riches to disappointment

This section outlines what we know of the Noombopong saga, or, at least, what we can deduce from various accounts. It should be noted at the outset that my efforts to inquire with AWF about the details of the Noombopong Lodge plan, and its failure, were fairly unsuccessful. The same is true for my efforts to engage the tourism investors that were allegedly complicit in the saga. For AWF, one employee explained to me that ever since conflicts began in late 2012 Directors were relatively quiet about the project to avoid any negative publicity about its failure. The saga carried significant ramifications for AWF's general reputation and donor funding, especially given that AWF's reputation was already facing some crisis at this stage. This ultimately culminated in USAID withdrawing its funds by 2016. Of course, many factors played into the 2016 decision, but the Noombopong lodge crisis did not help. Consequently, very few

people were willing to discuss it with me, and there is little public information about the case. As a result, the following account weaves together limited pieces of the story I could obtain, whether through scouring various AWF and USAID reports, the hushed discussions with AWF field staff, or the experiences and perspectives of WMA leaders, staff, and village leaders. Admittedly, this limitation risks unintentionally misrepresenting what actually unfolded in the case, which should be taken into consideration by the reader.

a. Pursuing the dream

Based on what I was told, AWF's plan for the Noombopong lodge project unfolded as early as 2007. Some of the early maps I observed during my time in Enduimet suggest that the plan was gaining momentum by 2008. The plan followed on discussions between AWF and Enduimet leaders about the desire to eliminate, or at least limit, trophy hunting in the WMA. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Enduimet leaders had begun raising criticisms against trophy hunting during the first round of RZMP planning in 2005. Leaders' criticisms were set aside at that time, but the goal to pursue photographic tourism rather than trophy hunting persisted.

By 2009, the Noombopong plan began to take form, in large part, due to some new funding for AWF from USAID through The Sustainable Conservation Approaches in Priority Ecosystems (SCAPES) program (USAID, 2017b). The SCAPES program aimed to "address priority threats and strengthen local capacity to conserve biodiversity" (USAID, p.1), and Enduimet was included in USAID's definition of a "priority ecosystem." Other funding later came from USAID's "Scaling up Conservation and Livelihoods Efforts in Northern Tanzania" (SCALE-Tz), which was launched in 2010. USAID had a long history with so-called Tourism Conservation Enterprise (USAID, 2017a) and was quickly supportive of AWF's plan for

Enduimet. Figure 33 shows the project's location, close to the Kenya border and the Amboseli protected areas that encompass the other side.

By 2011, the Noombopong lodge plan officially entered AA deliberations as part of the RZMP planning meetings. Expectedly, Enduimet leaders were excited about the prospect of the lodge. One leader recalled,

Of course, we were happy with the plan. We knew that the WMA could not succeed without more lodges and campsites. We need more guests. We can't rely on AWF forever. We have to make our own money. The Noombopong plan would help us achieve this. And we would be owners of it. This would be something new. We were very happy about the plan.

In the 2011 planning discussions and meetings, the plan became the foundation of AWF's claim that the Enduimet WMA could become a \$1 million USD enterprise. This "dream" was

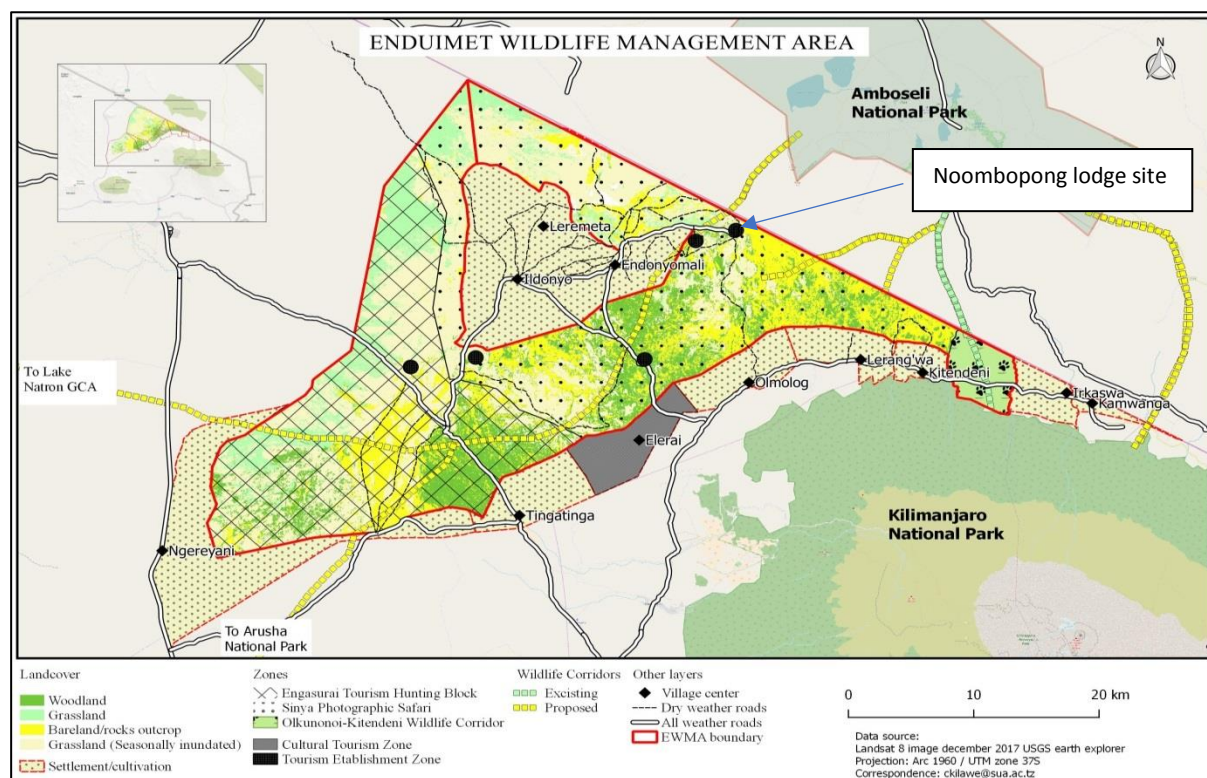


Figure 33 Enduimet WMA & Noombopong lodge site (Adapted from Longido District, 2018)

prominent in the WMA's second RZMP, forming much of the "Visitor Use, Development and Revenue Program" (Longido District Council, 2011, p. 41) and corollary expectations.

Overall, the lodge plan integrated the tourism-conservation enterprise model discussed above and mimicked some of AWF's successful efforts in Kenya. The Satao Elerai Lodge, which had opened just across the border near Amboseli in 2007, was raised as an example of potential success. Some Enduimet leaders visited the lodge to learn about the revenue that can be generated and benefits accruing to the surrounding community. Apparently, they came back evangelizing the promises of big tourism enterprise. Reportedly, AWF personnel further stimulated imaginations with discussions and meetings, all focusing on the promises of CTE. Not surprisingly, all of this hope was mobilized despite the many challenges and disappointments that have actually surrounded the Satao Elerai Lodge (see, for example, the account in Lamers, van der Duim, Nthiga, van Wijk, & Waterreus, 2015).

The design of the lodge unfolded quickly. I was briefly shown the Noombopong lodge's original design and plans during my fieldwork in 2013, although I was not permitted to make a copy or record anything from it. In the brief look I had at the plans, what struck me the most was its absolute extravagance. The lodge was intended to be a five-star hotel and was to be called the Kilimanjaro Ecological Lodge. Its intended state of luxury, catering to high-end tourists, was clearly highlighted in the plans and proudly stressed to me by WMA and AWF personnel. Rather surprisingly, the original plan included private, infinity pools that were meant to adorn each individual cottage, fed by a natural spring situated next to the lodge site. A small handful of luxurious rooms, built as separate cottages, were perched at the peak of the hill offering panoramic views of Amboseli on the one side and Mount Kilimanjaro on the other. Overall, it was a high-end, low-volume plan with a relatively small number of rooms for high paying

international guests. If other lodges of its kind are any indication, rates could have ranged from several hundred to a thousand dollars per guest/night (Van Wijk et al., 2015).

Before beginning the TCE project, the first step was to build a reliable road that could service the lodge. It should be recalled that the existing roads throughout the WMA were only seasonal; they were unreliable through most of the rainy season with rain obstructing most vehicle traffic from reaching many parts of the WMA, including the further eastern area where the Noombopong site is situated. A private company started road construction in 2011, reportedly using up thousands of dollars of USAID funds. The construction focused on building an over twenty kilometer stretch from the old, main colonial road on Kilimanjaro's elevated slopes, down through Sinya to Noombopong. As seen in Figure 33, the site is situated in Olmolog village's northern section that reaches the Kenya border. By all accounts, not to mention my own excruciating observations, the road was poorly constructed and depreciated rapidly due to heavy trucks and Enduimet's intense rainy periods. Remarkably, by the time I arrive in 2013, the road was in complete disrepair, returning to its original, seasonal status.

AWF courted Monarch Group Ltd of Kenya to become the private partner of the joint venture. The Monarch Group is a very large, Kenyan-owned company mainly associated with the insurance and real estate investor, Jared Kangwana. To expand its portfolio of luxury lodges and camps in Kenya and Tanzania, the company's investment in 2014 amounted to \$12 million USD (Waithaka, 2013). It owns high-end, luxury lodges throughout Kenya, from the shores of Lake Victoria to Kenya's Indian Ocean coastline.

In Enduimet, little seems to be known about this company or why it was selected. The popular conclusion is that AWF leaders in Nairobi, where their head office is, had some prior relationship with this group and deemed them worthy for such a venture. Based on AWF's

experience elsewhere, the lodge would be under the ownership of the community via the Enduimet WMA while operated and managed by the Monarch Group. More specifically, “the Monarch Group provides for all the moveable assets, operations, and working capital” (Warinwa, 2012, p. 6).

All the details of this arrangement, which frequently changed as problems continued to arise, remain unclear. None of the WMA leaders I spoke with could identify very much about it, including how revenue would be distributed. AWF invested anywhere between \$500,000USD and \$1,000,000 USD, depending on who you talk to. In an AWF report in 2012, it states that “Per the agreement, AWF is providing \$500,000 as community equity to construct the tourism facility – the immovable assets – while the Monarch Group provides all the movable assets, operations and working capital” (Warinwa, 2012, p.6). Based on discussions with AWF personnel and WMA leaders, AWF’s investment was far higher than this because the costs of the project continued to escalate due to renegotiations, delays, road maintenance, and so on.

The original agreement was officially signed on December 5, 2011. This was around the same time that the WMA’s second RZMP was finalized, which, importantly, declared the WMA’s whole northern zone as an exclusive photographic tourism zone. The Board of Trustees signed on behalf of the WMA with AWF Directors and Monarch Group owners signing for their respective parties. As per WMA regulations, which requires AAs to engage central authorities in investment agreements, the contract was approved shortly thereafter by the Wildlife Director and the Longido District authorities. In accordance with Tanzania’s non-consumptive tourism regulations, the contract was for a 25-year duration with the possibility of renewal.

A ceremonial ground-breaking was conducted on March 2, 2012, which launched the lodge’s initial construction. At first, construction moved ahead rather rapidly. Within a relatively short

time, foundations were laid for the main lounge, dining, and pool area. Walls were built and work began on the expansive roof. A few of the luxury cottages on the peak of the hill were completed. There were some challenges with road maintenance, lack of water in the dry season, and too much rain in wet season, but construction reportedly proceeded fairly well.

By the time I arrived in early 2013, hopes among WMA leaders and stakeholders were still high and construction was continuing. I recall talking to some young *ilmurran* during one of my first visits. They were tirelessly carrying rocks up the steep hill to be used for more cottage foundations. Like me, they seemed mesmerized by the startling scale of it all –an intimidating but awesome project.

As frequently repeated to me, the lodge was going to be Enduimet’s big entry into the tourism world. Leaders spoke with high hopes about it. As a new researcher in the field, rarely a day went by during the initial period without someone (e.g. WMA, Village or District leader) asking me enthusiastically, “have you been to Noombopong yet? Have you seen it?” In one of my first visits to the site, I recall seeing groups of community members crowded at the bottom of the Noombopong hill, staring in awe at the unprecedentedly large structure developing across their landscape. It is not an overstatement to say that almost none of the onlookers had ever seen such an architectural feat. I had only witnessed such feats on a few occasions myself, but only in Tanzania’s national parks and other large conservation areas.

b. The fallout & dirty games

Sadly, this atmosphere of awe and optimism did not persist for long. By mid-2013, I watched the momentum of construction begin to disintegrate. By July 2014, when I began a second phase of research, it had all but ended. In fact, much of the previous construction had fallen into disrepair. It was a sad sight. The lodge had gone from something that had been endlessly talked



Figure 34 Photo (taken by author) of the unfinished Noombopong hotel structure in 2014

about with high hopes and promises to a topic met with, at best, tempered enthusiasm and, at worst, aggrieved silence. In many cases, WMA leaders and AWF personnel seemed not to want to discuss it. For those WMA and village leaders who were willing to discuss it, they expressed anger about what seemed to be the slow demise of Noombopong's grand plans at the hands of some powerful, international tourism companies.

What I saw in July 2014 starkly differed from the hustle, bustle and development that characterized the year before. The following is my account after one visit in August 2014:

There was nothing happening, construction was halted and the site was like a ghost town. The only person on the site was a raggedly dressed man who identified himself as the site guard. He had little to say about the lodge but complained to me that he had not eaten for a day, because the WMA hadn't sent his weekly food rations. According to some WMA personnel, many conflicts had arisen since I had been at the site last. These were causing countless setbacks and

endlessly frustrating Enduimet stakeholders. One WMA worker seemed suspicious whether it would even proceed. The WMA manager had heard little from AWF and seemed uncertain about the project's status. The sight of the unfinished lodge was so sad. The atmosphere seemed so sombre. Seeing the half-built structures, one can only imagine how majestic it all could be. The foundations for the excessively large lounge and dining area had been laid, with construction of much of the walls and roof having already been started. Standing in one floor-to-ceiling window frame, I looked out over the large pool under construction. It felt like you could reach out and touch Mount Kilimanjaro, with its snow-covered peak seeming to hang over the whole structure. I walked up the hill to explore the luxurious rooms under construction. The site manager – an employee of the WMA – first showed me, with no hidden disgust, where the rooms had originally been built at the very top of the hill, before taking me into a few rooms further down the northern slope of the hill. The rooms were exactly what one would expect in Tanzania's high-end, luxury tourism – elaborate baths and washroom areas tucked behind a very large, open concept room that leads onto a spacious patio. The rooms overlook the wildlife-dense plains that stretch toward Mount Kilimanjaro. As I stood there, I could see a family of elephants feeding in the distance and giraffe loping slowly across the landscape. I could understand the marvel of it all. But, in the state I found it, it was all quite dilapidated. It was a rather decrepit sight. An unfulfilled promise. A failed dream. Mice had infested the rooms. Bats nested in the roofs. Wood was warped from repeated rain and sun. Cement eroded from unfinished work and lack of

maintenance. It was becoming hard to imagine that much would come of the lodge, despite some persisting hope expressed by a few leaders. As relayed to me, Enduimet had unknowingly stepped on some big toes. Big investors in Kenya and in Tanzania did not want this lodge built. Its current decaying status made this clear. For me, the half-finished, deteriorating lodge was representative of tourism in Tanzania. Another symbol of the games of power that the WMA invariably provoked. Enduimet crossed some invisible lines, inadvertently stepping on toes it didn't even know were there. They were put back in their place accordingly. Pushed back into their lower position on the tourism ladder, welcomed with handouts but not permitted to actually get in the game. No room for the little guy in a field of giants.

In the following, I review what we know, what we can deduce from various accounts, and what Enduimet leaders and residents think as it pertains to Noombopong's demise: how did the plans crumble? Who was behind the tragedy?

Apparently, the first indication that a crisis was imminent came fairly quickly during the first year of construction. After building the first cottages on the peak of Noombopong hill, some loud reproaches apparently arose from a very high-end, luxury safari company, Ker & Downey (K&D) Safaris. K&D has a "fly camping" site²⁹, popularly known as Nado Soito, just three or four kilometers north of the Noombopong site across the Kenya-Tanzania border. As a 'fly camping' site, it does not have permanent structures or clients on a regular basis. Instead, it serves as a site for their special, high-paying guests who want a completely exclusive, isolated,

²⁹ The concept of "fly camping" comes from idea of making a quick camp in an isolated setting, using only a tent fly (e.g. the top cover that sheds rain) for simple cover through the night. In the context of luxury safaris, it denotes a non-permanent, relatively minimalist camp that is set up for guests overnight stays. It is intended to offer a more rustic and exotic experience compared to the permanent, luxury environment of high-end lodges.

and relatively minimalist experience; K&D prides itself in catering to all the interests of its guests. The camping site is conveniently located a few kilometers from K&D's very prestigious, Tortilis Camp. Basically, the Nado Soito site allows high-paying clients of Tortilis Camp, or other Ker & Downey clients, to spend a night under the stars in the wildlife-rich area between Amboseli National Park and Enduimet WMA at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro. Clients are assured an exciting experience shared with plenty of wildlife, including elephants, giraffe, zebra, and lions, as well as the best views of Mount Kilimanjaro. It served as a picnic and sunset-viewing location.

K&D is a force to be reckoned with in the global tourism industry. It is listed as one of the top safari companies in Africa by *Travel and Leisure* magazine (Travel+Leisure, 2015). K&D was originally started in 1946 by some of Kenya's historically famous white hunters, Donald Ker and Sydney Downey. Shortly thereafter, it became one of the largest and most powerful tourism companies in the country (Mbaria & Ogada, 2016). It specializes in custom-designed trips, catering to rich clientele. Clients are visited by "luxury travel consultants" to offer "VIP assistance" (Downey, n.d.). This often includes personal visits to US clients' homes, crafting visits that amount to over \$1000/day for each client (Mbaria and Ogada, 2016). As one employee surmised to me, "when it's done, each client will pay tens of thousands of dollars for each trip depending on how long it is."

According to many I spoke with, K&D carries a lot of power in Kenya and Tanzania and has accrued a fair number of critics. In the opinion of one Kenyan land rights advocate that I spoke with in Nairobi, one of the current K&D Directors is a type of "godfather" figure. It was argued that this Director carries much influence over tourism and conservation in not only Kenya but also Tanzania. Such analysis is shared by many critics of Kenya's tourism industry.

In his book, *The Big Conservation Lie*, conservationist and scholar, Mordecai Ogada, wrote about his “rude awakening” with the K&D company and some of its operations in Kenya (Mbaria & Ogada, 2016, p.4). Ogada worked for K&D in 2008 – more specifically, he worked for the Kenya Wildlife Trust which K&D founded and operated. He wrote about his experience working in the 30,000 acre Kitirua wildlife habitat, where Tortilis Camp and the Nado Soito site are situated and which borders the site of the proposed Noombopong lodge. As Ogada explained, this area was an exclusive concession for K&D’s prestigious guests and was managed via an agreement with the Olgulului Group Ranch who owns the area. Ogada shares several frustrations with his experience with K&D, illustrating how the company epitomizes some of the power and privilege inequalities that characterizes tourism in Kenya. In one case, he tells the story of how K&D strategically moved Maasai settlements so they “wouldn’t sully tourists’ view of Kilimanjaro” (Mbaria & Ogada, p.5). In Ogada’s opinion, such stories indicate the nature of K&D’s enterprise: e.g. characterized by economic injustices that favored business interests while displacing and exploiting rural communities.

For many of the Enduimet leaders I spoke with, similar to Ogada’s record about how K&D ‘moved’ an entire Maasai village for the convenience of its clients, the K&D owners were also allegedly part of ‘moving,’ and even eliminating, the Noombopong lodge. As will be seen, K&D’s concerns about the lodge project seemingly influenced the termination of it.

Beyond K&D, the Kitirua concession is also affiliated with The Elewana Collection, a conglomerate of a small, prestigious collection of lodges across Africa. The Tortilis Camp is part of the Elewana Collection. The Elewana group claims that their lodges are “all in Harmony With Africa” (Elewana Collection n.d.). “Elewana” means understanding or harmony in Swahili. Given the fateful end to this story, the company’s name and the company’s motto is not without

irony. According to some industry-insiders I spoke to, like K&D, Elewana is also a major political force in Tanzania and Kenya's tourism industry.

Ultimately, K&D's grievance with the Noombopong plans in Enduimet relates to how it markets its private concession and Tortilis Camp: "with the majestic backdrop of Africa's highest mountain, and the world's highest free-standing mountain, Tortilis Camp is widely regarded as the *prime location for witnessing the majesty of snow-capped Kilimanjaro...*" (Camp, n.d.; emphasis added). K&D further emphasizes that "[guests] have *exclusive access* to the 30,000 acre Kitirua conservancy" (Ker and Downey, n.d.; *emphasis added*). The Nado Soito fly-camping site intended to provide an even better "prime location" to view Mount Kilimanjaro and an even more "exclusive experience" in the area than its sister lodge.

To put it simply, all of these images and claims were fundamentally threatened by Enduimet's new luxury lodge. Ultimately, the cottages on the top of Noombopong hill were seen as spoiling K&D's clients' views. Likewise, the construction jeopardized the sense of private isolation and exclusivity that K&D promised its clients. With the visible presence of the lodge, nature was not so "pristine" anymore and clients' experience not so exclusive or privileged. According to Enduimet leaders, it was difficult for K&D to maintain its image and claims about unparalleled Kilimanjaro views and exclusive remoteness if another luxury lodge was built within viewing distance of their clients' luxury cottages and tents. Essentially, Amboseli's expansive, star-strewn night skies would become polluted by the lights of the Noombopong lodge.

By all accounts, this was not a situation that K&D was willing to entertain. Reportedly, K&D began complaining about the Noombopong lodge plans in 2012. This was immediately after the first cottages were built on the hill's peak. They exclaimed that the cottages obstructed their

clients' views of Mount Kilimanjaro and, at night, the lodge's lights polluted an otherwise pristine environment.

For Enduimet leaders, K&D's complaints were unsubstantiated and dubious. Enduimet leaders brushed off such claims about how the lodge would jeopardize the experience of K&D's clients. They argued that the Noombopong cottages were barely visible from the Nado Soito campsite or Tortillis Lodge, given that they lie kilometers away and are designed to blend into the environment. Leaders further argued that, while certainly the cottage's lights would be visible at night, it is difficult to imagine that they would interfere with clients' experience. After one of my own visits to Tortillis Lodge in 2016, I tend to concur with these leaders' arguments. Whatever the case, Enduimet leaders rightfully asked, "why does a luxury camp in Kenya get to dictate what happens a few kilometers away across the border? What allows them to protect such a large area for their own exclusive use and profit? And, why do the mountain views of a few rich clients of one company dictate the trajectory of a neighbouring community in Tanzania?"

In Nairobi, AWF was apparently first to receive the complaints, who then passed them onto their counterparts in the Kilimanjaro Heartland's office in Namanga and the Tanzanian office in Arusha. Many of the Enduimet leaders I spoke with argued that the complaints went all the way to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Enduimet leaders generally pointed to the fact that K&D and Elewana were high ranking members of the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO), the country's immensely powerful photographic tourism lobby group. They argued that TATO had direct access to key officials. According to Enduimet leaders, if companies like K&D and Elewana had a problem, you could be sure the relevant government officials knew about it. Enduimet leaders believed TATO's lobbying efforts were set in motion. TATO, as the logic goes, would do anything to defend its members' interests. Central authorities

would subsequently be cornered with some of the country's biggest investors bearing down on them. This was the perception of most leaders and AWF personnel I spoke with. While I could not confirm the legitimacy of this theory, my discussions with some TATO members indicated that such political pressure and patterns are common. One member asserted, "If [name of TATO leader] had a problem and felt his business was threatened, you can be sure that he would phone the Minister directly and you can be sure that actions would be taken to help him. This is how tourism works in Tanzania."

Whatever actually unfolded behind the scenes, it is clear that AWF leaders quickly jumped into motion to mitigate the conflict. Their immediate recommendation was to change the location of Noombopong's cottages. Their rationale was that if the cottages were removed from the top of the hill down to the hill's southern face, it would no longer interfere with K&D guests' views of the mountain. The changes were subsequently made at Noombopong in the hopes of appeasing K&D. As such, the cottages at the top were torn down. Their remnants still scar the hilltop. In 2014, I stood on these remains, at the top of the hill. It was clear that much work had been done in attempts to appease K&D's criticism, further compromising building plans and timelines.

Things evidently got worse, shortly thereafter. The details of what followed remain somewhat unclear. However, it is apparent that the changes made to Noombopong's construction neither resolved K&D's concerns nor tempered their efforts to undercut the project. Enduimet leaders allege that K&D continued to lobby AWF and government officials. This was confirmed by some AWF personnel who emphasized to me that K&D was continuing to criticize the project.

At the same time, another company allegedly entered the foray, Kibo Guides. Already mentioned in previous chapters, Kibo Guides owns and operates the Tanganyika Wilderness

Camps (TWC) lodge, which is situated in the WMA overlooking the area's vast, low lying plains. Noombopong is barely visible from TWC's luxury tent patios. Kibo Guides and TWC owners and operators had a different complaint than K&D: they argued that it was economically unfair for the Enduimet AA to carry equity in one WMA lodge (i.e. a business partner) while also being the leaser (i.e. a landlord) of other competing lodges in the WMA. As such, one Kibo investor argued that this would bias Enduimet's treatment of tourism businesses in the WMA.

I recall one engagement with a Kibo Guide investor at a USAID-sponsored workshop in Dar es Salaam in May 2013. AWF facilitated the workshop. Similar to most national-level meetings I participated in, it was dominated by expat diplomats, foreign investors, big NGO personnel, and government bureaucrats, all discussing the futures of rural Tanzanians. The Kibo investor, who was a well-known agitator, was repeatedly outspoken about his criticism of AWF's plans and how it would jeopardize fair business in Enduimet. During the meeting, he publicly castigated AWF, arguing that the NGO was undercutting Kibo's business in Enduimet. In a meeting break, he angrily asserted to me that "If they [i.e. AWF and Enduimet AA] continue with this plan, I'll leave Enduimet. It's simple. Why would I stay where my landlord is also my business competitor?"

I later sat next to one of the few village representatives that attended the meeting, who was one of the AA leaders from Enduimet. He sat quietly throughout the two-day meeting. When I had a chance to talk to him, I asked him about the Kibo investor's comments and he became visibly angry about the accusations. He exclaimed, "[Name of Kibo representative] is just making up a problem to protect his business. Why would we hurt his business when that would hurt our revenue? Is anyone asking that question? He is greedy. This is why he says these things. He doesn't want the lodge because he wants Enduimet only for himself." Sadly, my impression

was that most people seemed to simply accept the Kibo representative's argument and did not ask the types of questions expressed by this Enduimet leader. Based on my observation of the meeting, any such questions and discussions were thoroughly drowned out by the assertiveness of the Kibo representative.

Upon returning to Longido, I explored how Enduimet leaders perceived and thought about the Kibo investor's arguments, which is worth elaborating. While the essence of the investor's argument made sense to me in some regards, Enduimet leaders persistently argued that it does not withstand scrutiny. AWF personnel agreed. As it pertains to Noombopong, the Enduimet AA is merely the owner of its immovable assets (ie. the actual physical, built structure). The Monarch Group is the owner of all movable assets, as well as the revenue generated from the lodge. Enduimet leaders argue that the AA's stake in that revenue is the same as their stake in all the other lodge's revenues, based on the government's non-consumptive wildlife utilization fees and benefit-sharing regulations. As far as it pertains to the AA's interests (e.g. increasing tourism revenue), Enduimet leaders argued that it wants as many guests as possible in the WMA. The particular lodge they visit and sleep in, they argued is irrelevant to their revenue accumulation. The AA benefits equally from all the hotels. Hence, Enduimet leaders argue, "the more lodges the better. The more beds, the better. The more tourists the better. The more tourism activities the better. The more money the better. We don't care where they stay, as long as they stay."

For Enduimet leaders, then, this rationale led to one conclusion: Kibo's resistance was solely about the company's bottom line (i.e. profits). Whether legitimate or not, this perspective was prevalent in my discussions. Enduimet leaders argued that Kibo's desire was simply to make Enduimet the most exclusive destination possible. They argued that every company wants to market the exclusivity of its tourism site. For such tourism companies, "wild Africa' has to be

wild,” which, in addition to being untouched by people and livestock, also needs to be relatively “empty” of other tourism companies. In part, a company’s capacity to market itself depends on maintaining such exclusivity. For Enduimet leaders, therefore, Kibo investors’ arguments concealed their actual motive to strengthen their business profile and increase their profits, irrespective of Enduimet’s economic interests or the viability of the WMA. Indeed, one of TWC’s employees alluded to this logic during one of my visits to the lodge. After I explained some of the Enduimet leaders’ complaints about Kibo’s interference, he cut me off and asserted, “Our clients come because it’s exclusive. We don’t want to jeopardize that. We aren’t here for charity. We are here to run a successful business. And, in business, some lose and some win.” I appreciated the employee’s frankness, while also being troubled by the implications. In any case, the statement seemingly affirmed Enduimet leaders’ assertions.

I made repeated visits to the Noombopong site between 2014 and 2017. At the time of writing, the project continued to be at a complete standstill. The structures that were built in 2013 have eroded significantly. As described in some of my field note excerpts above, the site is a ghost town, of sorts. By all accounts, and my own observations, AWF terminated its involvement by 2015. I gained little information from AWF about what unfolded in the end. Furthermore, none of the staff I spoke to knew any details about what pushed AWF to the breaking point.

For Enduimet leaders, what happened is unquestionably clear: they allege that it is a case of collusion between the government and investors. They hold strongly to the argument that the displeased, big tourism companies successfully lobbied AWF and central government authorities to terminate the project. The latter, it is believed, contributed unbearable pressure on AWF. As already mentioned, Enduimet leaders repeatedly argued that these companies are very large and wield a lot of influence in Tanzania. Leaders pointed to the fact that each are members of TATO

and emphasized TATO's power in Tanzania. Others argued that K&D was one of AWF's donors in Kenya, and hence, AWF was unwilling to compromise K&D's interests. In 2014, one WMA worker showed me a website on his computer, which illustrated an advertisement for a safari that AWF and K&D facilitated together. "They are in business together," he argued. For some WMA personnel, this apparent relationship substantiated their theories about Noombopong. In some discussions, it was also pointed out that the owner of Kibo became TATO's chairman in 2012. Hence, Enduimet leaders argued that he had direct access to high-ranking officials. According to Enduimet leaders' perspectives, officials with the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and Wildlife Division finally demanded that AWF terminate its Noombopong plans. One leader summed up the overall experience: "We had no chance. We had lost before it began. These investors didn't want the lodge. And they made sure it would never happen."

For Enduimet leaders and the AWF field staff I spoke to, what unfolded suggested "dirty games," to borrow a common concept in Tanzania. "Dirty games" refers to corrupt dealings between government authorities and investors or, at least, suspicious collusions between the two (Aminzade, 2013, p. 280). Without exception, those I spoke to shared a very common perception about the politics of Tanzania's tourism:

If you look carefully enough...you'll see that some big person (*mtu mkubwa*)³⁰ is benefiting from the business. Every big business has friends up there. Maybe they are business shareholders or maybe they are given gifts. But, I am sure, they are benefitting.

For Enduimet leaders, such relations and transactions were the reasons that their efforts to build Noombopong ultimately failed. In their understanding, K&D and Kibo Guides had powerful "friends up there" with formal or informal, direct or indirect stakes in their respective

³⁰ *Mtu mkubwa* is a popular idiom in Tanzania that most commonly refers to high-ranking government officials, but can also refer to anyone that wields significant power over government decision-making.

businesses and, subsequently, influenced the Noombopong outcome. Of course, this is a matter of speculation. If such relations exist, they are well hidden, kept out of any spotlight or public scrutiny. This is the nature of such dubious relations and actions.

Whatever actually unfolded behind the scenes, it seems clear that the voices of these two companies were well heard. The exact reasons for the termination of the Noombopong project are unknown and will likely remain so, as will the events that surrounded the final decision. All we can ultimately conclude is that the circumstances surrounding the demise of Noombopong lodge are suspicious. Details are not public and even WMA leaders have been seemingly left in the dark. Some details, though, and the final outcome are undisputable: AWF and Enduimet were committed to the project; central government authorities approved the plan in 2011 and participated in its ceremonial launch in 2012; millions of dollars were subsequently spent; big tourism investors began complaining; then, AWF mysteriously dropped the Noombopong plans; and, now, the remnants of the Noombopong lodge stand in disrepair, like a rebuke and reminder to the community of their failed plans, not to mention broken promises. It all seems to be a case of “friends in high places”. While many details remain unknown, what is certainly evident is that Noombopong’s opponents won the day and K&D and Kibo’s interests were served, by one means or other. For Enduimet leaders, they are simply left with entrenched grievances against a tourism industry that, in their conception, is greedy, unjust, often corrupt and which makes no room for the little guy. Undoubtedly, the Noompobong case has further entrenched suspicions about tourism, grievances against its political economy and criticism about its seeming hypocrisy (e.g. vis-à-vis the industry’s spectacular claims of social responsibility, ‘eco’ tourism and purported harmony with communities).

iii. Implications for understanding Tanzanian tourism

We may never know precisely what transpired in the demise of Noombopong lodge.

Nevertheless, it has provoked much suspicion, allegations, and grievances. For me, it provoked reflection on the nature of tourism in Tanzania, its players, political economy and its ominous patterns. I spent some time exploring these issues in discussions with tourism insiders, through participation in tourism meetings and events, and reviewing literature about tourism's political economy in Tanzania. In the following, I explore some of my findings and reflections.

a. Asymmetries of power & “tourism cartels”

Whether speaking to tourism insiders or outside stakeholders and critics, one of the most common points of discussion is the domination of a handful of large companies within the industry. Much emphasis is placed on the fact that many of these companies are foreign-owned or, at least, foreign-controlled, whether by outside investors (e.g. from South Africa, Europe, USA, Middle East or India) or by their immigrant members who reside in Tanzania (i.e. “expat” investors and operators). Criticisms about the foreign nature of Tanzania's tourism are often accompanied by criticisms about so-called “leakage”: according to some studies, between 75-90 percent of revenue is never captured nationally (Chachage & Mallya, 2005; in Holroyd, 2016).

Tanzania has very few restrictions on such ownership patterns, and tourism remains a high priority for foreign investment incentives (TIC, n.d.). One study by Chachage and Mallya (2005) concluded that “most of the hotels and tour companies in Tanzania were either foreign-owned or had foreign connections, and that a handful of the large foreign-owned operations received 50 percent of the tourism business” (in Holroyd, 2016, p.23). A study from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (2008) concluded that 71 percent of tourism tax revenue

in the country comes from foreign-owned companies. Therefore, critics argue that this creates bias in government decision-making and accounts for a powerful lobby on behalf of these companies.

In Megan Holroyd's study about Tanzanian tourism (2016), she highlights the history of structural adjustment and privatization policies in the early 90s that facilitated this situation, with a disproportionate number of foreign investors that entered the industry. Similar arguments are found in other works (Aminzade, 2003, 2013; Brockington, 2002; Schroeder, 2012; Issa G. Shivji, 2006; Issa G Shivji, 2009). For example, Aminzade (2003, 2013) and Schroeder (2012) focus especially on the ethnic and racial politics that characterize this pattern in Tanzania; "foreign," in Tanzania, most commonly refers to white European, US or South African investors, Middle Eastern investors and Indian investors. As a result of Tanzania's restructuring and privatization in the 90s, Holroyd concludes, "foreign ownership (and thus, power) within the tourism sector in Tanzania is often very high" (Holroyd, 2016, p.258). She also highlights a 2001 report from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism about the patterns of privilege and profits: "in Tanzania, foreign ownership controls 99 percent of air travel, 95 percent of hunting, 80 percent of land and hotels and 50 percent of recreation and leisure" (Holroyd, p.259). This, she argues, results in a cycle of privilege and disproportionate outcomes: "a handful of large foreign-owned operations receive 50 percent of the tourism business. In fact, these businesses dominate the tourism industry in Tanzania" (Holroyd, p.259).

While many tour operators I spoke with noted that foreign-owned companies wield a lot of power, they also stressed that a strong contingent of Asian-Tanzanian owned companies exercise

extensive power as well³¹. In fact, these companies represent some of the largest in the country, and are entangled in a long history of contentious politics in Tanzania. Irrespective of their citizenship and, often, multi-generational history in the country, they are commonly presented as “foreign” in popular politics. Asian-Tanzanians, like their counterparts elsewhere in East Africa, have faced a long history of prejudice and discrimination, including violent displacements. Throughout the postcolonial period and especially through Tanzania’s restructuring in the 80s and 90s, they have been especially criticized by ‘native’ Tanzanians³² for monopolizing some industries and for the perceived corruption associated with their prominence – claims obviously long-disputed by Asian-Tanzanian investors. Ronald Aminzade has been at the forefront of documenting this history and corresponding racialized politics (Aminzade, 2003, 2013). He outlines how Asian-Tanzanian investors were well positioned during the 90s, because of the various histories that privileged them economically (ie. access to capital through foreign or national networks of family and friends). During the 90’s privatization scramble, many of them achieved key footholds in many of Tanzania’s industries, including tourism. In part, this spurred the anti-Asian sentiments that still persist today and often animate tourism politics.

In one conversation, I inquired with a black Tanzanian owner of a tourism company about his experience in a foreign-dominated industry. He argued that at tourism events, such as workshops, meetings, and market fairs, he felt like stranger in his own country:

³¹ In Tanzania, “Asian-Tanzanian” usually denotes those of Indian ancestry. Many Indians with Tanzanian citizenship have multi-generation history in the country and represent much of Tanzania’s middle and upper classes. See Aminzade’s (2003, 2013) account of this history for more information.

³² For lack of a better term, I use ‘native’ here to refer to the black Tanzanian population that claim pre-colonial, ancestral history in Tanzania. Some scholars use the term “indigenous” for this population. As indicated in Chapter Four, I reserve “indigenous” for those groups, like Enduimet Maasai, who are recognized as such by the United Nations and other international advocacy organizations, based on recognized historic, socio-cultural and political criteria.

When I attend tourism events or meetings, there are often very few people that look like me. Tourism in Tanzania is dominated by whites, Arabs and Indians. It is a strange situation. In my own county, I am a stranger. There are few black Tanzanians... They represent a very small portion of the market.

Given the powerful presence of foreign-owned companies, many industry critics lament that they create monopolistic conditions. Critics have argued these conditions favor their businesses at the expense of national development and the distribution of wealth to rural communities (Mostafanezhad, Norum, Shelton, & Thompson-Carr, 2016). As allegedly happened in the Noombopong case, actions are sometimes taken by powerful companies (and associated lobby groups) to maintain the status quo and reduce competition where it threatens their interests.

In one conservation workshop I attended in Dar es Salaam in 2011, the well-known conservationist and economist, Michael Norton-Griffiths, blatantly described Tanzania's tourism as a "tourism cartel". In his work with Said (Norton-Griffiths & Said, 2010), they argue that the whole industry of tourism and conservation in East Africa is characterized by distorted markets that "stem primarily from the tourism cartels..." (p.384). They further argue that conservation and tourism are designed to fail (e.g. in terms of sustainability and efficiency) because a small collection of powerful companies have undue influence on the industry. This stifles market competition and unfairly distributes revenue. Communities, who co-habit tourism spaces, lose potential revenue and economic opportunity (Norton-Griffiths and Said 2010).

Norton-Griffiths and Said's conclusions resonate with what I learned and observed during my research. This idea of a "cartel" resonated with the experience of tourism investors and NGO advocates I spoke to. One Australian investor, who has been running a small tourist company for several years, stated,

It is difficult to move into the industry. The industry is monopolized by many of the big players. If you want to gain status, get access to business in the parks, get property in desirable areas, it is about who you know. You have to have connections. Look at [name of large company owner]. He has connections everywhere. How do you think he gets all this prime property bordering the Ngorongoro Conservation Area? Bordering Lake Manyara and Terengire National Park? The best sites around Kilimanjaro? He knows the right people, he has friends in high places. It's not coincidental that he's also a leader in TATO. TATO is powerful and has relations with all the government authorities. I was at a meeting recently. All the big players were there, including government officials. Who was reserved a seat beside the Minister at the high table? [Name of large company owner], of course. It was clear they were very familiar. They were best friends it seems. How do we compete with this in an industry that is monopolized by these types of big companies? And an industry that is known for its corruption...It's hard. We survive. We do ok. I shouldn't complain. But, it's hard because there's always a limit. We'll never compete with these big players, because we don't have the right friends and we don't have the money to buy them.

I observed similar trends while attending national-level tourism and conservation meetings in Arusha and Dar es Salaam. One meeting in 2016 was especially interesting, because I accompanied a handful of Enduimet leaders. After returning to Enduimet that evening, I wrote the following reflection in my field notes:

Today I attended a large, national meeting concerning tourism and conservation. It was an interesting experience and drew my attention to how tourism works in Tanzania, how unequal power is exercised in the industry. As I squeezed into the back of the meeting

room with my Enduimet colleagues, I peered over the shoulders of the other Tanzanians crowded in front of me. Based on my discussions with those around me, everyone crowded in the back represented small tourism businesses and village leaders. We were large in number yet – as repeated to me in conversations – small in influence.

As I peered over the many shoulders in front of me, those tourism actors with the real power were on display at the front of the conference room. It dawned on me that this whole conference, and its spatial layout, captured well the political economy of Tanzania's tourism. The lineup of speakers was indicative: a succession of international donor agency personnel, government officials and big tourism investors, including the leaders of hunting and photographic tourism lobby groups (e.g. TATO and TAHOA). There was one short, timeslot for a "community representative."

What interested me the most was the front tables where government dignitaries sat, like the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Wildlife Director and so on. Next to and behind them sat the "who's who" in Tanzanian tourism. I recognized figures from some of the large tourism companies that I had met over the years or seen at tourism events. For the most part, it was a collection of the white, Arab and Asian-Tanzanian owners, directors and managers that have become associated with the country's industry. It was evident that these were the meetings' "Very Important People" (VIPs).

My Enduimet colleagues were understandably disheartened by the fact that the Shu'mata owner sat prominently amongst the VIPs and government officials. Slapping backs, shaking hands, and laughing along in stride with the other VIPs and high-ranking government officials. Rather ironically, not long before this and less than a hundred kilometers north of the meeting, roadblocks burned under supervision of Enduimet

ilmurran in protest against the company's exploitation and their demand that the company not only leave Enduimet but the country too. One of my colleagues with me had been part of occupying Shu'mata's camp as part of Enduimet's protests. I silently wondered what it must feel like to see the owner, sitting cozily in one of the front rows with government ministers and the tourism lobby groups and listening to the accolades of tourism's apparent contribution to Tanzanians. When asked, he said it angered him, but it was all a scene that he had grown used to. He was inured to such seemingly problematic relations.

What caught my attention especially was the casual friendliness that seemed to characterize the relations between the tourism VIPs and government officials. While I struggled to convince my colleagues to even approach any of the government officials with questions, many of the tourism investors and operators were comfortably caught up in their whispers, laughter, and back-slapping.

In some of the presentations, ministers and investors jovially teased each other. In a few cases, they seemingly joked about corporate greed and corruption. One government official teased one tourism operator for "getting fat off tourism and not sharing with the rest of us." The operator retorted, "at least I can count," seemingly in reference to earlier claims in the conference about dubious discrepancies in a presentation from one MNRT leader. Everyone laughed.

During one break, the first thing that caught my attention was when the Minister asked a colleague to shift seats so the head of the Tanzanian Association of Tour Operators (TATO) could join him in the front row. The private laughter, discussions, and whispers continued. Their intimacy was apparent. I asked myself, "was this just good business

practice? Smart economics? Did it represent something more? Ultimately, there is little one can deduce from such interactions,” I told myself.

On the ride back to Enduimet it became clear that, for my Enduimet colleagues, none of it was innocent. It all represented something more. All the observed interactions, the power relations that pervaded the room, and the feelings of marginality they experienced held a deeper meaning. On the ride back to Enduimet, the discussion was animated by speculation about TATO’s role in government decision-making, the power of the tourism VIPs, collusion, and government corruption. Not surprisingly, the Noombopong story was told and retold – each person with their own analysis and insights – all with the same conclusion that greed and collusion between the government and investors are what spelled the end of Noombopong.

For my colleagues and me, the spatial distribution of actors in the room and the seeming intimacy between the big companies and government ministers reflected Tanzania’s political economy of tourism. It symbolized the general power relations and privilege that characterize the industry. While I was apprehensive and self-critical about extrapolating too much from the experience, for my Enduimet colleagues, there were no questions about it: those invited to the high table, made friends in high places and this translated into greater privilege and profits. Admittedly, it is hard to observe such meetings without coming to similar conclusions.

b. The machinations of rural ventures: hidden histories and invisible hands

A second popular conception of tourism is the hidden nature of activities and decisions that unfold. In Chapter Four, I discussed the “hidden economy” in terms of tourism operators’ underreporting their activities, false claims, etc. Whereas I previously discussed the hidden economics of this industry, here, I focus on the hidden politics: the covert tactics that attempt to

influence or manipulate government decision-making and bestow economic privilege on big tourism companies.

Martin Walsh has been at the forefront of exposing these so-called “dirty games” and hidden politics of tourism in Tanzania (Tenga et al., 2008; Walsh, 2000; Walsh, 2012) – some of which resonate with what Enduimet leaders argue has occurred in Enduimet, including in the Noombopong saga. Much of Walsh’s work has focused on the Usangu Game Reserve, near Ruaha National Park, in the south of the country. Privy to an unparalleled amount of private communications, hidden discussions, and covert actions over multiple years, he documents how a small group of powerful tour operators played a major role in manipulating and convincing the government to transform statuses of village land, displace indigenous inhabitants, and favor their tourism companies over others in an array of business deals (Walsh, 2012). The story surrounds the shrinking of the Great Ruaha River, beginning in 1993, and the subsequent electricity shortages throughout the 1990s. An “environmental panic” erupted, with most fingers strategically pointed at customary resource uses around its primary source. By 1998, fisherman and livestock keepers were forcibly removed and the core area, Ihefu swamp, was gazetted as a new game reserve. By 2006, massive displacements again ensued, this time expelling thousands of Sukuma pastoralists and households – “the largest eviction of its kind in recent Tanzanian history” (Walsh, 2013, p. 303). More than 300,000 livestock were driven from the area. The area was then re-gazetted as national park land, extending the already existing Ruaha National Park.

Most significantly, it is important to note how these actions paved the way for very lucrative, high-end tourism business, which is my interest in the case. Walsh (2012) demonstrates what he refers to as, the “hidden histories and invisible hands” (p. 324) that covertly manipulated and facilitated the transformation of Ihefu swamp and surrounding region. Hidden actions

transformed a customary territory of Sukuma and other peoples to a protected area reserved only for high-end foreign tourists. Walsh documents how, first, powerful trophy hunting investors and, then, powerful photographic tourism investors strategically steered and manipulated government officials. Among other actions, they facilitated a propaganda campaign about environmental degradation and crisis narratives that served their interests. They engaged in lobbying officials privately, allegedly conducted illicit transactions, produced stories in national media, circulated crisis reports internationally, and bombarded government officials with letters and emails. Of course, the vast majority of these actions were performed well beyond the public eye. Ultimately, the machinations of powerful private sector players converged in strategic and timely fashion with other government and conservation NGO interests, forming an intimidating and effective ensemble to create the largest national park in Africa (Walsh, 2013, p. 317).

One significant actor involved in this “hidden history” of Ruaha National Park expansion – based on a key source of reports, letters and emails – was the Fox family, which is one of the largest tourism investors and operators in Tanzania (Walsh, 2013, p.319). From the revealed correspondence, and according to Walsh’s account, their interests to remove pastoralists and extend the national park were made clear. Like many of the other agitators in the conflict, Fox Safari Camps operate a high-end, luxury lodge on the “Great Ruaha”, just inside the borders of the national park. As a result of the “dirty games” and displacements that emerged, their safari area expanded exponentially, and their business profile grew in an unprecedented fashion.

Walsh concludes that decision-making processes are often “behind the scenes,” which captures what I witnessed in Enduimet and repeatedly heard in my discussion with industry stakeholders. Walsh writes that many outcomes in tourism and conservation,

...have been influenced by the profit motive and the interests of individuals and companies competing and/or collaborating for commercial gain. This influence has generally been hidden from view because the parties involved have preferred to conceal their intentions and methods lest transparency jeopardise their success. (Walsh, 2013, p.325)

Conclusion

To capture the prevailing sentiments of Enduimet's experience with the Noombopong, I share the following statement from one leader:

Everyone wants us to earn money from tourism. They push us to make money. They said the WMA would bring money. Every time, they tell us the WMA needs to be self-sufficient. It is just words. Words only. We had a plan to start the Noombopong lodge. It was a good plan. It would have been the nicest lodge in all of this area. All tourists would have stayed there, right under Kilimanjaro, and lots of wildlife everywhere. You see, you would eat with Kilimanjaro and elephants. It is a beautiful place. We would have gotten lots of money. A lot of money.

Now? It's just sitting there. It was started. Now, there's nothing. The work isn't continuing. Do you know why? Because the white people at the camp in Kenya couldn't see Kilimanjaro like they had before... You see. Do you see? The investor had big friends. He persuaded AWF and the government to stop building the lodge. It hurt his business. Kibo was the same. When [name of Kibo owner] heard our plans, he cried. He complained to the government. He complained to USAID. He complained to AWF. He said it would hurt his business. You see. They want us to make money until it hurts their

business. If it hurts their business, they block us. They are greedy. They are only here for money. Let us never forget this.

This quote indicates how the Noombopong failure has come to reflect what Enduimet leaders and residents perceive as the greed and hypocrisy of the tourism industry. For many, any claims of sharing benefits, development, or empowering rural communities is “a lie.” For many Enduimet leaders, the Noombopong saga has become a symbol of this contradiction.

Returning to the theme of this section (e.g. Chua’s collisions and backlashes), I maintain that the Noombopong case illustrates well a “backlash against democracy.” It demonstrates the collisions that arise from democratization reforms, pitting in new ways wealthy, market-dominant minority groups against aggrieved, popular majority ones. According to Enduimet leaders, at the sight of threat to their businesses big tourism investors mobilized and influenced the central government and AWF to terminate the plan for Noombopong. In so doing, they undercut the public agenda, interests, and choices of Enduimet leaders and the WMA’s representative body, the AA. As such, big commercial interests trumped public ones. Market status quos and crony capitalism trumped democratization.

While some details of the case remain uncertain, I contend that there is enough information to infer that the saga reflects something akin to Walsh’s account of “hidden histories and invisible hands”. Indeed, Enduimet’s experience differs significantly with the Usangu case, but, by the many accounts retold to me by leaders and industry insiders, this difference is of degrees and not kind. The essential ingredients are the same: the commercial interests of big tourism operators were threatened, a lobbying machine is apparently unleashed and transactions, of one sort or another, unfold. Most of this unfolds beyond the public eye and the outcome invariably facilitates corporate gains and community costs.

In saying all this, I must be clear that I am not implying that anything illegal necessarily occurred. This may or may not be the case. The details will likely never be known. Nevertheless, something problematic clearly unfolded, favoring investors and jeopardizing democratic processes and community interests.

There is one last dimension to this discussion that needs highlighting: the pretense and duplicity that characterizes tourism's claims and self-representation. From my repeated experiences in Enduimet, I have been struck by the self-aggrandizing claims, pretense, and deception that characterizes how companies represent themselves. Without exception, each of the tourism companies in Enduimet makes lofty claims about its contribution to conservation and the development of the surrounding local communities. Following on norms in the industry, they strategically mimic the tenets of so-called "ecotourism," making claims about simultaneously contributing to the well-being of the environment and local communities. Meanwhile, on the ground, 'actually-existing ecotourism' unfolds in manners that jeopardize one claim, or the other, or both. In stark contrast to the claims made on their websites, their promises to industry stakeholders, and the narratives sold to their guests, the companies are often part of jeopardizing community well-being and the environment. This is the essence of the "hypocrisy" lamented by Enduimet leaders. It is a game of pretense.

This is all-too-apparent in the companies involved in the Noombopong saga. All the companies involved, whether Elewana, Ker and Downey or Kibo Guides, self-promote themselves as leaders in ecological and community-friendly global travel. As already stated, Elewana's name suggests the embodiment of "perfect harmony with Africa" and "understanding." Their website highlights the tenets of ecotourism: "social responsibility," "minimising environmental impact," and "maximizing community benefits" (Elewana

Collection, n.d.). They advertise their Land & Life Foundation's nature conservation work, school support, medical support, and "the successful Wildlife Warrior Program". In similar fashion, Ker and Downey count themselves as "The Founders of Responsible Tourism" (Ker and Downey n.d.), at the "forefront of scientific research and wilderness preservation.... And social development projects." Kibo Guides similarly promotes their contributions to conservation and community development. They highlight that they are "proud to promote local economies" and state their "devotion to the African bush and the people who share it" (Kibo Guides n.d.). They list an array of projects, like building classrooms, offering medical support, and building water pumps.

If Enduimet leaders' account of the Noombopong saga is correct, such claims seem to be far from how these companies operate in practice. Enduimet leaders understandably ask, where was all this social responsibility, this commitment to responsible tourism, and promotion of local economies when these investors were apparently lobbying the government and AWF to terminate the Noombopong project? Where was this claimed "devotion to the people who share the land" when the community's biggest chance to earn more income was demolished? When their chance to be a self-sufficient WMA was eliminated and democracy undercut?

Like beauty, "eco-tourism" seems to be in the eye of the beholder. While these companies will continue to promote their own benevolence, tourism in Enduimet will often unfold in quite contrary fashion. Enduimet leaders' grievances and accounts will remain hidden. The opportunity for their big debut in global tourism is lost amidst the spectacle of corporate "ecotourism." As the Enduimet community stumbles along with eroded finances, a debilitated WMA, and broken promises, Kibo and K&D can rest assured their privileged economic position

in East Africa's tourism industry is preserved. Enduimet has been put back in its place. And, the stars sparkle as brightly as they always have for K&D's high-paying guests.

CHAPTER 7

WHO OWNS HEAVEN? THE TRIALS OF SHU'MATA

We've sat together many times now. We are tired. We are tired of Shu'mata. We are tired of his behaviour. We have given him many opportunities. He ignores us. He is greedy. He is deceitful. He is here only for his benefit. We are stupid if we think he'll change. Let us not continue talking. I don't want to meet again about this. We are wasting our time. We are wasting our money. We have decided before and we have decided again. We will not continue with [Shu'mata]. He must leave. Let him leave Enduimet. And let him leave Tanzania. We no longer want investors like him.

(A statement made by an Enduimet WMA Trustee in a meeting with Shu'mata in 2013)



Introduction

Undoubtedly, the most significant conflict that continues to define Enduimet relates to the eviction of, and corollary legal battle with, the German-owned and operated company, Shu'mata Camp. Throughout the following, I refer simply to “Shu'mata” to refer to the camp itself or the investors, specifying particular actors when necessary. The quote above comes from one tumultuous meeting with Shu'mata in 2013. It offers a glimpse of the contentious politics that unfolded via the Shu'mata conflict. For most Enduimet leaders, Shu'mata epitomizes the “neocolonialism” (in Swahili, “ukuloni mamboleo”) that, they argue, characterizes much of the tourism market and many of its actors.

The saga comprises, first, a backlash against the market, or at least, a backlash against market dominant actors. As things unfold, though, a backlash against democracy emerges. As in Enduimet's collision with trophy hunting, the latter follows on the former. First, a backlash against Shu'mata emerges and, as the company's position is threatened, Shu'mata's ‘troops’ are mobilized and efforts are made to undercut the AA's decision to evict the company.

The title of this chapter, “Who owns heaven?”, follows on the company’s name. “Shu’mata”, in Maa, has been commonly used to refer to “heaven”. Presumably, the company appropriated this concept to allude to the beautiful setting of its lodge on top of the Nuawsindet hill, invoke the imaginings of “heaven”, and represent the tranquil, transcendent experience it tries to sell its guests. The company’s tagline is “Where Heaven – Meets Earth”. Given the intense resentments and conflicts that have surrounded the company in Enduimet, for almost a decade, the irony of their name goes without saying.

My chapter title also alludes to Martha Honey’s book, *Who Owns Paradise?* (2008). In this book, Honey critically investigates the claims of ecotourism, using some cases of Tanzania. Not surprisingly, many of her conclusions relate to the gap between rhetoric and practice in the ecotourism industry. She demonstrates that, in contrast to much rhetoric and claims, ecotourism

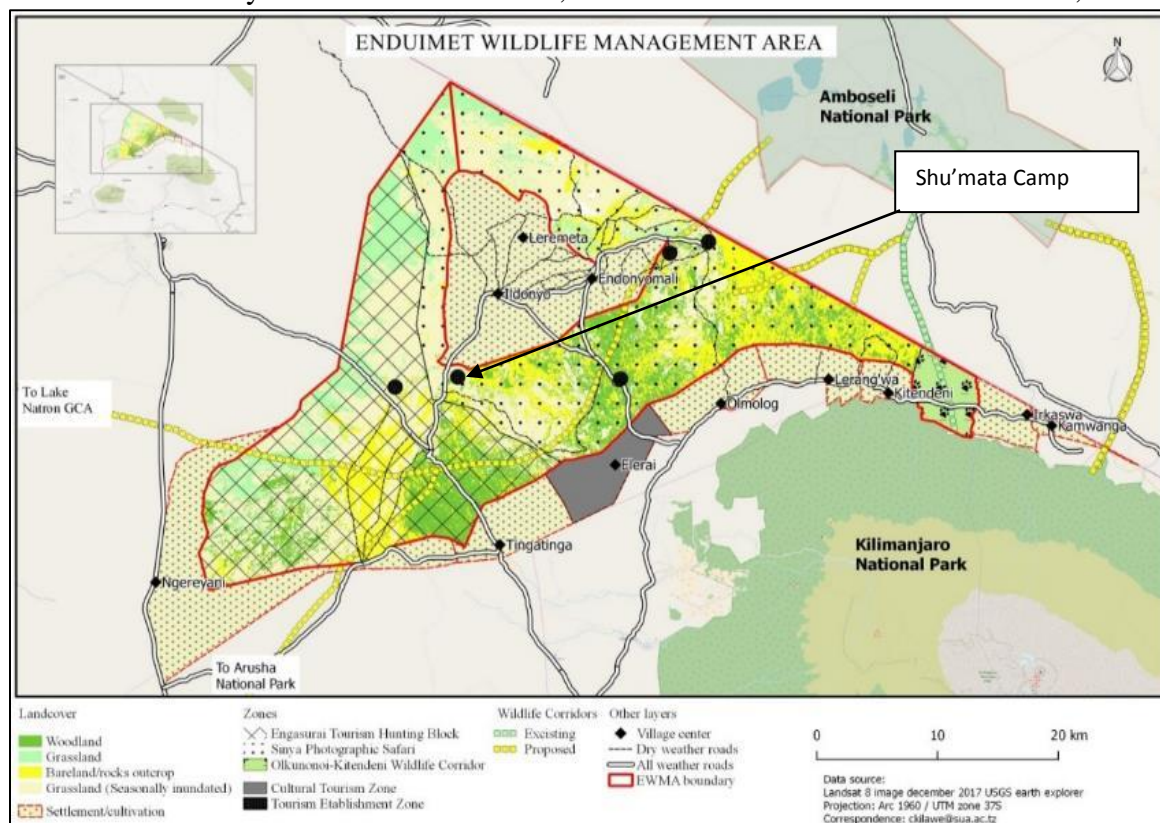


Figure 35 Map of Enduimet WMA, including Nasiwuandet hill where Shu'mata Camp is built (Adapted from Longido District, 2018)

is often complicit in exploitation, displacement and dispossession. Fundamentally, in such contexts, questions of property rights, privileges and access arise: who actually owns these resources? Who has the right to determine how they are used and exploited? Too often, as spelled out in Honey's work, privileges seem to lie with repressive government authorities and foreign tourism investors, all at the expense of local communities. There are many parallels between Honey's findings and the Shu'mata case in Enduimet.

The chapter outlines, in detail, Enduimet's conflict with Shu'mata and the corollary battle over property rights that the conflict involves. I begin by recalling the nature of Shu'mata's arrival in Sinya and early conflicts with the village. I then turn to the AA's efforts to negotiate a contract with Shu'mata. From there, I turn to the tumultuous conflict that unfolded, from the lengthy effort to evict the company to the ongoing court battle that continues to date. I conclude with some thoughts on, what I'll call, the "judicialization of politics".

i. Shu'mata's arrival in Sinya & the initial discontentment

To begin, a few words about the Shu'mata company is helpful. Shu'mata is a sister company of the well-known Hatari Lodge, under the parent company of The African Embassy Ltd company. It is under the proprietorship of two German nationals, both of whom have histories growing up in parts of Africa. The male owner, who is often referred to as the Director, is "a renowned travel writer, photographer and safari guide" and "has brought his love for the outdoors and his passion for conservation" (Shu'mata, n.d.). The company's website begins with a quotation from one travel writer, extolling the camp's beauty, colonial style and heaven-like qualities:

In Maasi language, Maa, “Shu'mata” means something like “above the clouds” or “heaven”. To me, this luxurious refuge, made up of a handful of living tents in Hemingway style, is a piece of the very magic of which East Africa is made. “Shu'mata” is not a real national park, not folklore commercialized, not even a 'real' hotel. It is a small but amazing permanent camp on a hill in the midst of original Maasailand. It is an unforgettable place, even if not memorized on photographs. (Shu'mata Camp n.d.)

According to Enduimet leaders, Shu'mata manages a fine-tuned façade. Despite the conflict that surrounds it, the company maintains its image of a tourist paradise, peacefully embedded in and benefiting the local community. As is common in Tanzania's ecotourism, the company has a foundation, the Momella Foundation, which purportedly directs profits to development assistance. Their Foundation's website reads,

With all our senses, we want to experience this new world, in which a spectacular variety of flora and fauna and human culture still live together in harmony... We take to our heart that the experiences that benefit our peace of mind, our souls and our emotional equilibrium here have to benefit the nature and people that make it possible for us. A small and consistent contribution is given to the different projects of our Momella Foundation, helping local people in different ways and protecting nature. By supporting the Momella Foundation, you ensure that through your safari the journey of the local population leads to more prosperity and to a more secure life. (Momella Foundation n.d.)

Of course, as will be seen, Enduimet leaders and residents adamantly oppose such claims. In their experience, the company's contribution could not be more opposite. In actuality, they argue, the company devastates Enduimet's prosperity and undercuts its security.

Reportedly, Shu'mata entered Sinya as early as 2006. The two German directors entered Sinya in a common rural tourism fashion: e.g. cultivating relations with key political elites, steeped in promises of gifts and benefits. Some details remain unclear, but it seems that the two were introduced to some prominent Sinya leaders by a Maasai friend and colleague from Arusha, a well-known Maasai who worked with one of the directors. Reportedly, this friend and colleague had some long-term connections with some of Sinya's political elites, namely one prominent resident who had previously held key leadership roles in the government and, at that time, still maintained some influence in Sinya and at District offices.

The effort to win support was evidently successful. Shu'mata obtained a letter from Sinya's Office of the Executive on November 5, 2007. It reads that the village has given permission to Shu'mata to build a mobile camp on Nasiwuandet hill, indicated in Figure 36. The letter importantly clarifies that the permission is given, "while we proceed to follow the necessary steps required by the law". Indeed, to formally receive a Granted Right of Occupancy, Shu'mata would require permission from a host of central government bodies and authorities, including the Tanzania Investment Center and Commissioner of Lands (URT, 1999).

Like most such arrangements and purported agreements in the rural tourism industry, there is little evidence that the case was discussed or passed via the necessary village decision-making protocols, as required under Tanzanian laws (e.g. discussed in a transparent manner with all members of the Village Council and approved by the Village General Assembly). On the contrary, Shu'mata allegedly befriended the then village chairperson with promises of shared benefits, including using the chairperson's household as a location to bring guests for cultural tourism activities. One leader recalled, "Shu'mata made friends with [name of village chairman]. He promised him many things. He began taking his guests to his boma. [Name of village

chairman] benefited lots from this relationship”. He further argued that, “the decision to give Shu’mata that area was never discussed with the whole village. It was just an agreement between [name of village chairman] and his friends on the village council”. It is worth noting that such informal undertakings characterize much rural tourism in Tanzania, often benefitting investors and a select few village leaders while undermining potential benefits for the broader community. The situation reflects the “elite capture” the characterizes so much of rural tourism (Homewood, Trench & Brockington, (2012)

Shu’mata’s good relationship with Sinya leaders was rather short-lived. As recalled to me, the company’s Director merely built a few key allies with some village elites when they first entered the community, but then proceeded to generally ignore village requests and interests. The company seemingly trusted the foundation of its original network, without investing further into relations or trying to meet broader interests and demands in the community.

By the time of my field research, the name, Shu’mata, was met with much disdain. Frankly, it is hard to overstate the negative feelings I witnessed. As the story goes, in 2009, some village leaders grew disillusioned with Shu’mata, arguing that very few benefits accrued to the village, despite the magnanimous promises apparently made by the key director during the initial years of business. One failed promise, which was often raised in my discussions with leaders, related to a compensation scheme for human wildlife conflict. Leaders frequently raised this example to express the unfulfilled promises and what they perceived as deceit. It all reflects the failed expectations that unfolded. The following statement from one leader is indicative:

[Name of Shu’mata owner] is a liar. He always made promises. For example, he promised us that he would pay for every livestock killed by wildlife. This was something the community really wanted. He never did it. He never did anything for us.

The biggest criticism that gained traction in 2008 concerned the absence of a formal contract between Sinya and Shu'mata. Sinya leaders felt that a formal agreement, that would institute a benefit-sharing scheme, was necessary to alleviate the list of growing grievances. According to those I spoke with, Shu'mata persistently avoided Sinya leaders' efforts to hold meetings for compiling a contract. Resentment grew, as leaders concluded that Shu'mata was intentionally avoiding the payment of monies due to the village. One leader argued,

We invited [name of Shu'mata owner] to many meetings. We wanted to write a contract.

This was the only way to resolve the problem. He never came to the meetings. He always had an excuse. We didn't believe him. We knew he was lying to us to avoid a contract.

He didn't want to pay us. He was selfish.

When I asked leaders why he thought he could continue business without any contract or formal payments to the village, the common response from Sinya leaders was that he had friends in high places, and he felt they would protect him. Some argued that the prominent politician that first brought Shu'mata to the village advised the Directors to "ignore the village complaints". "They can't evict you", he allegedly argued, "if you keep good relations with the District". One leader elaborated the following:

I think [name of Shu'mata owner] thought his friends in Sinya and the District would always protect him. He thought they had lots of power. Shu'mata relied especially on [name of one prominent politician], but he lost all his respect and power. He's the one that brought Shu'mata here. I think Shu'mata thought he could still protect them but they didn't know that he lost his power and they didn't build new relationships.

By 2009, discontentment and anger led to the forced removal of the chairman that first welcomed Shu'mata in Sinya, and who allegedly benefited privately from the informal

arrangement. A new leader was elected. He was from a sub-village in the eastern part of Sinya, at the heart of the wildlife-rich tourism area, and he had often been at the forefront of resistance to, first, trophy hunting investors and, then, Shu'mata. The struggle against Shu'mata gained new life under his leadership. He especially spearheaded efforts to formalize a contract with Shu'mata.

Sinya leaders began lobbying District authorities. They complained that Shu'mata avoided their attempts to meet and compile a contract. According to the leaders, these complaints fell on deaf ears:

Shu'mata had built relationships with the DC and other District personnel. I think he paid them. They didn't listen to our complaints. The DC said he would follow up with Shu'mata but we saw no results. Without the District's help, we were powerless. We didn't know how to remove Shu'mata.

A sense of frustration and powerlessness began to pervade Sinya leadership. "We didn't have enough power to remove him", was a common refrain. The wall that leaders persistently faced, it was seen, was the seeming collusion between Shu'mata, some central authorities and District appointees³³. Despite the official authority provided to them via village land laws, the unofficial authority of the state was seemingly daunting and determining. Similar to the experience with trophy hunting, it seemed that "big friends" were all that mattered. Consequently, for the new chairman and many of his like-minded council members, the WMA came to be seen as offering more advantage and greater opportunity in their fight against Shu'mata. He spearheaded this campaign to join the WMA, presenting it as an important, and

³³ To be clear, while "collusion" often implies an illegal act it is also used to simply imply an act and relationship that is secret and intended to deceive or cheat another party. In the case of Shu'mata, I use it in terms of the latter.

only remaining, avenue in their struggle for sovereignty. Accordingly, Sinya joined the WMA in 2010, transforming Shu'mata's fate in the process.

ii. Shifting jurisdictions: new political life in the WMA

With the approval of the second RZMP, the land that Shu'mata's lodge occupied was gazetted as WMA land. Shu'mata's fate shifted to the hands of the Enduimet AA and, likewise to what was witnessed vis-à-vis trophy hunting, the playing field changed dramatically. The following outlines the tumultuous saga that unfolded since 2010. I break the saga down into three chronological parts: attempts to negotiate a contract, the fallout and corollary conflicts, and, lastly, the eviction and legal battle.

a. The AA's contract attempts

As seen in the Chapter Four, formalizing contracts was a key part of illuminating the hidden economy that has historically characterized rural tourism. Unfortunately, obtaining contracts proved an arduous task, which is especially illuminated by the Shu'mata case. All investors, including Shu'mata, reportedly opposed the formation of the WMA and were reluctant to engage with it. This included apprehensions about signing contracts. As I emphasize, the WMA represented numerous threats to the status quo for rural investors: e.g. higher costs, formalized contracts with a powerful body of community leaders (e.g. the AA), more transparency and reporting, monitoring of activities, and so on.

Shu'mata first received official notice about contract requirements, from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), in 2010. A letter instructed the company that, based on the 2009 Wildlife Conservation Act and the 2005 WMA regulations, it was required to formalize a contract with Enduimet's Authorized Association (AA). The letter demanded that Shu'mata

attend a meeting with the AA to finalize the contract negotiations. Reportedly, Shu'mata took no action.

Another letter from the Wildlife Division was issued to Shu'mata in May 2011. At this time, a standardized draft "investment agreement" was provided to Shu'mata, by the AA. Shu'mata's inaction continued and, on June 30th 2011, the AA issued their first letter, which requested Shu'mata to determine a convenient date to meet (within two weeks of receipt of the letter). Reportedly, Shu'mata, again, did not respond. By all accounts, AA leaders were angered by this. In frustration, the AA sent another letter on July 22nd, this time designating a meeting date for Aug 5, 2011. The Director of Shu'mata responded to say he was unavailable, further fuelling frustration. At this time, many allegations arose about the company's seeming attempt to postpone the process and, subsequently, avoid the payments that were due to the WMA.

With support from Longido's then Member of Parliament (MP), a meeting with Shu'mata was finally realized in May 2012. As touched on in Chapter Two, the then MP is a Maasai from the Monduli area and a powerful voice in Tanzania politics. As written in one newspaper article, the MP "was popular for his 'Nomadic Pastoralists Advocacy' mission" (Nkwame 2016). Remarkably, the MP is also part of Enduimet WMA's Board of Trustees.

The May meeting did not go as planned. Shu'mata was presented with a contract. Upon reviewing it, the Director reportedly argued that it was an incorrect version. Among other concerns, he complained that the size of property delineated in the contract was different than what had previously been communicated (e.g. 25 acres rather than 33 acres). For Enduimet leaders, this was a petty concern, simply part of Shu'mata's general strategy of postponing any formal arrangement with the WMA. With much frustration, the meeting was closed to make the necessary changes and reconvene at a later date.

Nothing further was pursued for five months. Some AA leaders argued that this delay was because discussions to terminate negotiations and evict Shu'mata had already begun. One member explained, "We began talking about starting again with an investor we could trust".

In early October 2012, despite rising internal debates, the AA made another effort to finalize the contract. Another meeting with Shu'mata was called by the AA for Oct 22nd, in which a new contract would be presented and hopefully signed. Unfortunately, Shu'mata issued another letter to again state that the Director was unavailable. This time, the meeting proceeded in Shu'mata's absence. Most of the meeting comprised representatives from Sinya and from Tingatinga recalling, for other AA members, Shu'mata's past exploitation and ill-treatment of them³⁴. They argued that Shu'mata's treatment of the AA is just a repeat of history, reflecting the same disregard that Sinya and Tingatinga experienced. Put simply, the meeting further cultivated the backlash that was continuing to mount against Shu'mata.

Expectedly, on November 5 2012, the AA issued the first eviction letter to Shu'mata. This finally sparked Shu'mata's attention. The Shu'mata director sent a letter to the AA, arguing that the eviction letter was unfair and that he had not signed the contract only due to circumstances beyond his control (e.g. international travel and conflicting appointments). In an effort to console the AA, the letter stated that \$3,750 USD was deposited in an escrow account, which would be made available as soon as a meeting could be arranged to sign the contract. Enduimet leaders dismissed the letter and the excuses.

The eviction letter sparked the first of many heated conflicts. District authorities (e.g. the central government appointees, District Commissioner and District Executive Director)

³⁴ Although the Shu'mata camp was officially in Sinya Village and most conflict was historically with Sinya, this did not preclude conflict with Tingatinga village and resentment among its leaders, as well. Reportedly, much of Shu'mata's game-viewing activities were in Tingatinga land. Subsequently, Tingatinga leaders had also tried unsuccessfully to formalize some agreement with Shu'mata.

seemingly sided with Shu'mata, arguing that the AA was unfair to come to such a decision without sufficient consultation and deliberation. The District Commissioner (DC) insisted that a meeting be held with Shu'mata to discuss the situation in detail.

As a caveat, recall that the DC, as required by WMA regulations, is the chair of the WMA's District Natural Resources Advisory Body (DNRAB). As a result, he quickly positioned himself in the conflict as an uninvited arbitrator. After all, in his logic, the DC is the President's representative and responsible for law and order and economic and social welfare. In his eyes, he was fulfilling his role. In Enduimet leaders' eyes, on the contrary, it represented the central government despotism and crony capitalism that they were tired of.

Notwithstanding such criticisms, at the behest of the DC, the AA wrote a letter to Shu'mata that offered a chance to meet. In rather unconventional fashion, the letter also included a caveat that Shu'mata was expected to pay for any costs incurred by the meeting (e.g. approximately \$1,500 USD for AA members' transport, stipends and food). This caveat captured the AA leaders' attitude: they were frustrated that their previous decision was not respected and refused to unnecessarily use WMA resources for more, pointless meetings. Whether or not the Shu'mata director could read between the lines, the letter was a clear message that the AA was begrudgingly giving him a platform to make his case and, most importantly, for him to clearly, and loudly, hear theirs.

b. Fallout, intervention & refusal

The now-infamous confrontation between Shu'mata and the AA occurred finally on May 24, 2013. The meeting was my first, rapid introduction to the conflict. At the time, I had little knowledge of what had come before it, which made it all the more astounding. I sat stunned through the meeting, shocked at the barrage of accusations and insults that were directed at

Shu'mata. Frankly, the meeting transformed my understanding of the WMA, triggering a reorientation of how I conceived the WMA. It was the first of many such events and encounters.

The meeting was attended by most of the AA members, a collection of village leaders (including past and present Sinya and Tingatinga leaders) and a Ward leader who represented the area encompassing Sinya and Tingatinga. Of course, the Shu'mata director was there. He was accompanied by an elderly, very professional-looking man who sat next to him and helped translate the meeting's proceedings.

As an aside, after the meeting, I learned that the man was a famous Maasai with some repute throughout Tanzania. I will not go into details about this man's history but suffice it to say that he had held many prominent government positions. Reportedly, he is closely connected with a host of key government officials, reaching all the way up to the Prime Minister's Office. For anyone in a conflict, he was very helpful to have in your corner. One Enduimet leader argued that his presence was a clear effort, by Shu'mata, to intimidate Enduimet: as put by one leader, "he was showing us his big friends". This "friend" would re-enter the saga off and on. Many leaders argued that he was central to Shu'mata's power and connections.

The meeting began with the AA chairperson translating and reading a letter from the Shu'mata company for the benefit of all meeting attendees. Basically, the letter was a response to the AA's prior eviction letter, explaining why the Shu'mata director had been unable to attend meetings and reiterating Shu'mata's desire to sign a contract with the AA. Following this, the director reiterated explanations and argued that there seems to be many misunderstandings. He apologized on behalf of Shu'mata camp for any inconveniences to the AA, before reiterating that Shu'mata was ready and willing to sign a contract. This was then followed by a seemingly bizarre monologue about the challenges of conducting tourism in a place like Enduimet (e.g. it is

an unknown area, away from the country's famous safari destinations and routes). He seemed to be trying to gain sympathy from the AA, trying desperately to establish some legitimacy. He concluded with a rallying call of sorts to "work together and market this area for the benefit of all of us".

At this stage, I was rolling my eyes to my research assistant. Remembering that I knew little about any history between Shu'mata and Enduimet when I entered this meeting, I thought I had joined a typical investor-community meeting, whereby investors self-congratulate themselves for their benevolence and amazing contributions they have made to Tanzania and local communities, while local government authorities, community leaders and residents painfully endure it, begrudgingly feigning agreement in order to get whatever little benefit they could. I had attended several of these meetings throughout my time in Tanzania. Indicating my complete disinterest, I had whispered to my research assistant that maybe we should depart in order to get on with other, more important, research work.

Then, everything dramatically changed. The AA chairperson thanked the Director for his explanation and turned to the meeting attendees, asking "does anyone have a response to this explanation? Does anyone want to propose how we move forward?" He asked this with a certain slyness, like he already knew where this was about to head. Almost every hand in the room went up. The meeting participants, who had seemingly been lulled to sleep by the Director's lengthy, self-congratulatory monologue, now sprung to life. It seemed like everyone was eager to give a response. A rush of energy swept across the room.

The Chairperson immediately tried to settle the crowd down, insisting that everyone will get a chance to talk but that everyone must proceed one by one. He then called on one AA leader near the front who proceeded to accuse Shu'mata of "playing games with us" and "making

excuses” for his attempts to jeopardize the AA’s interests. “Just like you did in Sinya”, he added. Another leader then interjected that the Director is an “mkorofi” (a troublesome, onerous person) and could not be trusted. Another yelled out that the Director was an “mdanganyifu” (cheater or deceiver).

This opened the floodgates: one AA member after another reinforced the message that the AA had lost faith in Shu’mata and wanted the company to leave. The Shu’mata director’s translator struggled to keep up with the AA leaders’ comments, whispering summaries as quickly as possible. “We are tired of your dishonesty. This is our land. We have authority here. You don’t seem to understand that. You must leave”, was one impassioned contribution. Another similarly argued that “you are a skilled deceiver, and you have exhausted us. You have no opportunity here anymore. You must go”. One voiced a popular proverb to reinforce the perceived danger of negotiating with the company and the necessity to stop negotiations quickly: “When you confront a snake, you don’t negotiate with it. You kill it”. A leader from Sinya stood up and retold his village’s history with Shu’mata (e.g. the failed promises, perceived ignoring and disregard for the community, etc.), concluding with the statement that “A zebra does not change its stripes”. He proceeded to argue that, based on Sinya’s experience, entering into a contract with Shu’mata would be like “hanging yourself.”

A few interesting themes arose in leaders’ statements, which are worth highlighting. One theme was race, indicating how grievances in Enduimet are sometimes racialized. “You think you can treat us this way due to the color of your skin. You are not better than us. Black or white everyone in the WMA will respect us. Everyone will follow our rules”, one leader exclaimed. Another member argued that, “You think you can take advantage of us because you’re white”. In a profound moment, an elderly woman from Tingatinga stood up. She recounted some stories

about how Shu'mata disregarded and dismissed requests from her village to forge an agreement and share resources. She concluded by pointing at the Director saying, "You think you're better than us. You are bringing neocolonialism [*unaleta ukuloni mamboleo*]. You must go". The meeting broke into wide applause as the woman slowly found her seat. Neocolonialism became a theme in the meeting, which continued to characterize popular perceptions.

Another theme was indigeneity. Indigeneity discourses accompanied leaders' assertions. As explained in Chapter Four, such discourses had begun to characterize the repositioning and practice of politics that began defining the WMA, since 2011. Often, statements included an emphasis on Enduimet's long history in the area. Leaders argued, "We've always been here" and "We were here first". Ultimately, such emphasis on prior arrival and historical continuity were used to substantiate ownership and authority over the land. "This is our land. We have always lived here", as one leader exclaimed.

The meeting was also characterized by an emphasis on Enduimet's distinct identity as pastoralists. One leader exclaimed, for example, "We are Maasai. Livestock is our life. It will always be our life". This became a rallying call, of sorts. Meeting participants emphasized that livestock production would always remain Enduimet's priority, irrespective of the economic benefits supposedly promised by tourism. The following statement from one leader sums it up:

Even if we are poor, it is better to remain poor, rather than permit an unwanted investor to do business in our land. With or without a tour operator, we will continue grazing our livestock and living off milk and meat like we have since time immemorial. We've never relied on tourism in the past and we won't in the future. Livestock is our life. This land is our life. We will decide who comes, who goes and who stays.

Statements similar to all of the ones above continued for over an hour. The meeting participants repeatedly reinforced Maasai identity and pastoralist values. They disparaged Shu'mata's apparent mistreatment and disregard for the community. They refused historic status quos and asserted control over the WMA territory. In short, they asserted sovereignty.

The Shu'mata director had little choice but to endure, what was nothing short of, a public shaming. He tried to intervene on a few occasions but was persistently told by the AA chairman and the DC to wait his turn. Shu'mata's frustration was palpable as he sat, shaking his head and conveying his anger over the meeting's proceedings. As I see it, to the chagrin of Shu'mata, the chairperson was effectively trying to belabor the point that there was an overwhelming consensus within the AA, village leadership and other meeting attendees that Shu'mata must leave Enduimet.

As the meeting unfolded, there was one exception to the otherwise strong consensus. At the time, I was rather surprised by this intervention. In the midst of such harsh criticisms, one man courageously stood up and argued that "We have made our views clear. Let's not continue. [The Shu'mata director] has heard the complaints. He has apologized. We should give him another chance. We should forgive him". Several meeting participants immediately stood up, talking at once and obviously angry with the man. Their message was clear: "Why should we listen to you? You are his friend. You have benefited from his business. You are like his employee." I learned after the meeting that this man was the Sinya Chairperson who had originally spearheaded the approval for Shu'mata to invest in Sinya and who was later removed from his position under allegations of corruption and private gain. Along with a small number of other leaders from that period, he represented a small, marginalized contingent of Shu'mata allies and beneficiaries.

The meeting concluded with a final statement from the AA Chairperson. He summarized some of the statements made by AA leaders. He then turned to the Shu'mata director and said, "You see. You are no longer welcome here. We cannot change our decision to evict you." He added that Shu'mata could reapply to invest in the WMA when the new tender is released, but, for now, his business in Enduimet was over. He then turned back to the meeting participants and said that their voices have been heard. He reiterated the eviction notice from November and stated that this was effective immediately. "Beginning tomorrow", he instructed, "The VGS will be instructed to no longer permit Shu'mata vehicles in the WMA, with the exception of vehicles intending to move out the company's belongings". This was followed by a big applause before meeting participants slowly left the meeting room. The Shu'mata director and his companion departed quickly, hastily driving out of the office parking lot.

I was left stunned by the whole experience. For the rest of the afternoon, I proceeded to talk with AA leaders in order to better understand what happened. It was at this point that I began to comprehend Shu'mata's history in Enduimet and the experiences and grievances that underpinned the meeting. I began to better understand how AA leaders perceived the WMA as a platform to redress grievances against investors like Sh'umata – simultaneously, a repositioning and a reckoning.

As instructed, the VGS at the Ngasurai gate prepared to stop Shu'mata from entering. I knew the VGS there well and had spent some nights at their ranger post. In my discussions with them at that time, they conveyed excitement and enthusiasm. For some time, many of them reported that they often felt dismissed by the Shu'mata staff (e.g. the drivers of Shu'mata's tourist vehicles) and Director. Stories circulated about some of Shu'mata's drivers allegedly harassing animals with their vehicles, conducting illegal night drives, driving off-road and so on.

The VGS felt that their complaints and reprimands fell on deaf ears and their efforts to intervene were generally ignored.

The first confrontation between the VGS and Shu'mata erupted on June 2nd 2013, a little more than a week after the infamous meeting in May. As retold to me, the VGS commander, who resided at the ranger post near the gate, received a call from a village informant to say that a Shu'mata vehicle full of tourists was approaching Enduimet. The VGS commander then phoned the VGS at the gate where the vehicle was expected to arrive, warning the two VGS about the approaching vehicle. The commander then mobilized a few other VGS and proceeded to the gate, in anticipation of Shu'mata's arrival. In due time, the vehicle pulled up to the gate. The VGS left the metal road barrier in place and approached the driver. The VGS proceeded to explain to the driver that he and his guests were prohibited from entering the WMA. "Aren't you aware that your company has been evicted?", the VGS asked. The driver feigned ignorance and pleaded with the VGS to let him through. He asked the VGS to continue fighting his conflict with the company owners but to allow his truck through. "Let's not disrupt our guests' experience", he pleaded. The VGS explained that he was unable to do that, as he was responsible for following orders from the WMA leaders. At this time, the driver proceeded to phone the Shu'mata director. This rapidly sparked a succession of actions and conflicts. The director phoned his Camp Manager who raced to the gate. Upon arrival, the manager immediately began castigating the VGS, yelling at them for causing such disruption to the guests' experience. "Look at them", the manager yelled, "You've scared them. They aren't part of this conflict. They are innocent. And now you're ruining their experience in Tanzania." By this time, the guests had left the vehicle to sit in the shade of a nearby tree, obviously frustrated by the experience. The VGS responded by asking the manager why Shu'mata was bringing guests to Enduimet, after it had

already been made clear that the company had been evicted? The manager responded by saying that no decision had been finalized. In exasperation, the manager then began video recording the VGS, telling them that she was going to get them in a lot of trouble and would send the video to the government and media. She would make them pay for their actions.

In the meantime, the Shu'mata director apparently made his own phone calls, allegedly to his own network of government officials. Through one avenue or other, the Longido Member of Parliament reportedly received a phone call during a parliamentary session in Dodoma, Tanzania, informing him about the situation. The MP then called the AA Chairperson. Reportedly, the MP was livid. He chastised the chairperson, insisting that the AA was not following appropriate legal measures. Reportedly, he exclaimed that “you are dirtying the reputation of Tanzania and of Enduimet. You are damaging our opportunities for investment”. He told the chairperson to let Shu'mata continue its business and promised that there must be a follow-up meeting with the District Natural Resource Advisory Body to determine the best way forward. The chairperson complied and phoned the WMA manager who phoned the respective VGS. The VGS begrudgingly let the vehicle through. The whole conflict lasted little more than an hour.

That night, I stayed with the VGS at the Ranger Post that was implicated in the stand-off with Shu'mata. I often stayed at Ranger Posts during my field work, as my discussions with the VGS over dinners, chores and night-time reflections always served as a good barometer of what was going on in the community, what was being talked about, and how people were feeling and perceiving things. After the conflict with Shu'mata, the VGS were disheartened and angry. Raised voices and heated discussions comprised the typically quiet dinner time. “This is how business in Tanzania works. If you have big friends you can do what you want”, was the most

common sentiment. Some VGS argued that the whole thing was staged by Shu'mata in order to summon support from his network of political allies (i.e. "big friends"). Whatever the case, one thing was for certain: the conflict strengthened the VGS' resolve to get rid of Shu'mata. After dinner, as I sat out under the stars at the Ranger Post's look out point, the commander concluded, "Ok. He won this time. He won't win next time". A VGS sitting nearby then repeated a popular saying that I heard frequently in my time in Enduimet: "The Maasai will tell you you did something wrong once. They'll tell you again. But, if this behaviour continues, blood will be shed". The commander followed with "You'll see. We won't stop until Shu'mata is gone."

To the chagrin of the VGS and Enduimet leaders, Shu'mata continued with business as usual through the month of June. The next confrontation arose on July 12. As suggested by the MP during the standoff in June, a meeting was called by the District Commissioner (DC).

A few words about the DC are helpful here. He was appointed to Longido District by the President (as all DCs are), since the District's inception in 2007. He was continually re-appointed until his termination in 2016. His significance, in my analysis, is primarily due to the fact that he is Kisongo Maasai. His place of origin and residence is Simanjiro District. Simanjiro is in the heart of Maasailand, just east of the Terengire National Park. It is an area that is infamous, in large part, for its many conflicts surrounding large-scale land acquisitions for agriculture and with conservation organizations (e.g. conflict surrounding the protection of wildlife migratory routes at the expense of Maasai livelihoods). The DC's position and status in Longido was not without controversy, but, overall, he was relatively respected. At the very least, as a Maasai himself who reportedly maintains large livestock herds in Simanjiro, he was seen by many as being relatively sympathetic to and supportive of Maasai livelihood interests.

Given my long period of working in Longido, I had a personal relationship with the DC. I had often been critical of many of his decisions, sometimes wary of his private interests and suspicious about his relations with some investors. Nonetheless, I had also witnessed a seemingly genuine commitment to protect and strengthen pastoralist livelihoods. I was especially intrigued by his clear cynicism regarding the interests of international conservation organizations and their projects, which he suspected would lead to displacement of pastoralists. He was also very critical of the sense of entitlement and arrogance that characterized many foreign investors, including the Shu'mata director. Overall, in my analysis, he comprised contradictory subject positions and interests: a Maasai with corollary allegiances, values and interests; a postcolonial subject with nationalistic values (e.g. critical of exploitive foreign investors); and, a government executive and politician with his own career ambitions and private interests. Ultimately, privileging some of the former positions and interests proved to jeopardize the latter (e.g. his career ambitions). Some of his decisions displeased powerful central government authorities who allegedly had their own invested political and economic interests in the conflicts. Some argue that his dismissal in 2016 was a punishment for his apparent loyalty to his Maasai constituents, which pitted him against some central authorities and investors.

The highly-anticipated July 12th meeting with the DC began with Shu'mata's absence. The Shu'mata director claimed he had vehicle problems and, hence, arrived over an hour late for the meeting, which was held at the WMA office in Olmolog. This did not start the meeting off on a good foot, to say the least. The meeting was chaired by the AA Chairperson but was essentially led by the Longido District Commissioner (DC). The DC was accompanied by a lawyer from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). It was clear from the presence of not only

the DC but also an MNRT representative that this meeting held much significance. There was a sense of anxiety in the air.

Prior to Shu'mata's arrival, the DC launched into a long monologue that illustrated his strained position vis-à-vis the case. He shared with the AA that Shu'mata was complaining to many government officials, arguing that his rights are being jeopardized in Enduimet. The DC tried to appease Enduimet leaders by confirming that, undoubtedly, Shu'mata has made many mistakes and caused many unnecessary conflicts. Nevertheless, the DC argued that the AA should give him a genuine chance to make amends. Invoking several biblical references about forgiveness, he implored the AA to give Shu'mata a second chance. He argued, "Let's see his attitude today. If he comes with the right attitude. If he wants to fix this problem, then let's listen. Let's forgive him". He discouraged the AA from continuing with harsh and uncompromising measures. He pleaded, "If a child hurts his hand, will you cut it off or wash it and let it heal?" He informed the AA that Shu'mata has already threatened to take the AA to court. This, he argued, would embroil the AA in a long, expensive court case. He went on to state that Shu'mata may use the case to destroy Enduimet's reputation, which may jeopardize other tourism investment opportunities. With such statements, the DC's motive and agenda for the meeting were clear: let Shu'mata stay.

The DC then invited the MNRT lawyer to say a few words. The lawyer reiterated what the DC had said. He explained that if it goes to court, it will be a very long case, "up to 5 or more years, maybe more", he argued. He then stated that an injunction may be served that would allow Shu'mata to continue doing business throughout the case. The lawyer argued that the AA was not assured of a victory in court. There is no precedent for such a case and so the outcome is uncertain, the lawyer argued. Subsequently, "You will waste all this time and all your money for

what? It's possible there will be no benefit". Like the DC, it was clear that the lawyer wanted the AA to forgive and comply. Economically, it was argued, this was the rational way forward.

These statements provoked an immediate, heated response from Enduimet leaders. It was clear that, in contrast to the DC and lawyer's perspective, "economic rationality" was not on Enduimet leaders' minds – farthest from it, in fact. One Ward leader, who had been an outspoken ringleader of the conflict since its inception, argued that the DC did not know this investor well and, therefore, lacked discernment about the case: "We respect your advice but you don't know him. You don't know his history here. We do. We've lived with him now for many years. We've seen his behaviour. We've already made a decision". The DC quickly rebuked this leader, insisting again that the AA must approach the situation with a forgiving attitude. He further asked, "If the decision has been already made, why am I here? Why am I wasting my time? We will listen to [name of investor] and give him a chance". Another leader then interjected, "[Name of tour operator] has no right to sue us. We have the right. We have the right to chase him away. We have the right to sue him".

From the start, the DC and MNRT lawyer seemed to have different thoughts and expectations for the meeting as compared to the rest of the meeting participants. It was also clear that the two groups held conflicting ideas as to the nature of the DC's role and involvement. What became clear is that the DC conceived his role as an arbitrator with authority to dictate resolutions. In contrast, the AA conceived of him as merely an "advisor", which is how his role is officially spelled out in WMA regulations.

An hour into the meeting, the Shu'mata director finally entered, apologizing for his delay. He came alone. The DC immediately gave him an opportunity to share his side of the case. The

director began by stating that he is only one of three directors³⁵ and that he is not permitted to make any decisions without the other directors' consent. This seemed to be a surprise to everyone in the meeting. "Why are we here, if no decisions can be made", one participant asked. His statement was interpreted by some as an effort to sidestep responsibility, foreshadow excuses and justify inaction. It clearly angered meeting participants, as well as the DC. Nevertheless, the DC instructed him to proceed. The Shu'mata director then read a letter from the company that argued everything was merely a misunderstanding. Unfortunate circumstances, the letter explained, didn't permit the director to join previous contract negotiation meetings. It then reconfirmed that the company was ready to sign a contract and also financially compensate the AA for all arrears and delays. The Shu'mata director then proceeded to argue to the DC that he had been a victim of an assault launched by the AA. He concluded by saying he was willing to put things behind him and move on with efforts to build tourism in Enduimet. He then stated that there is little more to say and that the meeting should be ended until a final contract was issued, which could then be reviewed by the other directors.

This met a strong rebuke from the DC. He seemed to interpret the director's general attitude and statements as discounting the importance of the meeting and dismissing the accusations against him. He quickly warned the director that "If we close this meeting without a better explanation from you and a clear decision on the way forward, then, let me warn you, there will never be another meeting in this District. Your time will be done here". He further rebuked the Director for speaking in what was evidently perceived as a patronizing, dismissive tone: "We are not children. You're a grown up. So are we. Treat us with respect". Suffice it to say that this set quite a negative tone for the remainder of the meeting. Given all the emotions already tied up in

³⁵ To date, who the other Directors are remains a mystery.

the conflict, it was the worst tone imaginable to start on for the Shu'mata director. As in other cases, his tone and actions triggered further the backlash that continued to form against him. This time, you could even see this unfolding in the DC's attitude and responses.

To comply with the DC's instructions, the Shu'mata director continued in a long description of the various events that had unfolded through the past year. The director maintained an accusatory tone throughout, which did not help his situation. At every stage, he accused the AA of sometimes being petty and unfair. He complained about the previous meeting in May, saying "I used my time to come all this way and it was clear that the AA wasn't interested in listening. They had already made their decision. They just wasted my time and then unfairly asked me to pay for the meeting". He proceeded to complain that the AA was not hospitable.

There were frequent interruptions and rebuttals from AA members. The director's argument seemingly fell on deaf ears and, worse, further stoked the anger among meeting participants. The DC's anger was also apparent throughout the meeting. Whether this was part of his politicking or not, he was outspokenly critical of Shu'mata. "You are a problem. You don't speak straight to the point", he stated at one point. At another he stated, "You are a dangerous person. We don't need you in the WMA... You aren't showing a good attitude or a genuine commitment to repair relations". In the middle of one discussion, the DC again rebuked the seemingly dismissive tone of the director arguing, "You're not respecting these people. I cannot tolerate this behaviour. It is uncouth... You're a grown person. You are a learned person. Why don't you listen first and then share your thoughts." After listening to another heated debate surrounding technical problems in the first draft of the contract, he inserted at one point that "You are using crafty strategies to manipulate the community".

The meeting proceeded to offer AA members a chance to share their side of the story. This led to a similar pattern of contributions to the meeting in May. For the benefit of the DC, AA members, once again, recounted the long list of grievances that various leaders had. Sinya leaders recounted their history with the company, conveying the manipulation and disregard they experienced. Tingatinga leaders followed. Others raised examples of legal infractions, such as illegal night drives that the company apparently continued to do despite protests from the VGS and AA. Another accusation included the illegal production of honey on the company's property. Another was about harassing animals (e.g. chasing them with vehicles). A VGS recounted incidents where the company rejected their orders and their vehicles refused to stop when instructed by VGS. "We have to chase their vehicles. They don't stop. They don't respect us", he argued. One woman described an upsetting incident when a Shu'mata vehicle stopped to photograph *ilmurran* who were naked, in the middle of bathing. This provoked sighs of disgust from meeting participants. It is worth noting that this incident was frequently mentioned to me. For many leaders and residents, it seemed to epitomize Shu'mata's sense of entitlement and disrespect for the community. Not surprisingly, these incidents made Enduimet residents feel like objects, something on display for Shu'mata's consumption. Similar arguments were raised in reference to Shu'mata vehicles driving through village markets, with clients' cameras poking through windows to take unsolicited photos. I witnessed this on several occasions during my time in Sinya village. The ignorance and disrespect of such scenes never ceased to amaze me. Such behaviour, while unpopular in among most groups in the world, is especially abhorrent for the Maasai, given their many strict social conventions of decorum, modesty and respect.

Whatever the accusations, the anger that animated the discussions was remarkable. Similar to my experience in the May meeting, I remained surprised by the frankness and the absolute

resolve expressed by the AA and village leaders. Like in May, it amounted to one meeting participant after the other standing up and issuing harsh words about the Director's alleged maltreatment, disregard and disrespect for the community. "Signing a contract with [Shu'mata director] is like hanging yourself", one leader repeated.

The difference with the July meeting, as compared to the May meeting, was the DC's presence and his clear insistence that he was an "arbitrator". Ultimately, despite the DC's clear frustration and anger with the Shu'mata director, he seemingly sided with the company. After a lengthy period of listening to AA and village leaders' complaints, the DC attempted to close the meeting. He reprimanded the Director again for his past actions. He concluded that "[The Shu'mata director] has tried to play around with uneducated people"³⁶ and, subsequently, "the community has lost faith in you". Irrespective of such concerns though, he argued that the WMA needs revenue and, hence, should proceed with Shu'mata. He forcefully laid out one condition though: Shu'mata must pay all outstanding fees to the AA prior to any further contract negotiation. The DC announced the amount to be \$22,500 USD for past dues from 2011 and 2012. This amount was later revised to \$32,500 USD, after the WMA financial officer contested the DC's analysis. It was clear that, for the DC, these payments would demonstrate Shu'mata's commitment to reconciling with the community. It was like he came to the meeting with this card in his pocket, awaiting to play it and placate the Enduimet leaders accordingly. "Pay this money and then we will finalize the contract", the DC ruled. The DC insisted that these payments must be complete before the end of the month.

³⁶ This may seem like an odd statement. Suffice it to say that part of the DC's criticism toward Shu'mata was that he used language and focused on technical issues that may not be accessible to the average person. He was arrogant and elitist, according to the DC.

The DC's ruling was vehemently resisted by AA members. A heated debate erupted in the meeting. One Ward leader from Tingatinga immediately rejected the DC's instructions. This Ward leader had a history of conflict with the DC. It was clear that he was not intimidated by the DC, arguing that the DC had no authority to dictate decisions by the AA. Instead, he insisted that the AA should organize another meeting to consider the DC's advice and finalize a decision.

The DC dismissed this leader's statement. Angrily, he reiterated the fact that, as the DC, he had the job to listen to all sides, bring people together and not divide them. This was his rationale for moving forward with an agreement with Shu'mata. Other leaders contested the DC's decision. A well-known traditional leader then came to the front of the meeting. The authority he carried was clear as silence pervaded the room. He repeated the general sentiments in the room about the neocolonialism that characterized Shu'mata's engagement with the community. Unexpectedly, he then proceeded to argue that despite all the reservations, Enduimet should trust the DC's knowledge and proceed as instructed. Importantly, though, he offered an ominous warning to the DC that he would be held responsible for the repercussions of this decision. Clearly exasperated, the DC thanked the leader, reiterated his decision and maintained his position before closing the meeting. "Making peace was the best way forward" was his closing message. AA and village leaders begrudgingly left the meeting room.

It was clear in my discussions that followed that leaders were not satisfied with the DC's resolution. He had overstepped his authority, it was argued, and unjustly sided with Shu'mata. Nevertheless, the WMA executive (e.g. AA chairperson, WMA manager, accountant, secretary, etc.) felt compelled to proceed as instructed by the DC. As explained to me, they saw few alternatives, for the time being. Nevertheless, it was clear that their fight with Shu'mata was not

over. They insisted that they would continue lobbying the DC and other government authorities, hopefully subverting any contract agreement.

There were no official actions taken following the July meeting. Based on my discussions with District officials and Enduimet leaders, one way of summing up what did unfold is ‘backroom lobbying’ – something akin to the “invisible hands” analogy in the last chapter. Everyone was jockeying for position and power, trying to enlist supporters, mobilize allies, and so on. Enduimet leaders phoned the DC and other District officials, reiterating their apprehensions about formalizing any agreement with Shu’mata. The DC and other District officials phoned AA leaders and WMA administrators, coercing them to proceed. The Shu’mata director reportedly phoned everyone in his political network, especially lobbying the District Commissioner and even the Regional Commissioner.

Reportedly, the most notorious phone call amidst all this lobbying was when a powerful, ex-Prime Minister phoned the District Commissioner. The ex-Prime Minister reportedly insisted that the DC resolve the case and permit Shu’mata to continue business in Enduimet. Expectedly, this raised many questions about the ex-Prime Minister’s interests in Shu’mata’s business, which remains a mystery to date. As stated above, some argue that it relates to his friendship with the prominent Maasai who had attended the notorious, original meeting in May with Shu’mata, translating for and seemingly supporting the Shu’mata director. Rumours have it that all this support relates to a family member’s employment at Shu’mata Camp. Others argue that there must be more at stake, whether licit or illicit stakes in the Shu’mata’s business.

Whatever the case, the phone call became a key topic of conversation in Enduimet and, once again, substantiated many leaders’ suspicions about Shu’mata’s powerful network and the hidden forces behind the crisis. Interestingly, it was reported to me that the DC’s response to the MP

was that times have changed and forcefully coercing communities is unacceptable: “We must listen to the voices of the people” is how it was retold to me. Indeed, the DC’s critical response to this prominent figure, his often-contradictory positions, and his shifting support and directions challenge any simplistic or monolithic assumptions about the Tanzanian state: it is not a coherent entity with any singular logic, but a shifting terrain of actors, loyalties, values and interests.

It is worth noting that, during this time, it became clear that District officials’ support of Shu’mata began wearing thin. One official exclaimed, “this white person is really tiring us. We’ve lost our patience”. On another occasion, an official stated that “this white person thinks his skin color allows him to walk all over people.” I was very intrigued by such statements, further indicating the rock and hard place that District authorities were facing: on one side, they wrestled with their own anger and seeming disdain for the investor as well as the pressures from the community; on the other side, they faced pressures from high-ranking politicians that seemingly had stakes in the company.

The next major event in the conflict unfolded at the end of September. At this time, Sinya leaders announced a mass demonstration to demand Shu’mata’s eviction. Allegedly, some AA leaders were actually behind the actions. Whatever the case, the demonstration lasted three days, beginning on September 30, 2013. Each day, hundreds of Sinya residents walked to Shu’mata’s property, with some walking over 10 kilometers. On the first day, approximately 100 men, women and youth entered the lower areas of the property. Some *ilmurran* tried to encourage the crowd to proceed into the lodge area. A small contingent even tried to rally support to burn down the lodge. Some elders dissuaded them, explaining their strategy was to simply occupy the property as long as they had to: “we won’t move from the property until Shu’mata is removed”. *Ilmurran* proceeded to set up a rudimentary roadblock with rocks and trees to prevent any

vehicles from entering the property. “The only vehicles that will be allowed entry are vehicles that will be removing Shu’mata’s things”, it was declared. Discussions persisted throughout the day, which retold stories and grievances. One key theme that became apparent was that the conflict was not about money: Shu’mata must go, irrespective of any payments that the company was willing to make to reconcile. The only reparations that these leaders would accept was apparently Shu’mata’s absence.

The demonstration ended on this first day and more people showed up on the second. At this time, the first government representatives arrived: officials from the District’s Department of Peace and Security. They arrived with a contingent of well-armed police. It was a strong display of military authority. The officials’ first action was to move the demonstration to lower parts of the property. They insisted that they were not intending to prohibit the demonstration but they were there to ensure that it would proceed peacefully. “There will be no damage to any property”, they declared. The officials further advised the crowd that the District Commissioner would meet with them as soon as he was available. Rumors spread that Shu’mata vehicles had been seen at the District offices in Longido.

On the third day, the DC arrived to speak with the demonstrators. The Shu’mata director had also been directed to join the meeting. He apparently ignored this directive, which generated clear anger from the DC. Reportedly, and rather bizarrely, the DC ordered a colleague to track him down in Arusha. This was successful and Shu’mata apparently received the DC’s strong message: proceed immediately to Sinya. Shu’mata complied. Once again, a lengthy discussion persisted between the DC, the Shu’mat Director and village leaders. Every side continued to demonstrate their resolve, as they had in previous encounters. Adopting a similar strategy to the July meeting with the AA, the DC further reprimanded Shu’mata for not taking the village’s

complaints and demands seriously. In an effort to further bolster support and placate angry village leaders and residents, he then insisted that Shu'mata pay Sinya \$15,000 USD, in addition to the payment required for the Enduimet AA. The DC argued that this reflects the financial arrears owed to Sinya, for his business activities in the area, prior to it becoming a WMA. At first, the Shu'mata director resisted this, arguing that he didn't legally owe anything to Sinya. After further pressure from the DC, he finally complied. In turn, the Sinya chairperson reiterated the village's and the AA's position: this was no longer about money and the only resolution to the conflict was Shu'mata's removal.

The DC pleaded with the village leaders, asking for their patience and demanding that legal measures must be followed if the community wanted to successfully evict an investor. According to those I spoke with, the meeting ended with a commitment from the DC to investigate the situation further and invoke the necessary protocols for legally evicting the company. Reportedly, the DC went so far as to say that the District would take possession of the Shu'mata property, until everything is resolved. Sinya leaders suspended their demonstration. In their eyes, they had achieved, at least to some degree, their objective: their message (e.g. to evict Shu'mata under any circumstance) was heard and received by government officials.

c. Mobilization & eviction

At this stage, the Shu'mata saga really became a multiscalar affair. The Sinya demonstration further set in motion a host of lobbying by all the groups involved. In my field notes, I frequently tried to map out the ensemble of actors that had emerged and was implicated in the seemingly 'local' conflict. Frequently, I found myself adding another actor's name to my map. Of course, it included village residents and leaders. It included AA leaders and WMA administrators. From there, Ward level authorities were implicated, as were the Division leaders above them. District

officials were prominent actors, especially the DC. The Regional Commissioner seemed to have a stake in the conflict, seemingly supporting Shu'mata, for one reason or other. The Shu'mata company itself was directly implicated. Its directors included the one in Arusha who directly participated while others were apparently scattered from Arusha to Dar es Salaam and Germany. The Shu'mata director's wife was, at the time, a councillor of the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO), which directly implicated this powerful national body. Officials of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, as well as the Wildlife Division, were involved. At one point, a representative of the Tanzania Tourist Board lobbied on behalf of Shu'mata. As already mentioned, an ex-Prime Minister got involved at some point.

Of course, this web of relations reached a global scale as well. As a German company, Shu'mata had a host of interested parties from that country, whether Directors or investors. There were also some members of the Tanzanian diaspora in Germany, who were reportedly implicated. Apparently, some owned a travel agency that worked closely with Shu'mata and allegedly maintained relations with high-ranking government officials. Reportedly, they intervened with their own phone calls from Germany to key officials in Tanzania. USAID, AWF and other international donor agencies were implicated. At least to some degree, and either directly or indirectly, their reputations were on the line as were their donor funds. Rather expectedly, with few exceptions, they lobbied the AA to reconcile with Shu'mata.

To get back to the chronology of the conflict, immediately following the Sinya demonstration, in September 2013, there were no official developments. It seems the conflict had reached a stalemate. No further meetings were held with Shu'mata. The AA made no attempts to engage the company or proceed with any efforts to formalize a contract. Shu'mata apparently made no attempts to formally engage the AA.

Behind the scenes though, all the groups involved in the saga continued to lobby key officials, trying to leverage power as much as possible. As in previous phases of the saga, there were many phone calls between respective parties and the period included successive, unofficial visits to pertinent authorities' offices. By all accounts, everyone was jockeying for power, trying to nudge the necessary authorities to support their various interests.

In his work about conservation, tourism and “transforming the frontier” in South Africa, Bram Buscher (2013) uses the concept, “marketing” to refer to such efforts. He uses the concept to indicate actions, or what he aptly refers to as “political strategies” (Buscher, p. 71), taken by groups to promote their ‘product’ (e.g. ideas, plans, interests, or otherwise) and influence choices accordingly (Buscher, p.72). All of which seeks “to gain competitive advantage” (Buscher, p.22). In her work, Tania Li (2007) uses the concept of “forging alignments” (p.265) to capture similar strategies and dynamics.

Such activities escalated through 2013 and into 2014. In one prominent move, Shu'mata reportedly sent a delegation of key political allies to further lobby the District Commissioner. This included a host of prominent, well-known politicians from regional and national offices, some of whom had friendly histories with the DC.

Not surprisingly, allegations abounded as to why respective government officials were seemingly siding with Shu'mata. Many Enduimet leaders reiterated their belief that the respective authorities must have financial stakes in the company. In line with such ideas, they adamantly rejected any contrary argument that respective officials may have legitimate, national economic interests in the case. Allegations against government officials were directed at every level, including even the Prime Minister's Office. “You'll see”, it was argued to me; “in time you'll learn that [name of one ex Prime Minister] has a stake in the company”. There was much

frustration that such relations remained beyond the public eye. Amy Chua (2004) refers to this unseen dimension of decision-making as “invisible government” (Chua, p. 149), echoing the ideas shared in the last chapter about “hidden histories and invisible hands” (Walsh, 2012).

Admittedly, for me, questions began to arise about whether Enduimet leaders could withstand this powerful ensemble that seemed bent on forcing them to reconcile with Shu’mata. Opinions were split on this issue. Some Enduimet residents argued that such powerful actors would invariably erode the community’s resistance: “You will see, these officials will threaten those leading this resistance. Or, they will pay them off in one way or other. I promise you they are already making phone calls.” My favorite statement was from a young community leader in Longido who adamantly stated, “You will see. When ‘envelopes’ start to be passed around between people, this conflict will end. All the leaders will sit quietly”. The reference to ‘envelopes’ – in Swahili, “bahasha” – indicates how money is subtly, or secretly, passed to respective actors. “Bahasha” are often the vehicle for invisible hands. Although a cynical perspective, and certainly not shared by everyone, it reveals the patterns that many rural Tanzanians have become accustomed to and which inform the pessimism that characterizes popular sentiments.

As for the AA leaders’ lobbying efforts, they continued discussions with District officials. Additionally, though, they shifted their sights to higher targets. They began lobbying representatives of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). As explained to me by one leader, “we saw that the DC was influenced by Shu’mata. So, we went to the top. We wanted ministry officials to hear our complaints. It is their job to make sure the regulations are being followed”. In response to their lobbying, some representatives of the MNRT visited the WMA office in Olmolog. AA leaders and WMA executives recounted the history of the conflict

with Shu'mata. Reportedly, the MNRT representatives expressed much sympathy with the AA. Most notably, they expressed much criticism toward the District Commissioner (DC). They argued that, as a land issue, this was clearly within the jurisdiction of the DC and they expressed surprise that the DC had not already removed the investor. It is impossible to know whether the MNRT's seeming support was just politicking, but, whatever the case, it certainly instilled more hope in AA leaders.

Another interesting event, during this period, involved a confrontation between Shu'mata and some Sinya *ilmurran*. As the story was retold to me, Sinya leaders announced to the community that Shu'mata vehicles were not permitted in Sinya and that everyone should phone the chairperson if they see a vehicle. He would then send *ilmurran* out to stop the vehicle. In an interesting re-articulation of *ilmurran* identity and traditional role, the leader argued to me that "in the past, the *ilmurran* defended us against other tribes. Now, they defend us from investors".

Accordingly, one morning in late 2013, the Chairperson received a call. A Shu'mata tourist vehicle was transecting the village, eager to reach Sinya's wildlife-rich eastern area. The chairperson then phoned a leader of the *ilmurran* who mobilized some comrades. A contingent of ten or more *ilmurran*, equipped with their traditional spears, then stood on a road in anticipation of encountering the Shu'mata vehicle. The *ilmurran* stopped the vehicle and surrounded it. They instructed the driver that they were directed by the chairperson to bring the vehicle to the village office. They then climbed onto the vehicle as the driver immediately complied. According to the driver's later testimony, the guests in the vehicle were very scared by the *ilmurran*'s actions. The driver met with the chairperson to argue his case. He pleaded with the chairperson to not disrupt the guests' experience, repeating Shu'mata's well-worn argument. The chairperson reiterated that Shu'mata was not welcome in Sinya land and told the driver to

return to the Shu'mata camp. The driver complied. Since the encounter, VGS told me that Shu'mata began using more inconspicuous back routes to reach the popular game-viewing area. The chairperson was reprimanded by the DC for his actions and convinced to stand down from further, similar actions.

By 2013, Sinya leaders began receiving threats from Shu'mata. In November 2013, Shu'mata reportedly arrived at the Sinya offices with a notorious, powerful lawyer from Arusha. The lawyer argued that Sinya must cease and desist all activities against Shu'mata. If Sinya leaders persisted, he argued, the village would be sued for damages to Shu'mata's business.

Despite such threats, the AA's resolve to pursue Shu'mata's eviction did not subside. In January 2014, the AA held its annual meeting. In this meeting, AA leaders recounted stories of Shu'mata's lobbying efforts and alleged threats toward Sinya. As in prior cases, the discussions reinforced AA's ambitions. Once again, it was decided that the AA would not negotiate any contract with Shu'mata. Furthermore, the decision went further to declare that the WMA would no longer accept any money from the company, a clear demonstration of their unrelenting commitment.

Lobbying persisted into 2014. In particular, the AA continued its efforts to lobby central authorities. In March, they sent a letter to the Zonal Game Officer, requesting that Shu'mata's tourism permit be cancelled. This led to follow up by government officials who visited the Shu'mata site, seeking further information from Shu'mata. Reportedly, the Shu'mata director argued that he was the victim of an unfair attack by a small number of Enduimet leaders and that, contrary to popular claims, he maintained good relations with many leaders and the community more generally.

When I inquired about this latter claim, AA leaders told me that this was a common fallacy maintained by the director. Indeed, as is typically the case in such conflicts, the director strategically maintained a few allies in Sinya. The ex-chairman, who had originally facilitated Shu'mata's business in Sinya, remained a supporter. Shu'mata also nurtured relations with a traditional leader who had a well-known grudge against Sinya's current chairman, the perceived ringleader of evicting Shu'mata. Shu'mata's actions to maintain some allies have subsequently inflamed tensions and divisions in the community.

Irrespective of the support for Shu'mata from a few, allegedly embittered leaders, the vast majority of Sinya leaders and residents were clearly against Shu'mata. This was made clear in the village's demonstrations and public meetings. Shu'mata's claims of community support, Enduimet leaders argued, misrepresented the overwhelming majority, and the general consensus that pervaded the community, to evict it. Claims to the contrary were a fanciful act of pretense.

The climax of the Shu'mata conflict occurred in July 2014. On July 25th, a letter was issued by the Longido District to Shu'mata. Rather shockingly, given the DC's seemingly persistent – albeit maybe begrudging – support for Shu'mata, it was an official notice of eviction. The DC finally complied with Enduimet's demands. The AA was copied in the correspondence. The letter gave Shu'mata thirty days to vacate the property. Reportedly, District officials saw no feasible way to resolve the conflict and had grown impatient with the Shu'mata director's antics. "He has tired us", was one official's statement to me.

Enduimet leaders and residents obviously celebrated the DC's redirection. For many, the District letter represented a final victory. The District's lack of support – namely, the District Commissioner's initial lack of support – was always the key obstacle to achieving the eviction. The AA immediately followed up with its own letter of eviction to Shu'mata. The jubilation I

witnessed through the month of August is hard to overstate. In the continuing day-to-day of my ongoing research at this time, I engaged leaders from several villages, stayed in a host of family homes throughout the area, spent many nights with VGS at their ranger posts, engaged with AA leaders and WMA administrators and met with District officials. Without exception, the perceived victory over Shu'mata pervaded much of our discussions. It was a defining feature of Enduimet's new position vis-à-vis the state and tourism.

The only unsettling thing was Shu'mata's complete silence. The company continued business as usual, bringing guests to the camp and continuing game-viewing activities, as if nothing had changed. As the eviction deadline approached, there was much anticipation among leaders. Some AA leaders and WMA managers thought Shu'mata would try to continue business and just ignore the eviction notices. The majority argued, though, something similar to the following: "He can't ignore the District. He successfully ignored the AA but he can't ignore the District. It is the ultimate authority. He has no choice now. He must leave. We defeated him". The AA chairperson and WMA managers instructed the VGS to prepare to prohibit Shu'mata vehicles, as they had done in June 2013. In my discussions with them, they were eager to do this, now with the full force of the District behind them.

The eviction deadline passed, still with no communication or response from Shu'mata. During this time, I stayed at the ranger post near the gate that provided access to Sh'umata's camp. There was much anticipation of a confrontation during Shu'mata's next attempt to enter the WMA. On September 1, the first Shu'mata vehicle arrived with two guests. Expectedly, a confrontation erupted, similar to what happened in the past. The driver pleaded to let the guests proceed. The VGS explained that Shu'mata was no longer permitted to conduct business in Enduimet. They presented a copy of the eviction letters to the driver. The driver phoned the

Shu'mata director who called the camp manager, who raced to the gate and proceeded to chastise the VGS. It was the same drama that occurred the previous year. This time though, the VGS prevailed. The vehicle returned to Arusha. That night, there was a celebratory tone at the Ranger Post. The commander stated later that night, "See! I told you we would win".

During the confrontation, the VGS gathered that Shu'mata had a large group that were supposed to arrive later in the week. Rather surprisingly, in preparation for the visit, Shu'mata began making attempts to transport supplies to the camp in the middle of the night. Their first attempt was stopped by VGS that were manning the gate. In the second attempt, the company tried to get pass the gate area using an off-road route. I was staying with the VGS that night. I was awoken from my tent at around 11pm by a lot of commotion and talking. I rolled out of my tent to see some VGS running up to a viewpoint on top of the hill. I joined them. A vehicle's headlights were pointed out to me. It was clearly not on the main road, heading in the direction of the Shu'mata camp. It was seemingly trying to navigate the rough terrain in order to sneak past the ranger post. At the time, my private vehicle was the only one at the post. The commander asked me if I could help them stop the vehicle. Apprehensively, I agreed. With my vehicle full of five VGS in the back and the commander with his gun next to me in the front, we drove quickly toward the location where we had seen the vehicle. At a juncture on the road to Shu'mata's property, the commander ordered everyone out of the vehicle and then ordered me to drive away to a safe distance. I did so and then sat with much anxiety. Fortunately, no conflict erupted. As the commander expected, the vehicle arrived at the juncture. The VGS immediately blocked the road and circled the vehicle. The vehicle was full of food and water supplies, driven by one of Shu'mata's drivers. A cordial interaction proceeded with the driver explaining his instructions to deliver the goods and the VGS explaining that he wasn't permitted to do so. They

challenged him on trying to sneak around the gate, to which the driver responded by saying he didn't know the area well and had got lost due to the darkness. The VGS laughed in response. The driver smiled. Accepting defeat, the driver turned the vehicle around and returned to Arusha. The rest of us stood there for some time, laughing, joking and discussing the confrontation. The biggest question we were all left with was what Shu'mata's plan was? What was the company intending to do in face of the eviction notices from both the District and the AA? With the AA and the District against the company, where could Shu'mata find refuge?

d. Legal refuge

The answer to the latter question is Tanzania's judiciary. Shu'mata's plan became quickly evident to everyone. On September 4 2014, the VGS commander received a phone call from the AA Chairperson. A letter from Shu'mata's lawyer arrived at the WMA office in Olmolog. The letter revealed that Shu'mata's lawyer had filed a case in the High Court of Tanzania (Land Division). Moreover, rather surprisingly, a judge of the High Court issued an ex-parte injunction order. The injunction was enclosed in the letter. It illustrated the lawyer's argument that if the AA persisted to obstruct Shu'mata's vehicles, "the business of the applicant will be ruined". The injunction concluded with the following:

I have considered counsel's submission, the applicant's affidavit and the pleadings. In the interest of justice and pursuant to Order XXXVII rule (1) (b) of the Civil Procedure Code, [CAP.33 R.E, 2002], the responded, her agents and servants are hereby restrained from interfering in any way with the operations of business of the applicant at Shumata Camp pending the hearing of the application inter partes.

Not surprisingly, AA leaders disputed the injunction order. They were surprised and critical about the judge's decision to award such an injunction without any deliberation or consultation

with the case's defendant (e.g. the AA). For them, it seemed a highly dubious decision, stoking suspicions and allegations about collusions between Shu'mata and the court – as seen below, suspicions and allegations that would continue to unfold throughout the case. My discussions with lawyers in Arusha supported such suspicions, arguing that the court's decision contravened legal principles and policies.

Despite their vehement criticism, the AA had no choice but to comply. The AA chairperson instructed the VGS to stand down. They were no longer permitted to obstruct Shu'mata until the resolution of the case. The VGS were understandably deflated. Very little was said that evening at dinner. Although there had been some warnings about a legal case, the VGS evidently didn't expect this turn of events. While some may have expected legal action, no one expected an injunction that would allow Shu'mata to continue business as usual for the duration of the case.

Through the proceeding week, I witnessed many leaders' disappointment. While legal action may have been expected, an injunction was not. As mentioned above, several leaders raised questions about the injunction: they argued that there must have been some collusion or bribery that allowed Shu'mata to obtain such an injunction, especially in the short time it was obtained (e.g. within a day of the confrontation). Many were also surprised the court didn't permit a response from the AA, prior to making such a significant decision. Irrespective of such allegations and concerns, leaders began focusing on the legal battle ahead.

Opinions about the prospects of the case varied dramatically. Essentially, opinions were divided into two camps: those that had utter confidence in the AA's legal authority and faith in the rule of law versus those that held cynical perceptions about the nature of Tanzania's judiciary and held corollary fears of collusion and illicit manipulation. To put it more succinctly, those that had faith in the "rule *of* law" versus those that were more cynical and believed in "rule *by* law"

(Ginsburg & Moustafa, 2008; Przeworski & Maravall, 2003). The former refers to an objective, fair application of existing laws and policies while the latter refers to the instrumentalization of the judiciary by the state or other powerful entities – i.e. the courts are seen as simply a tool of the powerful. The latter perspective is most common in Tanzania and well substantiated, especially as it pertains to pastoralist rights (Lane, 1998; Rwegasira, 2012).

Notwithstanding such popular conceptions and history, a large number of leaders I spoke with fell into the “rule of law” camp. They expressed much optimism and argued that the laws were so clearly in their favor that a favorable outcome was assured. The WMA regulations were clear, they argued, that authority lay with the AA to determine contracts with investors in the WMA. All tourism business, and authority over contracts, was under the jurisdiction of the AA.

Other leaders, in the “rule *by* law” camp, argued that such expectations were naïve. They expressed concern about the court’s lack of independence and poor history of accountability. As just mentioned above, their concerns reflect many popular sentiments and experiences in Tanzania. These leaders argued that collusion between Shu’mata and the court would ensure an outcome in the company’s favor. For these leaders, the courts in Tanzania are sometimes merely a refuge and a last resort for companies to obstruct democracy and popular resistance – what I call, a ‘legal refuge’. In this logic, when everything else fails, the judiciary becomes an instrument to undercut democracy and preserve investors’ privilege and wealth.

At least in part, such concerns were exacerbated by the reputation of Shu’mata’s lawyer. The lawyer was part of a well-known company that has gained much fame in Tanzania through their representation and defense of large companies and foreign investors. In my discussions in Enduimet and Arusha, with industry insiders and outsiders, the general attitudes that I discovered about this lawyer were remarkably critical. There were many allegations of shady tactics,

ranging from blatant pay offs to more subtle manipulations and coercions. Apparently, the lawyer has a good record for winning, his influence is well-known and he is highly sought after by anyone who can afford him. His client history includes many, very large and prominent companies and foreign investors. He has a long history of legal practice in Tanzania, which some argue has positioned him well vis-à-vis presiding judges.

Besides concerns surrounding Shu'mata's legal team, other leaders pointed to Shu'mata's high-ranking supporters as sources of concern. For example, one exclaimed, "If [name of a former Prime Minister] is phoning the DC to pressure him, maybe he'll do the same with the court judge. Maybe the DC resisted all this but maybe the court judge won't. This is the nature of politics and the courts in Tanzania". For those raising such concerns, the Tanzania judiciary ultimately lacked the empowered status to resist political interference, which seemed to be largely in favor of Shu'mata.

It is worth noting that some informants I spoke with disputed such critical conceptions of Tanzania's judiciary. One court assistant from Arusha argued that times have changed and it has become much more difficult to influence judges, especially in relation to the High Court. A lawyer from Arusha argued likewise. Indeed, the record of Tanzania's judiciary, while sometimes bleak, does not always support simple accusations of corruption or collusion on behalf of powerful actors (Gastorn, 2016; Maina Peter, 2007; Rwegasira, 2012).

To return to events of the Shu'mata saga, the first court hearing was on February 10, 2015. Shu'mata was represented by his well-known lawyer. The AA was represented by a court appointed lawyer³⁷. In brief, Shu'mata's case was essentially that the company legally operated

³⁷ The AA remained with this appointed lawyer for only a short time before hiring a young Maasai lawyer from Arusha. He is not well-known but was someone the AA could afford and trust.

in Sinya and has since cooperated with the AA in order to fulfill a contract, including making payments for all past dues. The case claims that the AA unfairly issued an eviction notice and has since taken action to jeopardize the company's business. Consequently, it requests the court to issue a permanent injunction against the AA, or its agents, from disrupting Shu'mata's business. It also claims general damages for harassment and loss of business in the amount of 200,000,000 Tanzanian Shillings (the equivalent of about \$90,000 USD) – a hefty sum, given that the WMA's annual income amounts to only about \$170,000 USD (as of 2015).

Before proceeding, it should be said that the case seemed to carry very little legal legitimacy. In my discussions with lawyers and other informed individuals (e.g. those who are familiar with land laws and WMA regulations), attitudes were generally the same: the case didn't seem to have a legal leg to stand on. The Shu'mata Camp is clearly situated on WMA land, so the authority to determine its status was clearly lodged in the AA, as made clear by successive conservation policies and WMA regulations (MNRT, 2012). If Shu'mata had been situated outside the WMA on Sinya's village land, the case might have been more complicated, but, given its location in the WMA, the authority of the AA in this case seems indisputable. The lawyers I spoke with agreed that it is hard to imagine that any High Court judge would see it any differently. A ruling in favor of Shu'mata, it was argued, would explicitly contravene conservation policies and WMA regulations but, nevertheless, one lawyer exclaimed, "stranger things have happened in Tanzania when the interests of powerful companies, their lawyers and high-ranking political supporters are implicated".

Suffice it to say that the weakness of its case provoked suspicions about Shu'mata's motivations and the illicit tactics that may be planned: did the company expect to influence the court somehow? Or, was the court case simply a strategy to extend its business in Enduimet

while adopting strategies to manipulate/negotiate with the AA? Or, as some argued, does the company expect that the AA will not be able to afford a lengthy court case and so will be forced to negotiate? I will return to these questions later.

Throughout 2015 and much of 2016, the case proceeded in a frustrating manner. Hearings were persistently postponed, often due to the judge being absent on the days of scheduled hearings. On another hearing date, a judge was suspiciously reappointed to a different district, jeopardizing any previous progress and postponing the case again. Not surprisingly, this entrenched fears and allegations of collusion. As above, opinions were divided. Some alleged that the postponement and delays were an outcome of collusion: e.g. as already mentioned above, some argued that Shu'mata's lawyer's relations with judges facilitated certain influence. Such perspectives suggested that the delays allowed for further strategizing and, as seen below, efforts to mediate and negotiate an out of court settlement. In contrast, others argued that such delays and postponements were typical in Tanzania's courts, which, indeed, is substantiated by general patterns of court administration in the country.

Amidst all the postponements and delays, in early 2016, Shu'mata reportedly made attempts to negotiate with the AA. According to the AA chairman, it was clear that the company wanted to settle outside of court. He surmised that, by this time, Shu'mata probably knew that the court could not rule in its favor, given the clear jurisdiction of the AA ascribed in WMA regulations. Shu'mata's attempts to negotiate allegedly came in the form of a well-known academic and political figure, Freddy Manongi. Manongi is a prominent figure in Tanzania's conservation. He had been the College of African Wildlife Management's Deputy Principal of Academic Research and Consultancy and then the Acting Rector. In this capacity, he played a major role in developing the Enduimet WMA. Indeed, he was behind much of the early processes of achieving

legitimacy for the Enduimet WMA, the creation of its policies and evolution of its governance. At the time of his intervention on behalf of Shu'mata, he had become the new Conservator of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. His interests in supporting Shu'mata remain unknown. Most speculate that it was probably as simple as receiving a phone call from another high-ranking official, who requested him to help push the AA into negotiation. "It's that simple", it was explained to me by the AA Chairperson, "You do something for me today and, another day, I'll do something for you. This is how these government officials work".

Manongi's alleged attempts were to no avail. During this period, a new AA chairman had replaced Enduimet's original chairman. This chairman had a long history in governance, as a village chairperson and a District Councillor. He was from one of the wealthier families in Enduimet, with herds reaching legendary proportions. He was notoriously outspoken and frank. His cantankerousness was well-known to everyone. Admittedly, my interactions with him always left me unsettled. In particular, his outspoken criticism of "white people" always simultaneously intrigued and discomforted me. He held the line of "white people are always greedy" (his words). Arguably, this is a well-substantiated sentiment in rural Tanzania. He never shied from including me in his sweeping generalizations about white people and their apparent, universal greed and self-interest. I held him in high respect. He adamantly opposed any negotiations with Shu'mata. His outspoken criticism of investors like Shu'mata was always clear. And the company's eviction was likewise nonnegotiable. In my analysis, like so many of Shu'mata's strategies, calling on "big friends", like Manongi, only strengthened the chairman's resolve (as it likewise did for other AA leaders).

After a frustrating two years, the case finally came to a close on September 1, 2016. On that day, the High Court finally released its judgment. To the absolute surprise of all the cynics and

naysayers (including myself), the court ruled in favor of the AA. Rejoicing erupted in Enduimet. With a few exceptions (e.g. some of the Shu'mata allies in Sinya that were mentioned earlier), everyone was jubilant. "The judge heard the voices of the people. He respected our rights. He has sent Shu'mata home", one Sinya resident exclaimed. The earlier optimists said "I told you so" to the naysayers and cynics. There was much excitement. I phoned one village chairperson who had been at the forefront of the struggle. He ecstatically told me he was planning to slaughter a goat with other leaders in celebration. "We've fought Shu'mata for six years. We said we'd never quit. We didn't. And today we won", he exclaimed.

As it turned out, celebrations were premature. In late October, Shu'mata submitted an appeal to the Court of Appeal, which is Tanzania's highest court. The Court of Appeal is a rotating court in Tanzania, visiting the country's various regions one at a time. Subsequently, at the time of writing, the appeal continues to be a lengthy one. The first hearing was scheduled for November 2017. Reportedly, Shu'mata's legal team did not show up. They were subsequently given until December 6 to present their appeal. The AA hoped to present their response on that date and that a final verdict would be issued on 12th February 2018.

At the time of writing, to the absolute chagrin of Enduimet leaders, the same cycle of postponements and delays that characterized the prior court proceedings of the High Court are characterizing the Appeals Court. Hearings were continually postponed through early 2018.

Shu'mata's attempts to coerce the AA into a settlement also continued. In February, 2018, a popular Maasai lawyer wrote me an email to inquire about the Shu'mata conflict. He informed me that he and another prominent Maasai lawyer had been approached by Shu'mata's lawyer. They were offered money to "assist in a mediation between Shu'mata and Enduimet." The Shu'mata lawyer apparently repeated the Shu'mata director's common narrative that the

company was a victim of a grudge from some unforgiving leaders but had support from most the community. The company, as the argument apparently went, only needed the help of these Maasai lawyers to mediate the conflict and reconcile accordingly. After hearing more about the case from me and others, the lawyer who originally contacted me rejected the request. The other Maasai lawyer evidently accepted: in March I was forwarded pictures of the lawyer's Facebook Page, which depicted him enjoying a safari in Shu'mata's vehicles and a luxurious stay at the lodge. These photos circulated among Enduimet leaders, provoking more anger. Shu'mata's efforts were, once again, in vain. Reportedly, when the lawyer approached the AA chairperson to begin some mediation, he was soundly dismissed.

There was much hope for another hearing in July 2018. Many leaders argued to me that this would finally be the end. In previous hearings, Shu'mata's applications for a "leave to appeal" had been bypassed. In one instance, Shu'mata's legal team submitted their appeal past the court designated deadline. In another few instances, Shu'mata's legal team did not show up to hearings. As a result of all this, Enduimet leaders thought that the July hearing would finally prove the end of the court's patience. Victory, they felt, was near.

Unfortunately, leaders' hopes were dispelled again. In fact, things got further set back. Shu'mata's lawyer demanded that all of his previous applications for leave of appeal be heard and considered before any ruling be made. He apparently came prepared with a long list of excuses, pleas and arguments. The judge assented, agreeing to reconsider the applications. The Enduimet team left deflated, not to mention more suspicious about what had just unfolded. One leader lamented that "The judge is biased. How could he return to the application after it was already dismissed? [Name of Shu'mata lawyer] is playing with the court."

The decision in July essentially returns the case to the first appeals hearing in November 2017. The Appeals Court will once again hear Shu'mata's application of leave to appeal. Presuming this is accepted, the appeals case will proceed. In my view, it is fair to say that there is no end in sight in the Shu'mata saga.

Not surprisingly, Shu'mata's efforts to convince the AA to settle outside of court continue. This time, according to some AA leaders, Shu'mata is targeting the new WMA manager, who was recently appointed to the WMA through some dubious meddling by some of the WMA's donors. I discuss this in this thesis' conclusion. Suffice it to say here that many are concerned that this manager, who is not from Enduimet and has little knowledge of Shu'mata's history, may be used by Shu'mata to redirect the WMA into an out of court settlement. It is unclear if this is very feasible, given that the manager, officially-speaking, has little authority to make such decisions. Nevertheless, stranger things have happened, and it remains a source of concern.

Time will tell how things unfold. One of the most significant concerns, beyond apparent collusion, remains economic in nature. As told to me, the case has cost the WMA upwards of \$50,000 USD. It is unclear whether it can sustain such costs for much longer. Certainly, Enduimet's donor organizations are increasing pressure on the AA to drop the case. Many Enduimet leaders argue that this has always been one of Shu'mata's strategies: the age-old tactic of bankrupting your opponents so as to force them into a settlement. One leader argued, "Shu'mata knows we can't afford this. I think [Name of Director] is hoping we have to quit the case because we have no funds".

Despite such concerns, leaders remain adamant that they will continue fighting and using whatever money that the case requires: "We will use whatever funds are necessary to fight the

case. Everyone in the WMA agrees with this. We will use all of our money if we have to”. If such sentiments are anything to go by, leaders’ resolve seems to still be strong.

Conclusion

To conclude this section, there are a few things that I want to highlight about the Shu’mata saga. Of course, first and foremost, the saga captures well the backlashes that are arising in WMAs vis-à-vis decentralization and democratization. Ultimately, as demonstrated by the case, the question of ‘who owns heaven?’ has taken on new meaning and force via WMA reforms. The Shu’mata saga illustrates how WMA reforms have changed power relations, providing an avenue to redress historical grievances and, subsequently, provoking new collisions between market and society. The perceived disregard that Shu’mata demonstrated, first toward Sinya and Tingatinga villages and then toward the AA, came back to haunt the company. As articulated in one above quote, Enduimet leaders felt that “zebras will not change their stripes”, and, so, the only option for investors, like Shu’mata, is their outright removal. Shu’mata was willing to financially compensate and pay all arrears, but, for Enduimet leaders, but Enduimet leaders’ interests were historical and political rather than economic. The only reparation they agreed to was Shu’mata’s eviction.

Such backlashes and subsequent reckoning are obviously in line with Chua’s general thesis (2004). I conceive the AA’s effort to evict Shu’mata as a so-called “backlash against the market”, or, more specifically, a backlash against an unwanted, dominant market actor. The case includes all the ingredients of the society and market “collisions” that Chua focuses on: a convergence of exploitive histories (e.g. Shu’mata’s exploitation and mistreatment of the community), market liberalisation (e.g. all the economic restructuring and corollary policies that

facilitated the proliferation of private tourism business in Tanzania's rural spaces) and democratic reforms (e.g. the WMA reforms that offered the Enduimet AA more authority over tourism).

Remarkably, as is often the case, Enduimet's backlash against Shu'mata spurred a "backlash against democracy", which continues to embroil Enduimet to date. I conceive all of Shu'mata's actions, which essentially aimed to undercut the AA's decision to evict the company, as such a backlash. All the director's efforts to forge alignments with powerful politicians, government authorities and other elites were attempts to subvert the AA's collective will. Each of the corollary interventions, by these actors and on behalf of Shu'mata, can be conceived likewise. In line with Chua's argument, many of these relations and efforts reflect a "crony capitalism", which maintains the market status quo of privilege and wealth.

With the idea of cronyism in mind, it is worth highlighting the intimacy that seemed to characterize all the politics that unfolded. Recalling that "crony" refers to a friend or companion, the concept seems especially relevant in the Shu'mata saga. What continually intrigued me was the intimacy of it all – an "intimate politics", as I came to conceive it. What unfolded in the Shu'mata saga is a far cry from any rational-legal or impersonal, bureaucratic process. Quite to the contrary, it was defined by intimate politics: the trajectory of the conflict rode on building affinities between respective parties, building rapport, familiarity and amity. The trajectory of the saga was, at times, merely mediated by personal phone calls, dinners out and beers with the boys. It really was a who you know, who your friends are, and who your friends are friends with affair. The resulting network was an intimate one. Certainly, its trajectory related little to formal politics and policies. Ultimately, what mattered was informal relations and institutions: what mattered was who is 'friends' with whom, who visited whom or who phoned whom. The idea of the

informal nature of politics is certainly not a new idea (Chabal & Daloz, 1999; Ellis, 2012), but I emphasize it here because I was so struck by just how intimate this case proved to be.

As a last point, one of the unique dimensions of this saga, which should be highlighted, is the role of the judiciary and, what I refer to above as, “legal refuge”. In my analysis, the judiciary has become a last resort and refuge for foreign investors that face the backlashes seen in the Shu’mata case. With the successful achievement of an eviction letter from District authorities, Shu’mata had no other route than to gamble with the courts. Given the duplicitous history of Tanzania’s judiciary, it has been a good gamble. The courts have a bad reputation concerning the protection of rural communities’ land rights in the face of big business interests (Brockington, 2002; Gardner, 2016; Nelson, 2010; Rwegasira, 2012). In one legal study entitled, “A study on options for pastoralists to secure their livelihoods in Tanzania” (Tenga et al., 2008), researchers documented a long history of dubious relations between the courts and investors. They conclude that the judiciary lacks independence, transparency and accountability: “the courts in Tanzania have played hide and seek in adjudicating upon human rights” (Tenga et al., p. 64). Certainly, according to Enduimet leaders, “hide and seek” may be a good way of conceiving the hidden collusions that seemingly characterize their experience over the past four years.

To be clear, Enduimet leaders’ suspicions and allegations must be taken with some caution: although offering reasonable explanation for how things have unfolded, they remain unsubstantiated, at least in any formal, legal sense. Admittedly, I tend to concur with Enduimet leaders’ suspicions but, ultimately, given the hiddenness of it all, it all remains a matter of speculation. Whatever the dubious intentions and behind-the-scenes actions of Shu’mata and its legal team, the only thing that remains clear is that Shu’mata has benefited tremendously by how things have unfolded – namely, the delayed rulings, ongoing postponements, etc. Even though

the case was, legally-speaking, seemingly a lost cause, it effectively extended Shu'mata's operations and business for over four years and will likely extend it for a few more. The suspiciously gained injunction offered an opportunity for generating much business revenue and profit, under the protection of the judiciary. In delaying an eviction, it provided opportunities for continuing attempts to coerce the AA into agreeing to a settlement. One lawyer cogently argued to me that "Companies use the courts to maintain the status quo. They either win cases through bribery and corruption. Or they hope that filing a legal suit will dissolve the resistance they face. I think this was Shu'mata's strategy from the beginning." Another made a similar argument and added, "Filing suits and incurring the costs of legal cases has just become part of company's operational costs. It's just another line in their budget plans. Another part of doing business in Tanzania". Whatever the actual case, it is clear that filing suits and pursuing lengthy legal cases has become a sort of refuge for investors who face newly empowered and historically aggrieved communities.

I shared this theory with the head of the Authorized Association Consortium (AAC) in Dar es Salaam. The AAC receives reports of all conflicts that AAs face in WMAs across the country. He informed me that cases like Shu'mata are unfolding in many WMAs:

It is the same story everywhere. Many investors aren't happy because the WMAs threaten the way things used to be. When communities begin to demand more or try to evict unwanted investors, companies are using the courts to try to protect themselves. They hope that through bribery or other means, the courts will assist them.

I contend that such patterns reflect a process of what some refer to as the "judicialization of politics". Ran Hirschl (Hirschl, 2008a, 2008b) is a leading scholar on such processes around the world. He argues that the "reliance on courts and judicial means for addressing core moral

predicaments, public policy questions, and political controversies” (p. 119) has rapidly emerged since the late twentieth century throughout countries across the world:

Armed with newly acquired judicial review procedures, national high courts worldwide have been frequently asked to resolve a range of issues from the scope of expression and religious liberties and privacy to property, trade and commerce, education, immigration, labor, and environmental protection.

Hirschl goes so far as to say that the prominence of these processes in some countries amounts to what he calls, “juristocracy” (2009) – e.g. government via judicial ruling rather than through the otherwise democratic systems that more commonly dictate rules and regimes of governance.

Notably, my use of “judicialization of politics” differs from how it is most commonly used in scholarship. In most cases, it is used to refer to how citizens use the courts to protect their rights. Essentially, when failed by the state, citizens resort to juridical means to challenge perceived injustices and to protect their rights. Such forms of judicialization of politics occurs in Tanzania. Cases abound, for example, of citizens resisting land dispossession and protecting their land rights via juridical means. Sometimes, this amounts to significant successes (Maina Peter, 2007).

Obviously, in contrast, the Shu’mata case sheds light on a different dimension of judicialization of politics. Rather than citizens using the courts to protect their rights, foreign investors, I argue, are using courts to maintain the historic status quo. This, I contend, is another dimension of “juristocracy” in Tanzania. In the face of popular resistance and changing governance regimes that afford new authority to local communities, the judiciary sometimes becomes an added tool for investors. Put another way, with the newly emerging ‘order’ in

WMAs, companies seek the ‘disorder’ that has historically characterized Tanzania’s judiciary.

An unscrupulous judiciary can be a tool to counter a new democratic regime that threatens its interests. As seen in the Shu’mata case, even when court victory is not assured or even expected, it continues to serve helpful purposes: i.e. extending business operations for many years, offering a threat that aims to deter popular resistance and delaying eviction in hopes of effectively achieving a settlement via coercion.

EPILOGUE

The bottom line is this. Democracy can be inimical to the interests of market-dominant minorities... Market dominant minorities do not really want democracy, at least not in the sense of having their fate determined by genuine majority rule.

(Chua, 2004, p. 257)



There is a saying about politics that goes, “sometimes in politics, you can lose by winning.” The general message in this saying is obviously that politics is a dynamic game. Big wins can provoke opposing and retaliatory responses, making you worse off than before. It is a dynamic game of power, actions and backlashes, where gaining advantage sometimes leads to adverse repercussions and subsequent losses. At least in part, it is a fitting saying for the politics of rural tourism that have been demonstrated in the preceding chapters. It captures some of the basic elements of Chua’s (2004) thesis: (1) with “free market democracy” reforms, histories of, often- unscrupulous, winning are put to new tests in today’s new politics and democratic arenas (2) These new politics are characterized by backlashes. On the one hand, they are characterized by backlashes against history’s ‘winners’, as those who have faced successive losses retaliate and seek reparations. On the other hand, they are characterized by backlashes against democracy, as those with privileged histories of wealth and power seek to maintain historical status quos.

Following on the theme of paradoxes that concluded Part I, Chua (2004) refers to the politics and backlashes that we have witnessed in Part II as the “paradox of free market democracy”. Essentially, in contexts of unequal and unjust market histories, reforms that ostensibly intend to achieve the ‘good society’³⁸, via free markets and democracy, sometimes end up achieving the opposite. Neither free markets nor democracy are achieved as backlashes against the market can

³⁸ The “good society” is a concept from Walter Lippmann, which he used to denote a society characterized by free markets and democracy.

distort the former and subsequent backlashes against popular movements the latter. As articulated in the quote that begins this epilogue, democratic reforms are generally inimical to the interests of market-dominant minorities, such as those that comprise much of Tanzania's tourism industry.

As seen in the preceding chapters, Enduimet's recent history reflects the above politics and paradox. Backlashes against the market, or more specifically, against its historical configurations and unruly investors, are especially seen in the politics arising vis-à-vis trophy hunting and unwanted/unruly investors. Borrowing from the expression of one WMA leader, in many ways, it is fair to say that "the chickens have come home to roost" for tourism.

Despite some of the laudable efforts and some achievements witnessed in the preceding chapters, many of the dynamics demonstrate that losing by winning goes both ways. The politics arising from WMA reforms provoke not only backlashes against the market but also backlashes against democracy. WMA reforms meant Enduimet won new opportunities with the Noombopong lodge project, yet, ultimately, it led to a major loss, as big tourism investors apparently mobilized to squash it, subverting democracy, as well as the ostensibly free market, in the process. Gains made with vetting trophy hunting investors, and ensuring more just relations, have still met a meddling, heavy-handed state bent on helping its foreign friends.

These same dynamics and interventions have been witnessed in the Shu'mata saga. "Big friends" originally assisted democratic subversions. Then, rather unexpectedly, now it is seemingly the courts' turn, as "rule by law" and "judicialization of politics" adds a new twist to Enduimet's now-uncertain trajectory.

As seen in these cases, much of the politics underpinning these backlashes are invisible and hidden. This is a defining feature of them. Indeed, I suggest that it is the most significant

defining characteristic of “crony capitalism”, which is, by definition, intimate. Whether in reference to the government’s covert meddling to get Shangri-La appointed to the WMA, the “invisible hands” that allegedly eliminated the Noombopong plan, or all the collusion and court manipulations that have allegedly defined the Shu’mata saga, it all demonstrates the role of “invisible government” (Chua, 2004, p. 149) in WMA politics.

All in all, it makes for turbulent times. Two dimensions of this turbulence are worth highlighting. First, I want to stress a point that was relatively absent, or at least not explicit, in the first part of the thesis: as seen in the case of Enduimet, today’s “will to conserve” is set in a context of capitalism. A theme throughout this thesis is the idea of “enterprising wildlife” and the articulation of tourism and conservation in today’s conservation. In today’s logics, tourism and conservation are necessary bedfellows – the one nurtures the other, and vice versa. The WMA is defined by this logic – e.g. wildlife tourism will pay for wildlife conservation (and incentivize communities to be part of it), and wildlife conservation will bolster wildlife tourism. Li (2007) cogently refers to such schemes as “governing with economy” (p.34). It may be more apt to say, ‘governing *through* economy’.

Either way, the point I want to stress is that Part II of the thesis captures how capitalism surfaces and animates Enduimet’s “will to conserve”. The conflicts and backlashes that now characterize Enduimet are, at their core, conflicts of capitalism – i.e. conflicts and competitions over accumulation, property, power and profits. In Li’s work (2007), she integrates this dimension of government and politics through her integration of Antonio Gramsci’s work. In so doing, she attends to, among other things, the “co-production” of accumulation, displacement, dispossession and impoverishment that often accompanies capitalism (Li, p.21). Donald Moore

(2006) does the same, supplementing governmentality with “Gramsci’s insistence on the violence of political economic relations” (p.10).

Such analysis generates the point that eco-government and the politics of conservation and development emerge at the interface of capitalism and its processes of accumulation, exploitation and competition over resources. The two are inseparable and entangled in complex ways. All of the cases in the previous chapters illustrate this, whether in regard to tourism investors’ profit aspirations or Enduimet leaders’ efforts to recoup some power in it all and repair economic inequalities.

More specifically, they demonstrate how a history of predatory capitalism is thrown into disarray via WMA reforms. In other words, prior forms and status quos of exploitive rural tourism – referred to as “neocolonialism” by Enduimet leaders and community members – have been challenged by communities who are taking advantage of the political spaces opened up by WMAs. They are occupying these political spaces, often creating unexpected outcomes. This is the basis of Chua’s thesis, although I emphasise the “predatory” dimension of capitalism, which has all-too-often been characterized by exploitation, corruption and economic injustices wrought on large portions of postcolonial populations. The upshot is that capitalism matters in the “will to conserve”, especially the historical forms it has taken.

The last dimension of all this that I must touch on is Chua’s emphasis on how ethnicity and race, in some contexts, exacerbate the politics arising via free market democratic reforms in some postcolonial contexts. Do race and ethnicity matter in today’s tourism politics in Enduimet? Certainly, at least in Enduimet, they do not matter to any degree similar to most of the cases that Chua engages in her work, which are defined by “ethnic hatred” and corollary acts of violence, often brutal. Enduimet is in stark contrast to this. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding

the well-known difficulties of untangling race and class factors, I maintain that race still matters in Enduimet's politics. To be clear, following on Aminzade's (2003, 2013) key works about the "racialization of politics" in Tanzania, I refer to "race" in how it is popularly used in Tanzania to distinguish black, 'native' Tanzanians³⁹ from white, Asian and Arab populations. As indicated elsewhere, all of Enduimet's entanglements with tourism involved these latter populations. In my view, issues of race animated many of the conflicts that have arisen in Enduimet, including each of those included in preceding chapters of Part II. It is worth noting that generally in Tanzania, I find that race rarely arises in blatant or explicit terms and often not in public contexts.

Nevertheless, "racialization of politics" (Aminzade, 2013) still often lies below the surface. It is witnessed in the negative stereotypes about the aforementioned groups, by Enduimet leaders and residents. "Asians only care for themselves", "Arabs are corrupt" and "whites are greedy" are common epithets. Likewise, assumptions that government authorities privilege someone "due to the color of his skin" indicate common patterns of racialization. The perceptions about the sense of entitlement and disregard conveyed by some investors indicate similar patterns: "you think you can do this due to the color of your skin", one leader lamented about one white investor.

It may go without saying but discounting the role of 'race' in comments about the "neocolonialism" of some investors' actions and ways of relating with Enduimet would be utterly naïve. In the context of the struggle against a white tourism investor, the application of this concept was clearly a rebuke toward the undue privilege that Enduimet leaders perceived the investor to enjoy due to his 'whiteness', the sense of entitlement that the investor conveyed and the mistreatment that Enduimet leaders and community members allegedly experienced.

Whether or not one agrees that 'race' actually played a role in Shu'mata's seeming privilege or

³⁹ See my prior use of 'native' versus 'indigenous' – contrary to Aminzade, I use 'native' to refer to black Tanzanians with precolonial, ancestral history.

the alleged mistreatment of the Enduimet community, it is certainly part of how Enduimet leaders imagine it all. For them, the Shu'mata case reinforces the claim that 'race still matters' in postcolonial Tanzania.

I will never forget running into one prominent government authority in Longido. This was at the height of one investor conflict. The government authority pulled me over to his table and immediately jumped into a long monologue about his frustrations with one white investor. The gist of his message was that "this white man has exhausted me". He asked me why "you white people think you can get anything you want" and concluded that "as long as I have authority, you will not be treated differently because of the color of your skin". As already alluded to in Chapter Seven, I contend that such perspectives arise via postcolonial subjectivities in Tanzania. In the case of the above government authority, it complicated his position, interests and engagement with the investor. It may have even played a roll in his ultimate alignment with the community, for which he was later dismissed from his duties.

I think this all points back to a general message in this thesis: history matters. But, further, I think it is important to recognize that history is colored. Today's politics, I maintain, are animated likewise. In my analysis, trying to excise race from Enduimet's history is naïve. Discounting such politics misses an important dimension of the popular imagination and impoverishes our analysis of the politics of conservation and tourism. Let me conclude with a statement from Gillian Hart (2008), which captures my own analysis: "we have to attend closely to the complex and uneven reverberations and articulations in the present of much longer historical geographies of colonialism and imperialism, along with their specifically racialized – as well as gendered, sexualized, and ethnicized, forms" (p. 694). Of course, it is also naïve to displace the absolute prominence of class to such discussions. The upshot of my analysis is that

in a postcolonial context, like Tanzania, these two dimensions are very often entangled – one often animates the other. My purpose for raising this issue is not to debate the legitimacy or illegitimacy of race-based claims and arguments but, rather, to simply highlight that, at least in the imaginations of Enduimet leaders, race still matters and, at the very least, it animates politics in unique ways.

CONCLUSION

“Our history is a history of elephants”

(Tingatinga leader, July 2017)



Rather than a refusal of the commodities and relations of the world-system, this more often means a desire to indigenize them. The project is the indigenization of modernity.

(Marshal Sahlins; in Galaty, 2013, p. 474)



“In the contemporary world, the future of our freedom lies in the daunting task of taming Leviathan, not avoiding it.”

(Scott, 2010, p. 324)



This dissertation has told the story of Enduimet and its entangled history with elephants – a story about the repeated efforts to conserve them and the subsequent “political life” of elephants that begins to configure the place and space of Enduimet. Undoubtedly, Enduimet’s history has been a history of elephants, as the popular refrain insists. The presence of elephants – not to mention other iconic African wildlife – has defined much of the community’s place in Tanzania and the world, largely defining its recent engagement with the state and its newly administered space, pulling it into global circuits of capital via wildlife tourism, and embroiling its trajectory in a constellation of actors and ‘trustees’ who are associated with ‘greening’ Enduimet and ‘making space for giants’. Enduimet’s ‘trustees’ now include some of the world’s largest conservation organizations, who are all bent on protecting Enduimet’s elephants (and other wildlife) and disciplining Enduimet residents accordingly. Remarkably, despite win-win rhetoric,

sometimes, dominant discourses still tend to see Enduimet residents as intruders in wildlife space.

Today's Enduimet is defined predominantly by elephant/other wildlife conservation and wildlife tourism. Together, they comprise ongoing processes of becoming wilderness, on the one hand, and becoming safariland, on the other. With the adoption of the WMA and its regulatory mechanisms, enterprising wildlife and 'making space for giants' now dictates, at least officially-speaking, who goes where, why and when. WMA reforms have created a new playing field vis-à-vis conservation and tourism, which have offered new opportunities and threats: new political arenas for Enduimet leaders to employ but, at the same time, new oversight powers for the central government to potentially dictate Enduimet's trajectory. Armed, military-trained game scouts now police Enduimet's landscape, each well-funded by international philanthropists and conservation organizations from around the world. An array of international actors and donors have increased their influence over Enduimet and are now primary pillars of 'the will to conserve' that characterizes its trajectory. One of the world's largest NGOs, The Nature Conservancy, has recently become Enduimet's key patron. It is fair to say that a "transnational conservation elite" (Holmes, 2011) now hold much influence in Enduimet, as do powerful tourism investors from Europe and the Middle East. As Holmes (2011) emphasizes in his work, each of these actors have proven to have "friends in high places", carrying significant influence in Tanzania generally, and Enduimet, more specifically. The upshot of all this is that elephants have, indeed, largely defined Enduimet's history and so to will they define Enduimet's foreseeable future. Enduimet has become synonymous with wildlife and the tourism that seeks to exploit it.

Importantly, though, amidst all of this, Enduimet leaders continue to disrupt any simple trajectories. They have made laudable efforts to wrest control of conservation and tourism from the state, change rural tourism's exploitive political economy, put tourism 'to work', put investors 'in their place', and protect pastoral livelihoods. Enduimet leaders have driven the WMA along many unexpected paths and in unexpected directions. What seems to have been underestimated by early WMA proponents and 'trustees' was Enduimet's 'indigeneity' and the 'becoming indigenous' processes and discourses that have unsettled conservation and tourism's historic status quos and trajectory. Narratives of "we were here first", a collective pride in difference, and aggrieved memories of marginalization and exploitation have proven to be powerful rallying calls, provoking politics, contestation and refusals. "Institutional bricolage" (De Koning & Cleaver, 2012) has come to define Enduimet leaders' engagement with WMA reforms and redirected them accordingly.

Looking back, I realize now that in 2013 I entered Enduimet as quite a naïve researcher with many false assumptions about conservation and WMAs. While living among the Maasai in Longido since 2003 and spending much time with many land rights advocates and WMA critics, I had grown intensely skeptical about wildlife conservation generally and WMAs specifically. I had heard stories about so-called 'participatory charades' in Enduimet, Sinya's resistance to the WMA and heavy-handed state responses. I listened to many forewarnings about land dispossession and the prospective demise of pastoralism in Longido and elsewhere in Tanzania's WMAs.

As I began my PhD in 2010, I was eager to begin reading about WMAs and their effects on rural communities, especially Tanzania's indigenous peoples, like the Maasai. All the critical scholarship on WMAs reinforced my skepticism. Based on this scholarship, I adopted simple

assumptions about what WMAs are and the effect they have had on Tanzania's rural communities. The following are some excerpts about WMA reforms, including those in Enduimet. They come from some oft-cited, critical scholars:

Wildlife management in Tanzania has been undergoing a process of reconsolidation of state control and increased rent-seeking behaviour combined with dispossession of communities... Since the WMAs were proposed, however, they have gradually, and despite resistance from some villages, been transformed into tools for rent seeking by state officials... What is happening in Tanzania today is thus more than just a new phase of neoliberal conservation, or the continuation of a corrupt neopatrimonial state, or the result of foreign control of wildlife conservation discourse and practice. Rather, it is the complex interaction of all these forces. (Benjaminsen et al. 2013, p. 18-19)

(Benjaminsen, Goldman, Minwary, & Maganga, 2013)

By 2013, I had inevitably adopted such suppositions. Most critical scholarship simply frames WMAs as merely another vehicle for the exploits of some monolithic force called "neoliberalism". Arising from such analysis, I had begun adopting the same conclusion as many scholars: WMAs were simply a new state and market tool for "accumulation by dispossession" (David Harvey, in Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012) (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012) and "green grabbing" (Green & Adams, 2015). Benjaminsen and Bryceson (2012), for example, write:

Wildlife Management Areas have provided new mechanisms for the appropriation of benefits originating in pastoral and village land. The resulting dispossession takes place through loss of access to pastures justified by a narrative about overgrazing, lost control over benefits from tourism combined with the State's lack of information-sharing with

villagers and its lack of transparency in handling collected tourist fees, and lost control over crops through increased crop damage by wildlife. (p.338)

Mariki et al. (2015) elaborated on such criticism and conclusions with Rob Nixon's (2011) concept of "slow violence": WMAs, and other conservation projects like them, do not represent any spectacular and instantaneous violence but, rather, the violence is something more gradual and incremental (p. 22). Nixon (2011) defines "slow violence" as "delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all" (Nixon, 2011). Accordingly, Nixon refers to processes of "displacement without movement" (p. 19), wherein communities slowly face a loss of access to resources despite not facing the dramatic, violent displacements that tends to be the focus of most critical scholarship: "communities stranded in a place stripped of the very characteristics that made it inhabitable" (p.19). WMAs, as the critical argument goes, are just a form of "slow violence".

In 2013, equipped with such analysis, I entered Enduimet with a conviction to document the 'violence' of WMAs and support the battle against these processes. Unexpectedly, the best way to explain my first few months in Enduimet is 'disorientation': e.g. mental confusion and a loss of direction. I realized quickly that things were not as simple as I had thought or as depicted in critical scholarship. Indeed, I realized quickly that I was poorly equipped to understand WMAs and the multiple, complex processes implicated by them.

My first substantial engagement and exposure to the WMA, its leaders, politics and operations came via the now infamous meeting with Shu'mata in May 2013, which I described in Chapter 7. I had no idea what was in store for me that day. I assumed that it would be a displeasing display of investor privilege and power, part and parcel of the market triumphalism and displacement that I had come to expect of WMAs.

The opposite proved true. The meeting shocked and amazed me, as I watched Enduimet leaders chastise and publicly shame this investor, throwing accusation after accusation of “neocolonialism” at him. I quickly became disoriented. As I sat with Enduimet leaders around a table of roast goat that evening, listening to them excitedly recall in detail how they successfully ridiculed and dominated the white investor, my head whirled with new questions: What is happening in Enduimet? What has the WMA brought up? Where was the accumulation by dispossession and green grabbing I read about? The oppression? The market triumphalism? Exploitation? The displacement? How do I explain what I had just witnessed? Why hadn’t I read about these stories in scholarship? What did this mean for my research? For understanding WMAs?

In large part, the remainder of my PhD research, analysis and writing has been confronting these questions. My objective grew from a conviction to document the purported atrocities of WMAs to a conviction of telling Enduimet’s story of struggle, strategic engagement with the WMA, the role of ‘institutional bricolage’, a ‘practice of politics, and Enduimet leaders’ laudable achievements to transform conservation and rural tourism. Their story is a dynamic, complex one, not simply resisting or being dominated by the market and state conservation projects, but of ‘indigenizing modernity’, as long-argued by John Galaty (1982, 1992, 2013) in his work with the Maasai and their strategic engagement with contemporary projects and changes. Following on Sahlins, he emphasizes the “indigenization of modernity” whereby “[African pastoralists] confront and indeed embrace the modern world and bend it to their needs and interests” (Galaty, 2013, p.474). Building on this, I suggest that Enduimet’s story represents an “indigenization” of today’s conservation, “bending” it in line with popular needs and interests.

Another way of conceiving Enduimet's experience is with James Scott's commentary about the struggles of today's rural peasants who find themselves on state peripheries: "in the contemporary world, the future of our freedom lies in the daunting task of taming Leviathan, not avoiding it". In large part, I grew to understand that this captures Enduimet's strategic engagement with the WMA. So, from a naïve conviction of documenting state and market domination, my attention quickly shifted to documenting Enduimet's efforts to "tame the Leviathan", a struggle against a history of state-dominated conservation and rural tourism, not to mention the unruly investors who have been historically complicit in it. I maintain that this is the uniqueness and inspiration of Enduimet's story; following on Scott's work, not so much an "art of *not being* governed" but, rather, an "art of *being* governed". The latter includes strategic engagement with state projects, like the WMA, a 'practice of politics' that instrumentalizes them and practices of 'institutional bricolage' that aggregates, alters and refuses reforms in creative ways – ultimately, transforming a single-purpose, technical project into a multi-purpose, political one.

Nevertheless, as seen in many of the latter chapters, Enduimet's trajectory is not a simple one of mere achievements but also many setbacks and ongoing struggles. In the following section, I review what has unfolded in Enduimet, its becoming wilderness, becoming safariland and the corollary politics of 'making space for giants'.

i. What has happened in Enduimet?

Chapter One of this thesis situated Enduimet in a long history of territorialization and reterritorialization, a 'spatial dialogue' between the traditional territoriality, which characterized

the early landscape, and the ‘modern’ territorialities, which have continued to articulate with it. It outlined Enduimet’s long history of engagements with colonial and postcolonial state projects and the dispossession they frequently faced when their ancestral lands were excised for, first, white settlers and, second, the national economic interests of an independent nation. Such experiences are remembered in today’s politics and, I argue, animate today’s indigenous and postcolonial subjectivities, both of which inspire resistance and refusal.

The later, postcolonial period introduces land privatization and agricultural entrepreneurialism in Enduimet throughout the highland villages, dramatically transforming these areas, and provoking a cultural and economic differentiation that now defines relations between the lowland villages of Sinya and its highland neighbours – a cultural politics that continues to underpin WMA politics and contests continually threatening its integrity.

The neoliberal era introduces ecotourism to Enduimet, bringing it into new, global circuits of capital and engagements with tourism investors. Villages become the basis of such tourism, making their boundaries more salient, as their respective leaders struggled to delineate property and accrue tourism payments – a process that Gardner (2016) aptly refers to as “neoliberal villagization”. This all brought with it boundary conflicts, commodification of land and wildlife, and social fragmentation as new, highly-contested property relations emerged. In short, Enduimet began its process of ‘becoming safariland’.

In parallel, the 90s introduced the processes of ‘greening Enduimet’ and Enduimet’s corollary launch into ‘becoming wilderness’. Part I of the thesis outlined how elephants became the defining feature of Enduimet’s landscape and ‘making space for giants’ became a primary objective. This part of the thesis especially captures the popular refrain in Enduimet, “our history is a history of elephants”.

Chapter Two outlined Enduimet’s successive elephant research and conservation projects, literally putting Enduimet (and its elephants) ‘on the map’. A virtual life and spectacle of maps, data sheets, problem matrices and GIS points re-imagined Enduimet, from an important “elephant corridor” to a conservation “heartland” and, finally, to a Wildlife Management Area. Essentially, one *reterritorialization* after another began reconstituting the landscape and its people.

One of the most significant outcomes of all this was the convergence of new ‘trustees’ that began making up ‘government’ in Enduimet – in particular, a green ensemble of “transnational conservation elites” with “friends in high places” who are bent on greening Enduimet and its people (Holmes, 2011). Following on much scholarship associated with globalization, the anthropology of the state and governmentality, I argue that it represents processes of ‘privatization of sovereignty’ and ‘transnational governmentality’, both of which define today’s ‘will to conserve’ in Enduimet and now underpin the community’s corollary struggle to protect traditional territoriality and livelihoods. The upshot is that ‘making space for giants’ brings with it new trustees, agendas, interests, opportunities and threats – in short, new ‘games of power’ and a corresponding ‘will to conserve’.

Chapters Three and Four provided an analysis of beginning the WMA and its later manifestations. Overall, borrowing from Li and Rose, I conceive the WMA project as a form of “government through community” (Li, 2007, p.232). Chapter Three reviewed ‘making’ the WMA while Chapter Four outlined its ‘remaking’ – together, a combination of ‘encountering’ and ‘cultivating’ development and conservation respectively. The transformation I discovered between the early and later phases is one of the key findings of the research. I struggled for a long time trying to understand how to conceive the differences of the beginning and later phases

before realizing that their respective characteristics and processes capture well Tania Li's theories of development and conservation – what she calls a 'will to improve' and 'will to conserve' respectively.

Accordingly, as described in Chapter Three, I argue that starting and making the WMA reflected processes of 'rendering technical' and the 'practice of government'. Ultimately, according to Enduimet leaders, this included the silencing and subversion of politics and political economic concerns. I learned that the latter were strongly espoused by Enduimet leaders (and, in fact, formed the basis of their interest to originally join the WMA), but were pushed aside, for the most part, during early phases of designing and planning the WMA. Following on Shivji's (2002) conceptualization of this, in Chapter Three, I argued that a "dialogue of the deaf" unfolded during the making of the WMA: e.g. 'trustees' and development planners focused on technical problems and solutions while Enduimet leaders expressed (unsuccessfully) political economic ones. Put another way, Enduimet leaders' early claims that the real 'problem' was unruly investors and an unjust rural tourism industry fell on deaf ears. Subsequently, the 'intelligible field' that originally emerged focused on too many people and livestock, environmental degradation and poor management. The technical solutions and programs that arose included (1) zoning and limits of use regulations; (2) education programs, which aimed to inculcate values of wildlife conservation; (3) training programs for game scouts, which aimed to more effectively police residents' resource use; and, lastly, (4) efforts to bolster tourism revenue and related small enterprise, which aimed to incentivize Enduimet residents and gain legitimacy for the WMA.

In general, this early phase of the WMA represented many of the concerns in critical scholarship: its characteristics reflected a state-dominated process, which favored market actors

and included dominant discourses that threatened rural livelihoods and would invariably facilitate dispossession (e.g. a significant loss of access to grazing and other resources). In reference to livestock grazing, the first RZMP included draconian restrictions on grazing, which, if enforced, would have devastated households.

As discussed in Chapter Three, such seemingly absurd regulations revealed how pretense and ‘political optics’ operate in Tanzanian politics and in Enduimet; sometimes, Enduimet leaders argued, feigning consensus and support for government and investor interests is the most strategic way forward. I discovered that a particular ‘political imagination’ characterized Enduimet’s leaders’ engagement with the WMA, in which policy and practice are conceived as very different things and what is written on paper often matters very little. Furthermore, Enduimet leaders asserted that government enforcement is typically non-existent and, when it is present, they argued that it can be effectively negotiated to mitigate undesirable effects. You just have to “know the political game”, as was often asserted by Enduimet leaders. Suffice it to say that, in the early phases of the WMA, many Enduimet leaders remained relatively passive as a form of strategic compliance, winning support from government authorities and other trustees.

Remaking the WMA, as discussed in Chapter Four, reflected a period of politicizing and indigenizing the WMA. Strategic compliance no longer characterized Enduimet leaders’ engagement. As they explain it, they shifted from being passive passengers to “driving the project”. Consequently, the second RZMP and what has unfolded since 2010 represents a metamorphosis, of sorts. In Li’s terms (2007), these later stages were not defined by a “practice of government” but, more so, a “practice of politics”. Of course, one does not totally eclipse the other but, rather, it amounts to new articulations and, ultimately, a new rendering of the WMA.

In my analysis, this new phase of the WMA captures Li's argument (2007) that while politics and political economic issues may be the "constitutive exclusions" of much development planning and technical programs, these issues, nevertheless, invariably emerge in different ways across the time and space of development schemes. Following on Foucault, for Li (2007), a 'will to conserve' is always in a state of "permanent provocation" (p.10): with politics, improvement/conservation schemes are "always in a state of movement characterized by openings and closures, refusals, and perpetual linking and reversals" (p. 10). As seen in Enduimet's experience, politics and political economic issues may be submerged but not extinguished. They percolated below the surface, creating crevasses and, in time, pouring out into practice and the operations of the WMA. Today's WMA in Enduimet is defined by such dynamics and contentious politics. As I argue elsewhere, the WMA comprises "turbulent" terrains and times (Wright 2016, 2017).

Accordingly, in contrast to the period of making the WMA, *remaking* it began to focus on confronting exploitation (legal and illegal forms), redistributing the 'costs of conservation', and challenging dominant discourses that are prejudiced against pastoralism, discredit indigenous knowledge and undermine traditional livelihoods. The RZMP was rewritten to protect traditional livelihoods and systems of management. Trophy hunting, at least in part, was 'mapped away', and with it one investor who was seen as exploitive, corrupt and disrespectful. Tourism's 'hidden economy' was illuminated and corollary investor practices, which historically exploited Enduimet, have been challenged and corrected. Another unwanted, unruly foreign investor was evicted, redressing past grievances and new values of what came to be referred to as "good neighbourliness" (Longido District, 2011). Importantly, 'respect' has become the defining

criterion in the selection of new investors. Money matters, for Enduimet leaders, but so do respect, social values and ethical business practices.

“We are their bosses now” became a refrain for Enduimet leaders that, in my analysis, symbolizes the true nature of Enduimet’s engagement with the WMA – an effort to shift power relations in order to challenge the historic status quos of rural tourism and an exploitive political economy. For Enduimet leaders, I discovered, the WMA was never really about ‘wildlife conservation’ per se but, rather, it has been about “indigenous” or “local sovereignty” (Bird, Breslow & Dolsak, 2017) and changing the political economy of rural tourism. Maybe it was always about “mamlaka” (authority), as posed in Chapter Four? In other words, Enduimet’s engagement with the WMA has been about wresting authority over rural tourism, asserting the power to determine who is welcome in their territory and who is not, the power to determine priorities vis-à-vis wildlife conservation, creating a more fair distribution of costs and benefits associated with conservation and tourism, and, lastly, seizing control over how investors treat the community. Following on Cleaver and De Koning’s work (Cleaver, 2002, 2017; de Koning, 2014; De Koning & Cleaver, 2012), in Chapter Four, I argued that through such efforts of “institutional bricolage”, Enduimet leaders took a single issue reform, focused on wildlife conservation, and transformed it into a multipurpose one, focused on transforming rural tourism’s exploitive political economy and prevailing modes of wildlife conservation, which have generally sought the removal of people from wildlife spaces.

Remarkably, one key dimension of the WMA’s transformation included processes of what I referred to as “becoming indigenous”. In my research, I began to witness how Enduimet leaders and residents were framing their struggles with investors and government officials in terms of their ‘indigenous’ status. They began adopting narratives and discourses of ‘we were here first’,

they made explicit their unrelenting pride and commitment to Maasai cultural distinction, and they persistently invoked memories of historic marginalization and disregard. While the WMA project and associated ‘will to conserve’ undoubtedly included processes of making ‘eco-rational subjects’ (i.e. an inculcation of environmental ethics and logics that support and prioritize wildlife conservation), I argue that such processes have intersected with ‘indigenous’ subjectivities. These latter subjectivities spur resistance, refusal and even insurgence. They inspire the struggle in Enduimet and the ‘permanent provocation’ mentioned above.

Ultimately, such provocation, struggle and refusal underpin what Li (2007) refers to as “governmentality’s limits” (p.17) – i.e. development and conservation are never a simple, deterministic process of rendering technical and anti-politics; they always face provocation, politics and limits. In the epilogue of Part I, I posed two paradoxes that help us conceive such limits and help understand what unfolded in Enduimet. The first paradox captures the contradictory effects of the WMA. I refer to it as the “Ferguson Paradox”, given its relationship to James Ferguson’s (1991) “anti-politics machine” thesis about development. On the one hand, as argued by Ferguson, development schemes have the effect of new state encompassments and expansions of bureaucratic state power. As Ferguson (1991) observed in Lesotho, while ‘development’ projects failed in their official aims (e.g. poverty alleviation, transform rural production systems, etc), they succeeded in certain ‘effects’. In particular, Ferguson illustrates how projects inadvertently facilitated the expansion of central government policing, surveillance and discipline, including the expansion of military presence and control. While such changes are not intrinsically negative, they often pose many risks in terms of autonomy, collective self-determination and dissent. Under the auspice of new government services and extended infrastructure, Ferguson argues, the state sometimes extends its capacity to dominate and

suppress rural areas. This is an ‘effect’ of development. Such extensions and risks of bureaucratic state power are apparent in Tanzania’s WMA reforms and the WMA’s implementation in Enduimet (i.e. expansion of the state’s control over land use and corollary risks of losing access to grazing areas and other natural resources).

Yet, on the other hand, a paradoxical effect is that the WMA created “new democratic spaces” (Cornwall & Coehlo, 2007) and, subsequently, new avenues to influence and manipulate bureaucratic state power. As seen in Enduimet’s case, it has offered new avenues for social struggle and efforts to assert control over conservation and tourism. Put another way, it has offered Enduimet leaders a new platform for repositioning themselves as citizens and making corollary claims on the state.

The WMA in Enduimet, then, reflects both the risks of expanded bureaucratic state power and new avenues to challenge, channel and redirect it. To repeat Gillian Hart’s (2006) cogent observation: “In these and other ways, what James Ferguson (1990) termed the ‘anti-politics machine’ of Development could become part of a revitalised politics to press for greater economic justice to realise the promises of democracy.” (p. 27). This, I believe, captures some of the dynamics and unexpected outcomes that have emerged in Enduimet and continues to define its trajectory.

The other paradox that characterized Enduimet’s ‘will to conserve’ is the “paradox of government through community” (Li, 2007, p.232). This paradox highlights the challenge of making something new out of something old: “the birth-to-presence of a form of being which pre-exists”, as identified by Nikolas Rose (in Li, 2007, p.232). While government authorities and other trustees (e.g. NGO personnel), in projects like WMAs, may treat community as something it can bring into being and remold from a clean slate, historical subjectivities, memory, and

grievances reject such assumptions. Ultimately, then, such forms of government become a messy endeavour. Recalling Moore's (2005) thesis, if Enduimet's landscape is "entangled" in sedimentations of history, so are its subjects. Building on Moore, I suggest that we may supplement the idea of "entangled landscapes" (p. 22) with one of 'entangled subjects'. The upshot is that Enduimet leaders and inhabitants cannot be separated from their history as Maasai – historically colonial subjects to currently marginalized indigenous peoples. Moore (2005) uses the concept of "selective sovereignty" to stress the role that such history plays in the making of today's subjects and how it disrupts state-centric assumptions about sovereignty and subjecthood. In other words, subjectification processes related to indigenous identities, discourses and systems are salient in such postcolonial contexts; they should not be underestimated in our understandings of development, conservation and corresponding engagements. As much as development planners and trustees may wish that the Enduimet community, and corresponding subjects, were something akin to a '*tabula rasa*' (clean slate) and, subsequently, could be easily formed anew and molded into a well-disciplined 'community' and well-conforming eco-rational subjects, this has not been the case. We saw this especially in the 'becoming indigenous' dimensions of Enduimet's struggle against conservation orthodoxies and historic status quos of rural tourism. Ultimately, Enduimet leaders and residents bring with them a different history and oppositional subjectivity. As demonstrated in Part I, subsequently, 'government through community' becomes animated and influenced by such entanglements, long histories and identity politics. Indeed, this history and indigenous subjectivities forms the bases of the conflicts that begin to emerge in Enduimet and continue to characterize its trajectory today.

Accordingly, Part II of the thesis turned attention to some of the conflicts and contests that have unfolded in the WMA and the “turbulent terrains” that now characterize Enduimet. This part of the thesis illustrated that the ‘will to conserve’ in Enduimet is always situated in the shifting terrain of capitalism and corollary contests over wildlife tourism’s profits, costs and benefits – after all, as seen in this dissertation, in Tanzania’s ‘neoliberal era’, ‘becoming wilderness’ means ‘becoming safariland’ which means ‘enterprising wildlife’. In the end, so much comes down to money and tourism revenue and the games of power surrounding them. Suffice it to say that Enduimet’s case reinforces the idea that a political ecology/economy lens must supplement a governmentality one. A ‘will to conserve’ helps us understand much about ‘government’ in Enduimet, corresponding trustees and technologies and the key nexuses of power, knowledge and subsequent renderings of problems and people. Ultimately, though, struggles and conflicts over property and profits also matter and, invariably, these continue to define Enduimet’s current struggle and trajectory.

I proposed Amy Chua’s “world on fire” thesis (2004) as a framework for understanding the conflicts that have emerged between Enduimet leaders, investors and government officials: “backlashes against the market” and “backlashes against democracy” arose in Enduimet, as Enduimet leaders attempted to redress historical grievances against tourism and some of its actors while, at the same time, some market actors and government officials began circumventing leaders’ decisions in order to maintain historic status quos.

Chapter Five outlined the notorious history of trophy hunting in Tanzania and Enduimet’s long struggle against it. Democratization reforms of the WMA, especially since 2012 when regulations decentralized authority over trophy hunting to AAs, offered a new avenue to redress longstanding grievances – i.e. for the first time, Enduimet leaders found themselves in a position

to determine trophy hunting's trajectory in their land. The first 'backlash against the market' was seen in Enduimet leaders' choice to eliminate Sinya's historic hunting zone, finally terminating their long struggle with the Northern Hunting Company and claiming victory over this unwanted investor. A second 'backlash against the market' arose during Enduimet's effort to advertise and secure a trophy hunting investor for its last remaining hunting zone. Leaders resisted pressures and interventions from central government authorities, refusing one proposed investor after growing suspicious about the investor's dubious history with and treatment of other communities. Enduimet leaders determined that the "highest bidder" mattered less than "respect" and being "a good neighbour". According to many, a "backlash against democracy" then unfolded, as some central authorities pushed another investor, who had alleged links to the central government, on Enduimet. This case highlighted that despite promising democratization reforms, clientelism and crony capitalism sometimes still characterizes the trophy hunting industry and sometimes maintain the old status quo. Only time will tell whether Enduimet's current trophy hunting investor will prove beneficial or troublesome for Enduimet.

Chapter Six focused on the Noombopong crisis, which captures well Chua's concept of a "backlash against democracy" and the crony capitalism that sometimes characterizes such situations. The Noombopong lodge conflict demonstrated the collisions that arise from democratization reforms, pitting in new ways wealthy, historically privileged market-dominant minority groups against aggrieved, majority ones. For Enduimet leaders, the lodge represented much promise and an opportunity to get a bigger share of the 'tourism pie'. While details of what happened remain hidden, what we know is that the lodge threatened other big investors in Enduimet and across the border in Kenya. Allegedly, these investors launched into efforts to undermine the Noombopong project. They were apparently successful, as AWF quickly

withdrew from the project and the partially built lodge now sits in ruins on the top of Noombopong hill. Essentially, big commercial interests trumped public ones. Tourism market inequalities and crony capitalism trumped democratization. As discussed in the chapter, a key feature of such politics was the invisibility of it all. It demonstrated the “hidden histories” (Walsh, 2012), “invisible hands” (Walsh, 2012) and “invisible government” (Chua, 2004) that so often characterize rural tourism and maintain status quos that continue to benefit market-dominant actors. WMA reforms have certainly disrupted all this, yet, sometimes, there remain ominous continuities with past inequalities and injustices.

Chapter Seven turned to the Shu'mata saga. In this case, a ‘backlash against the market’ was witnessed as Enduimet leaders mounted efforts to evict the company. Essentially, their efforts reflected a retaliation against the “neocolonialism” (in Swahili, “ukuloni mamboleo”) that they argued characterized Shu'mata's engagements with, first, Sinya and Tingatinga villages and, then, the WMA. The case also included ‘backlashes against democracy’, as Shu'mata mobilized support from a wide array of political figures who initially attempted to circumvent Enduimet leaders' collective decision to prohibit the company. Enduimet leaders found themselves pitted against a powerful crony capitalism. Their persistence, though, ultimately achieved sufficient political support from the District and they officially evicted the company in 2014. Shortly thereafter, though, Shu'mata employed Tanzania's judiciary in the company's attempt to undermine the AA's decision. The company gained an injunction against Enduimet's efforts to prohibit the company's business. In what I refer to as an interesting dimension of “judicialization of politics”, the Shu'mata saga continues to date amidst many allegations of collusion and suspicious proceedings. According to many, the company has essentially employed the courts to stall its eviction. In the meantime, the company continues to make attempts to convince the AA

to reconcile and permit Shu'mata's business in Enduimet. Time will only tell whether the Enduimet AA will be able to uphold its resolve to evict the company and whether the judiciary will uphold its right to determine who is allowed in the WMA and who is not. The determining factor may end up simply being about money: can the Enduimet AA continue bearing the costs of a long legal battle?

Following on these three cases, in the epilogue of Part II, the third paradox I proposed in this dissertation's analysis is what Chua poses as the "paradox of free market democracy" (Chua, 2000). In Chua's analysis, ostensibly 'free markets' have exacerbated inequalities and bolstered the rise of market dominant minority actors. The recent push for democratization reforms, on the other hand, has emboldened historically underprivileged and marginalized, majority populations, essentially empowering them to retaliate against historic status quos. "The bottom line is this", writes Chua (2004), "Democracy can be inimical to the interests of market-dominant minorities... Market dominant minorities do not really want democracy, at least not in the sense of having their fate determined by genuine majority rule" (p.257). The paradox, in short, is that 'free market democracy' reforms often amount to neither a free market nor anything amounting to 'democracy'; both become perverted in the hustle, flux and flow of backlashes upon backlashes, contestation and conflict.

Such a paradox and dynamic, I argue, characterizes the conflict and turbulence that have unfolded in Enduimet. On the one hand, Tanzania's free market reforms, since the early 90s, have led to the rise of a group of market-dominant minorities that primarily control and benefit from the tourism industry – a "tourism cartel", according to Norton-Griffith and Said's analysis (2010). On the other hand, the WMA's democratization reforms have created a platform for communities, like Enduimet, to launch efforts to rectify past injustices and exploitive status quos.

As seen, as some of the market-dominant actors have seen their positions and privileges challenged; this has led to efforts to undercut or circumvent the AA's authority and decision-making. Many of Enduimet's conflicts with Tanzania's trophy hunting industry, those associated with the Noombopong lodge project and, most recently, the whole Shu'mata saga have been characterized by backlashes upon backlashes. Generally, backlashes against the market – or, at least, against some of its unruly investors and tourism's exploitive status quos – have then spurred backlashes against democracy, as investors and their government allies have struggled to maintain the privilege and profits they have grown accustomed to. While Chua's "a world on fire" analogy may overstate the status of conflicts and struggle in Enduimet, it is clear that the 'free market democracy' reforms of Enduimet's WMA have led to turbulent times and a highly contested terrain.

ii. Where does this all leave us? What does the future hold for Enduimet?

Does Enduimet's laudable struggles and their unexpected achievements offer optimism for the future? Are there positive omens to be found in Enduimet's experiences thus far? Such questions hang over my research and often leave me struggling for clear answers. I think there is sometimes a risk in my research and academic writing of leading people – and myself, at times – to some naïve optimism about Enduimet and its engagement with the WMA. I have witnessed this over the years, following a conference presentation or after people have read a piece of my work. I recall after one conference, one audience member reported to me that he was going to return to the village he worked in and tell the leaders to start a WMA.

To be clear, my perspective on the Enduimet WMA and Enduimet's future remains endlessly ambivalent. On the one hand, I remain inspired by the laudable struggles and unexpected

achievements that I have witnessed in Enduimet. Certainly, there are many causes for hope and optimism in Enduimet's story to date. Enduimet leaders have instrumentalized the WMA, altered, manipulated and redirected it in unexpected ways. They have challenged conservation orthodoxies and transformed unjust political economies. Undoubtedly, they have demonstrated the unpredictable outcomes that arise via a practice of politics, institutional bricolage, and so on. When the community began engaging the WMA many years ago, no one foretold stories of such political struggle or foresaw such outcomes. Their story deserves to be told and, importantly, it defies the simple representations of WMAs in much critical scholarship and the rather disparaging representations of rural leaders that often accompany them. In fact, the significance of this story and Enduimet's engagement with the WMA has much broader implications for general scholarship about so-called 'land grabbing' or 'green grabbing', which often faces similar limitations, biases and simplifications of those found in most critical scholarship about WMAs.

Nevertheless, despite all this, I think there remains a danger in jumping to any simple conclusions or naïve optimism as we reflect on Enduimet's future. The WMA and the 'will to conserve' that defines it is a complex, always fluid phenomenon – always in a state of "permanent provocation", to recall Li's argument (2007, p.10). This will certainly amount to times of hope and inspiration, in terms of how the WMA articulates with popular interests, but it will also amount to times of doubt, skepticism and utter disappointment. Many 'trustees' and actors implicated in WMA 'government' remain busy jockeying for power, repositioning, forging alliances, authorizing threatening discourses, legitimatizing displacement and so on. The risks and threats of so-called 'neoliberal conservation' are always a real and present danger, irrespective of the ingenuity demonstrated by the likes of Enduimet leaders.

Although many of the cases in this dissertation demonstrate Enduimet leaders' capacity to instrumentalize the WMA in unexpected ways, it should be recalled and emphasized that the cases also demonstrate the power asymmetries that characterize 'government' in Enduimet⁴⁰, the persistence of threatening discourses and a vicious competition over wildlife resources and revenues. As seen in each of the cases, what seems to matter most at times is who has bigger friends and whose friends are in higher places. If Enduimet leaders' allegations are true, this includes Tanzania's judiciary. Such a recognition tempers my optimism. Undoubtedly, the 'playing field' remains unlevel. Tourism investors have an astounding ability to get their way and, concomitantly, government officials have an astounding way of often supporting them. The 'hiddenness' of so many of the corresponding games of power and influence especially make trajectories uncertain. The big international NGOs likewise wield immense power, sometimes for the good, sometimes not-so-good and other times, for the bad. The upshot that I am trying to emphasize is that each of the cases in this dissertation offer reason for hope but, at the same time, cause for concern.

Several recent developments have heightened my ambivalence about Enduimet's future and tempered the optimism that I have typically tried to uphold in my research and writing. It may be unconventional to turn to these ominous processes and events here, but I think it is necessary to complete our understanding of Enduimet's future trajectory. In the following, I offer some reflection on these developments and related concerns. For simplicity's sake, I propose three 'dangers' that I foresee and which may especially affect Enduimet's trajectory, potentially leading to adverse impacts for the WMA and its human inhabitants: the danger of discipline, the danger of powerful NGO donors and an associated danger of dependency.

⁴⁰ I use 'government' here in a Foucauldian sense that includes the vast array of actors and technologies comprising the 'will to conserve'.

The bottom line is that Enduimet's new bedfellows include some powerful players, which bring with them some ominous discourses and financial conundrums. Thinking of 'bedfellows', while recently reflecting on Enduimet's predicaments and trajectory, I recalled being a young, Canadian boy growing up in the early stages of planning and debating the Canada – USA free trade agreement. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, famously referred to Canada's relationship with the USA as something akin to "sleeping with an elephant". He went on to say that "no matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, if I can call it that, one is affected by every twitch and grunt". This idea often defined debates surrounding the free trade agreement. The implication, for Canada, was that compromising sovereignty, for the sake of a trade agreement with the USA, meant sleepless nights, always living with the risk that your bedfellow may roll over. Sometimes, this is how I conceive Enduimet's new position and political place vis-à-vis the 'green ensemble' that now claims a stake in its trajectory. As I discuss below, this is the primary source of Enduimet's precarity: since starting the WMA, Enduimet now finds itself 'sleeping with elephants' – e.g. its trajectory is influenced significantly by the new, large NGOs, investors and other 'giants'. I cannot go into detailed discussion here about recent events and my outstanding concerns for Enduimet's future but suffice it to say that they remain points of much reflection, concern and a focus of my ongoing research.

In terms of my reference to the 'dangers of discipline', I continue to wrestle with Agrawal's (2005) thesis about "environmentality" and his assertion about the insidious change that arises from what he refers to as the "soft hammer of self-regulation" (p.15). Agrawal argues that once localities are "governmentalized" (p.6) and rural subjects become situated in "regulatory communities" (p.7), dominant discourses about the environment and its appropriate care begin to characterize rural subjects' way of seeing the environment and their interaction with it.

Essentially, eco-rational, environmental subjects are invariably formed via the nexus of governmentalized locality and corollary regulatory communities.

Such processes are undoubtedly salient in Enduimet. The WMA intrinsically represents the type of “regulatory community” that Agrawal (2005) focuses on in his work. Concomitantly, the corollary process of “making environmental subjects” are pertinent to processes that I have witnessed in Enduimet. As a result, I maintain that the threat of dominant discourses and corollary processes of subjectification are always cause for concern; we should not underestimate such processes. To be clear, threatening discourses that oppose traditional land use and management (e.g. pastoral mobility and grazing in the WMA) continue to prevail amongst WMA ‘trustees’, especially among conservation NGO personnel, many central government authorities and Enduimet’s tourism investors. These discourses continue to prioritize wildlife at the expense of rural livelihoods. They continue to perpetuate the “dominant pastoral paradigm” (Ellis & Swift, 1988, p.451) and its corresponding narratives about too many livestock, cattle complexes, commons tragedies and environmental degradation. Furthermore, they continue perpetuating the “myth of wild Africa” (Adams & McShane, 1992) that imagines Enduimet as pristine nature and, ideally, a ‘place without people’ (i.e. a place with very few people and very few domesticated animals).

Such discourses are commonly heard in Enduimet’s meetings with NGO donors and government officials. They are likewise found across the websites of Enduimet’s tourism investors. Especially for the latter group, reducing livestock in the WMA is an explicit priority and part of their persistent lobbying campaigns. In their logic, less livestock means more wildlife which means more clients and bigger profits. Enduimet’s NGO ‘trustees’ are equally complicit in the propagation of such discourses. Notably, over the years, some of Enduimet’s key donor

agencies and ‘trustees’ have persistently tried to engage me in projects to “educate Enduimet residents about the need to reduce livestock in the WMA”, as put by one NGO director. They have always assumed that my interest in wildlife conservation equates to an interest in excluding livestock from the WMA. Slowly, they have begun to learn that my loyalties and interests lie elsewhere.

For the most part, such ‘marketing’ efforts have not concerned me too much due to the strong discourses of ‘indigeneity’ that counter such dominant/mainstream ones. Undoubtedly, as suggested in Chapter Four (e.g. see “becoming indigenous”), ‘indigeneity’ discourses continue to be predominant in the formation of Enduimet subjectivities. As argued in this dissertation, to date, these indigeneity discourses have continued to define the practice of politics in Enduimet. This has underpinned Enduimet’s refusal of conservation orthodoxies and protected pastoralism in the WMA, at least thus far.

In recent times, though, I have begun to witness an erosion (or displacement) of such indigeneity discourses and, concomitantly, I have begun to observe changes in the ‘united front’ that has typically defined Enduimet’s leadership. In 2017, for example, I listened to a few WMA personnel enthusiastically recall their experiences in some workshops, which had been sponsored by an international conservation NGO. They excitedly relayed to me everything they learned about so-called “improved land use” and “modern livestock keeping”. Each of these concepts, it should be noted, reflect dominant discourses in Tanzania associated with modernization and they have historically underpinned pastoralist dispossession in the country. One WMA staff member went so far to conclude that “we need to teach Enduimet residents about the importance of reducing livestock in the WMA”.

That same year, in a rather ominous turn, I learned that a group of international students were employed by some WMA managers to conduct research about residents' perspectives on policies to restrict grazing. According to those managers I spoke with, the study was apparently intended as a preface to proposing new policies in Enduimet. These policies were intended to regulate grazing more intensively. Fortunately, from what I can tell, nothing really came of the research and apparent proposals.

Only time will tell, though, how such dominant discourses and processes will in Enduimet. Will they begin to erode opposing discourses of 'being Maasai', being 'people of cattle', and 'becoming indigenous'? The fact remains that, overall, anti-livestock and 'place without people' discourses remain marginal and there remains negligible support among Enduimet leaders for any strict grazing regulations. 'Being Maasai', 'livestock is our life' and corresponding indigeneity discourses remain prevalent and continue defining Enduimet's politics, refusals and subjectivities. Nevertheless, WMA 'trustees', especially international conservation NGOs and central government authorities, are persistently trying to authorize and legitimize mainstream discourse; they are relentlessly 'marketing' their beliefs and interests.

As an aside, I borrow the idea of 'marketing', here, from Bram Büscher (2013). He uses the concept to denote all the strategies and actions taken by different actors to impose or win support for their respective narratives, values, beliefs, interests, and so on. He emphasizes the different capacities of various actors, whether due to differing levels of economic capital, political capital, or otherwise, to authorize, legitimize and facilitate the diffusion of their ways of seeing the world, their knowledge, the discourses they uphold, and their desired outcomes. The idea of 'marketing, then, tries to capture this field of power and influence. Ultimately, such 'marketing' power serves to subjugate and discipline others accordingly.

With this in mind, my concern, as I reflect on Enduimet's future, is how significant the 'marketing' power is of certain 'trustee' groups, especially international conservation NGOs, and big investors. In most cases, their access to resources and mechanisms to push forward, prioritize and privilege their beliefs, interests and objectives are significant, as compared to other actor groups in the WMA. Such power asymmetries have the potential to perpetuate conservation orthodoxies and, therefore, remains a threat to pastoralism, traditional territoriality and traditional modes of inhabiting and using natural resources. I maintain that the insidious effects of such ongoing efforts should not be underestimated. The bottom line is that Enduimet's 'will to conserve' is characterized by significant differences in capacities to 'market' knowledge, discourse and desired outcomes.

Ultimately, experiences like the above one raise questions for me about whether it is just a matter of time before dominant/mainstream discourses begin to erode and displace indigeneity ones. Is it just a matter of time before dominant discourse effectively produces the "eco-rational subjects" that have always underpinned Tanzania's conservation policy and initiatives (Goldman, 2003)? Will Enduimet continue being and becoming 'indigenous'? Or, in time, will we witness the production of environmental subjects in similar fashion to Agrawal's observations of rural forest users and community conservation efforts in India? Certainly, such effects and outcomes can be witnessed in many of Tanzania's other WMAs. As a consequence, I find myself left with the question, and following on Mariki et al. (2015), is it just a matter of time before we witness the "slow violence" that many critics claim characterize Tanzania's WMAs?

In particular, and in relation to the above, one of my key concerns for Enduimet is the growing influence of the WMA's donors and NGO trustees. Certainly, as discussed in Chapter Two, one of the most significant changes that have accompanied Enduimet's 'will to conserve'

and eco-government is the new ensemble of international donor agencies and conservation NGOs that now influence its trajectory. It reflects what George Holmes (2011) cogently refers to as a “transnational conservation elite” (p.1). In his work, Holmes describes the proliferation of these elite arising from neoliberalization processes. He further argues that their influence is so significant due to the networks that are implicated; they have “friends in high places” (p.1), as Holmes aptly argues. In Enduimet, these international organizations and elite groups, including USAID, World Wildlife Foundation, African Wildlife Foundation, The Nature Conservancy and the Honey Guide Foundation, have played a defining role in Enduimet’s recent history. It is difficult to overstate how this new ensemble has reconstituted Enduimet. Notably, their influence continues to grow.

As an aside, and to be clear, these organizations have brought important resources to Enduimet. Indeed, Enduimet leaders argue that they have offered much assistance and opportunity. Nevertheless, more recently, Enduimet has faced some difficult predicaments that demonstrate the influence of these groups and the dangers and risks of relying on them. Funding streams from USAID have shifted in recent years, introducing new conservation NGOs and shifting levels of influence between different groups.

According to many Enduimet leaders, some of these NGOs represent more of a threat to Enduimet’s interests and priorities than others. Rather interestingly, AWF, for example, is seen by many Enduimet leaders as being much less of a threat than other NGOs. In part, leaders argue, this is due to the characteristics of AWF personnel and the organization’s approach to development. For example, the organization’s personnel have usually been, at least in recent times, Tanzanian (as opposed to white foreigners) and the organization has often worked via ‘community facilitators’. This latter group, at least in Enduimet, had typically represented local

interests and values, playing important broker roles, as discussed in Chapter Two. For many Enduimet leaders, in stark contrast to the way AWF is viewed in much critical scholarship, they subsequently look back positively on the days when AWF was USAID's 'donor darling' and when AWF was the WMA's primary donor, consultant and facilitator. Today, other NGOs wield the most power and, according to many Enduimet leaders, carry with them more oppositional and threatening values, interests and objectives.

A conflict surrounding the appointment of a new WMA manager in Enduimet is a recent case-in-point. The case illuminates the risks of Enduimet's position vis-à-vis donor NGOs and the different values that are apparent. Moreover, the case implicates my concern about the dangers of dependency – i.e. the WMA's financial dependency on NGOs and the subsequent influence they wield in WMA 'government'.

In January 2018, a crisis unfolded when one of the WMA's biggest NGO donors began insisting that the AA dismiss their long-time manager. This manager had been with the WMA since its inception and was a resident Maasai of the area. Notably, for quite some time, some of the personnel of the donor NGO had expressed to me their disappointment with this manager. "He had to go", one of the NGO's leaders had expressed to me as early as 2016. Originally, the AA refused to abide by this demand. They remained loyal to their Maasai counterpart and long-time colleague. In a rather shocking turn, the NGO then responded by suspending all funding to the WMA. 'If you don't do what we want then we won't fund you', seemed to be the clear, implicit message behind the NGO's actions.

For a few months, the AA dug their heels in, refusing to succumb to the heavy-handed tactics of the donor. After about three months, though, the AA was forced to acquiesce. VGS and other WMA personnel had not been paid for the entire duration and villages had also not been

offered any of their regular financial disbursements. The delayed payments and disgruntled employees began stirring much controversy and conflict in Enduimet. Consequently, after much deliberation, the AA begrudgingly agreed to hire a new manager.

The donor NGO immediately employed a committee of many external consultants and partners to oversee the process, feigning, at least, a transparent and objective process. Interviews began in July. I was present in Enduimet when this was all unfolding, so I had a chance to hear a lot about the process, talk to the actors involved, meet prospective candidates and witness Enduimet leaders' antipathy toward it all. I cannot go into detail here about what unfolded. Suffice it to say that, after all the interviewing was complete, each of the candidates that Enduimet leaders proposed and supported was deemed insufficient by the hiring committee. In a contentious turn, one of the candidates, who was originally nominated by the donor NGO, was awarded the position.

Many Enduimet leaders were livid with the results. The decision was embroiled in accusations of bias and interference in favor of the NGO's desired candidate. I met village leaders who were also upset and felt marginalized from the process. "We must decide who leads us, not an NGO from America", was their understandable logic. Generally, Enduimet leaders claimed that the whole process was a façade and was intended only to uphold the donor's interests. Reflecting popular sentiments, one AA leader vented, "One way or other, they [donors] always get what they want".

To be clear, the anger surrounding this case, at least in part, is because some leaders see the NGO's meddling as ultimately an effort to undermine the WMA's solidarity, unity and their resolve to protect pastoralism. Notably, prior to the hiring of the new manager, the WMA's personnel have always been longstanding members of the Enduimet community and,

importantly, they have always been pastoralists. These characteristics, Enduimet leaders argue, have always ensured shared values and a relatively united front vis-à-vis the WMA and associated ‘trustees’. Such characteristics of WMA personnel have helped, as the logic goes, to ensure a shared resistance to efforts to displace livestock grazing. In contrast, the new manager, leaders worry, is not from Enduimet, is not a pastoralist and, subsequently, he may not adhere to the same values (e.g. livestock priorities). Furthermore, rather understandably, leaders worry that his allegiance may be more to those who pay his salary than the community he is meant to serve and collaborate with.

To be clear, the manager does not carry any unilateral power in the WMA to design or implement policy and, for all we know, he may prove to be an ally rather than adversary. Nevertheless, many Enduimet leaders remain concerned about how his appointment implicates the WMA’s future trajectory and the increasing influence of Enduimet’s donor NGOs. Certainly, I think the case reflects some worrisome trends and the intimate machinations of the “privatization of sovereignty” (Igoe, 2007) and “transnational governmentality” (Ferguson, 2002), as discussed in Chapter Two. The case illustrates the old adage that ‘whoever holds the purse strings, holds the power’; put another way, it demonstrates that, ultimately, ‘money matters’. Undoubtedly, the situation has raised important questions: What will the impacts be of the growing influence in Enduimet of international conservation NGOs? What are the implications for Enduimet’s future of such power relations, donor dependency and the evident capacity of NGOs to ‘market’ their positions, discourse and desired trajectories? What does this all mean for Enduimet’s autonomy? Their self-determination? For the ‘refusals’ that have characterized and made the Enduimet WMA so unique thus far?

It should be made clear, here, that in my correspondence with many of the personnel associated with these NGOs, it is apparent that many uphold conservation orthodoxies and remain bent on transforming land use in Enduimet, including further restrictions on livestock grazing. I recall one prominent NGO leader enthusiastically sharing with me his previous experience in Kenya, where “the Maasai have begun respecting wildlife conservation, understanding the value of tourism and have ended their haphazard grazing practices”. He indicated his objectives of establishing a similar ethic in Enduimet. Not surprisingly, such experiences leave me with daunting questions about what the future holds for Enduimet.

Most recently, in another case of alleged ‘NGO meddling’, even Enduimet’s longstanding refusal of grazing restrictions in the WMA have come under threat. As illustrated in Chapter Four, since 2011, Enduimet leaders have been very strategic in terms of how they have altered the WMA’s regulatory mechanisms, ensuring a protection of livestock grazing, traditional land use, mobility and management. As discussed, given such strategic manipulations, the WMA’s Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP) has not posed any threat to pastoralism. The strategically inserted “to be determined” clause has prioritized indigenous knowledge and systems. Enduimet leaders have remained adamant that the so-called “*Wildlife* Management Area” will always be a “*Livestock* Management Area” as well. “Wildlife will never be given priority over livestock”, leaders have consistently insisted.

Unbeknownst to Enduimet leaders, however, and in a rather bizarre turn of events, this may have changed in 2018. While details have yet to be revealed, something terribly suspicious seems to have unfolded during the process of compiling Enduimet’s third RZMP. To provide some context, since 2016, the WMA has been without an approved RZMP because the AA had been unable to afford all the meetings and consultant fees required to compile a new one. By 2018,

however, one of Enduimet's primary donors finally agreed to fund the respective costs. They subcontracted the work to a Dutch NGO, who then further subcontracted the work to some researchers based out of a prominent Tanzanian university. Together, these consultants and researchers embarked on the process of compiling a new RZMP in February 2018. This included a few brief trips to Enduimet and one planning meeting in March with Enduimet leaders, AA members, government officials and some other 'trustees.' Following this, I and many of my colleagues had been trying to get a copy of the newly proposed RZMP. For one reason or other, it had not been made public or widely circulated. In May 2018, through a host of fortuitous meetings (including an unexpected meeting at an international conference in Europe), I met some of the researchers who had been part of compiling the RZMP and I finally received a copy of the draft shortly thereafter.

Shockingly, the "limits of use" in the new RZMP include alarming restrictions on livestock. The new RZMP stands in stark contrast to the previous one. In both the Elerai Trophy Hunting Zone and the Sinya Photographic Tourism zone, for example, only 1600 TLU are permitted in the WMA during dry seasons. Recall that a TLU means Tropical Livestock Unit, a universal figure used to assess economic assets and poverty among pastoralists; one TLU translates to about one cow and ten goats or sheep. Basically, with this new stipulation, the WMA threatens to displace Enduimet households in an historically unprecedented way. To be clear, each of the respective zones represents primary, dryland grazing reserves that are quintessential to customary use and management. They form key parts of Enduimet's traditional territoriality and make up key components of their traditional grazing system. Considering Enduimet's livestock numbers presented in Chapter One, the implication of the new stipulation is that, if ever enforced, households are expected to remove approximately 38,600 livestock units from

Enduimet. Frankly, it is an absurd and unfeasible stipulation, which would undoubtedly decimate pastoralism in Enduimet and the households that depend on it.

Reportedly, the RZMP was approved by the Wildlife Director by August 2018. I have done everything in my means to investigate where the grazing stipulation number came from and who inserted it in the RZMP. I have yet to determine any clear answers. What I have determined, though, is that neither AA members nor village leaders know anything about it. Evidently, there was little meaningful engagement with the community in the process of developing the new RZMP and apparently no substantial discussion about livestock restrictions. There was only one meeting in May that included a wide number of stakeholders. I was able to obtain a list of the meeting participants and I have managed to interview almost half of them. Thus far, I have not identified a single participant who recalls discussing any stipulations on grazing. All I can deduce, therefore, is that the stipulations were not derived from March's meeting. Rather, the stipulation must have been inserted at some point following this and in the final stages of writing the RZMP.

It remains unclear whether there was any harmful intent with the insertion of this grazing stipulation. Some of those I have spoken with speculate, for example, that it may have been inserted by a consultant or an NGO personnel merely as an effort to placate government officials and ensure the acceptance of the new RZMP. Moreover, it may have been done with little awareness of the potential impact it may have on Enduimet. Whatever the case, the situation obviously raises many questions about the nature of WMA government, the status of participation, so-called 'democratization' and, furthermore, the role of external actors and NGOs. It strikes me as an ominous development that may reveal future trials, tribulations and dangerous

trajectories. Possibly, the long-term impacts of the WMA will, after all, prove the sinister expectations of critics.

To be clear, although the above situation has caused me much anxiety and concern, Enduimet leaders remain, for the most part, rather unperturbed by the situation. As discussed in many sections of this dissertation, they continue to insist that ‘what is written on paper does not really matter’ and that if government authorities ever try to enforce such stipulations, Enduimet will resist and, if necessary, even terminate the WMA. As I have come to expect from Enduimet leaders, when presented with this type of situation and such threats, they emphasized to me their unrelenting faith in their political self-efficacy, their belief that the government system is always a malleable one and an undying conviction about their capacity to strategically manipulate the government accordingly. While it may not have originated in such a way, for Enduimet leaders, the new grazing stipulation will become just another component of the ‘political optics’ that, as discussed in Chapter Three, has characterized leaders’ engagement with the WMA, off and on throughout the history of the WMA.

For them, it is this simple and the situation is not alarming or threatening. On my side, I admire Enduimet leaders’ faith and unfaltering resolve but, admittedly, I do not always share their confidence. In my analysis, while the stipulation may indeed never be enforced effectively, at the very least, the experience demonstrates the ominous influence of external actors and NGOs vis-à-vis the ‘will to conserve’ in Enduimet. More specifically, in my analysis, it raises concern about the future trajectory of the WMA and the prospects of pastoralism in it. It may represent the early seeds of future trends and scary trajectories. Time will only tell whether the stipulations will ever be enforced and how Enduimet residents will respond; but, whatever the case, I contend that such developments may not bode well for pastoralism’s future.

To sum up the above argument, while I have focused a lot in this dissertation on Enduimet's positive achievements vis-à-vis the WMA and their unfaltering effort to redirect it in line with popular interests, I maintain that the above-mentioned dangers and recent events caution against any simple conclusions or naïve optimism. Whether due to the presence of powerful 'trustees' who do not share many of Enduimet's values and interests, the WMA's financial dependency on them, dominant discourses that continue to threaten displacement, or threatening asymmetries of power, there seem to be dangers lurking around every corner for Enduimet. The playing field seems leveled against the community and, at times, Enduimet seems to be 'punching above its weight class'.

As already stated, I consequently wrestle with Mariki et al.'s (2015) argument that WMAs, and other conservation projects like them, are just a matter of "slow violence". In other words, irrespective of some of Enduimet's achievements to date, insidious forces may still lead to displacement in the longer term. Green and Adams (2014) likewise argue that while WMA reforms have reconfigured the politics of conservation and tourism and offered some new opportunities, they are nonetheless rooted in neoliberalization efforts, aimed at prioritizing the tourism market. Hence, in their argument, WMA structures and institutions will invariably bolster processes of 'accumulation by dispossession'. In Enduimet, all of the "hidden" politics, "invisible hands" and "judicialization of politics" that have often privileged tourism investors and maintained unequal status quos, offer forewarning and some substantiation of the above arguments. Admittedly, with such developments, David Harvey's (2005) argument about neoliberalism plagues me and poses difficult questions, when reflecting on Enduimet's future:

It has been part of the genius of neoliberal theory to provide a benevolent mask full of wonderful-sounding words like freedom, liberty, choice, and rights, to hide the grim

realities of the restoration or reconstitution of naked class power, locally as well as transnationally, but most particularly in the main financial centres of global capitalism.

(p.119)

Time will only tell whether the “*uses* of neoliberalism”, pace Ferguson (2010), which have indeed characterized much of Enduimet’s engagement with the WMA, will withstand the *abuses* foretold by Harvey, Mariki et al., Green and Adams and so many other critical scholars. Therein lies my own ambivalence and my endless concern about Enduimet’s trajectory.

For now, though, despite the above concerns, I try to find solace in Enduimet leaders’ seemingly unyielding faith in their political efficacy, their steadfast ‘indigeneity’, their practices of politics and the ‘institutional bricolage’ that always promises unexpected twists and turns. We must not underestimate these politics, processes and refusals. Ultimately, then, I continue to be committed to an optimism about Enduimet leaders’ noble efforts to ensure that their story will remain a different one than those so often told in critical scholarship. Undoubtedly, it will continue to be one of trailblazing unexpected routes and destinations.

iii. So, what can we actually conclude?

If we conclude that Enduimet’s future trajectory remains uncertain and our conceptions of the WMA and Enduimet’s ‘will to conserve’ remain ambivalent, where does this leave us? Rather conveniently, this question brings us back to the title of this dissertation. It offers an ideal place to conclude it and offer my final reflection on Enduimet’s story.

First and foremost, one thing we can conclude with certainty is that Enduimet’s entanglement with conservation will continue to be one of “becoming”, something not static, not something imposed, not something open to any form of determinism but, rather, something entangled in

fluid networks and relations, a politicized apparatus “always in a state of movement characterized by openings and closures, refusals, and perpetual linking and reversals” (Li, 2007, p.10). As just alluded to above, this will certainly mean many unexpected turns and outcomes, as Enduimet leaders continue to strategically engage the WMA, continue to be creative bricoleurs, and persistently reposition themselves vis-à-vis the state, investors and the political economy of tourism.

A second thing we can conclude is that Enduimet’s ongoing entanglement with conservation and global tourism will continue to demonstrate how ‘living with elephants’ is always a very precarious affair. To be clear, the use of “precariousness” in my title does not refer to the actual *physical* precariousness of living with such large mammals as elephants. While this is certainly a reality and hazard faced by Enduimet residents, I use the concept, here, more in a *geographical* and *political* sense. I use the concept to refer to the precariousness that arises from persistent conservation efforts, all the corresponding processes of ‘making space for giants’ and all the accompanying actors who remain bent on making Enduimet ‘wild’ and, subsequently, ‘a place without people’.

There is a growing body of literature about the “precarity” arising from our neoliberal times (Hinkson, 2017; Standing, 2014). In general, precariousness captures the uncertainty and insecurity faced by growing numbers of people throughout the world. Scholarship presents it as a condition and status of certain classes and social groups while also “a possible rallying point for resistance” (Waite, 2017). The concept and theories about precarity have most commonly been used to refer to the status of employment, labor conditions and corollary politics (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008; Standing, 2012). Recently, though, the concept has been combined with critical geography theories to generate ideas about a “precarity of place” (Banki, 2013; Waite, 2017).

This application of the concept captures the looming threat of forced removal and displacement that many communities and social groups face in today's politics, all of which arise from the reconfigurations of state, market, society and nature relations that have been provoked by neoliberalization processes.

It is in this latter use, 'precarity of place', that I imagine Enduimet's ongoing entanglement with elephants, their conservation and the precariousness that Enduimet's inhabitants subsequently face. As my above reflections indicate, the WMA reforms have introduced a whole new constellation of actors and discourses to Enduimet. Their influence has grown with time. Enduimet leaders mount laudable struggles and they have achieved unexpected outcomes. Despite all this, though, the community's position and place remains precarious. Enduimet residents continue to face the threat of displacement, whether via a large-scale removal from the WMA or lesser, more incremental degrees of displacement via livestock restrictions and other prohibitions on their natural resource use. In this latter case, they face the threat of "displacement without moving" (Nixon, 2011, p.19), a case of continuing to reside in their traditional territory while, nonetheless, facing displacement due to regulatory regimes and a subsequent loss of access to the natural resources they have historically depended on.

With the above in mind, and for the sake of concluding, I suggest that my notion of 'making space for giants' comprises a double entendre. It is in this duality that we find the source of Enduimet's precarity. It defines the precariousness that Enduimet invariably finds itself in and is likewise intrinsic to the experience of 'living with elephants.'

On the one hand, 'making space for giants' includes the 'precariousness of place' just discussed. In other words, for rural communities like Enduimet, there is often an ominous *geographical* dimension to making conservation space, to protecting elephant habitat, to

maintaining their migratory paths, and so on. This is the most obvious dimension of ‘making space for giants’. As Enduimet’s experience has illustrated, maps are made, elephant priorities inscribed, zones established, regulatory tools used, education efforts launched, and environmental subjects made. Each includes an effort to ensure that elephants maintain adequate space, which, in Tanzania, often includes displacement of the customary inhabitants and their historic uses of these places. ‘Making space for giants’, via projects like the WMA, therefore, often means a ‘place without people’.

On the other hand, ‘making space for giants’ also includes the creation of a certain *political* space. This is the less obvious dimension of ‘making space for giants’, but an important one, nonetheless. Such *political* space is comprised not by elephants per se, but by other *human* ‘giants’. In this case, I refer to the network of trustees and the ‘green ensemble’ of government officials, international conservation NGOs and big tourism investors. These ‘giants’ – and their corollary discourses, interests and the political economy implicated by them – pose significant threats to Enduimet. As just discussed, with few exceptions, these ‘giants’ remain bent on excluding livestock from the WMA.

It is this ensemble of political and economic ‘giants’ that, I believe, will continue to provoke Enduimet’s precarious existence. ‘Sleeping with these elephants’, to recall Trudeau’s turn of phrase, makes for sleepless nights. It is due to these human ‘giants’ that living with the world’s elephants and becoming wilderness and safariland will always prove to be a precarious affair. One’s place in the world, in the nation and in traditional territory is invariably uncertain when residing with such giants. It amounts to a combination of making not only *geographical* space for Africa’s largest land mammals but, also, *political* space for a host of human ‘giants’, who begin to stake claims in the place, space and territoriality of Enduimet. It all promises ongoing

precarity and this, I conclude, will continue to define Enduimet's becoming. Everyday like a hustle. Another day, another struggle.

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