A Local Narrative of Exclusion

The case of Kilimanjaro National Park

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy in
Culture, Environment and Sustainability**

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Blindern, Norway

20th of June 2011

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List of abbreviations

AWF: African Wildlife Foundation

CBFM: Community-Based Forest Management

CCS: Community Conservation Service

COMPACT: Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation Project

DANIDA: Danish International Development Agency

GEF: Global Environment Facility Trust Fund

GMP: General Management Plan

IRA: Institute of Resource Assessment

IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature

JFM: Joint Forest Management:

KINAPA: Kilimanjaro National Park Authorities

NGO: Non-governmental Organizations

NORAD: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

PAPIA: Protected Areas and Poverty in Africa

REDD: Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation

RFD: Regional Forest Department

SUA: Sokoine University of Agriculture

TBNRM: Trans-boundary Natural Resource Management

TANAPA: Tanzania National Parks

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNF: United Nations Foundation

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WMA: Wildlife Management Area

WWF: World Wildlife Fund

Map of Tanzania
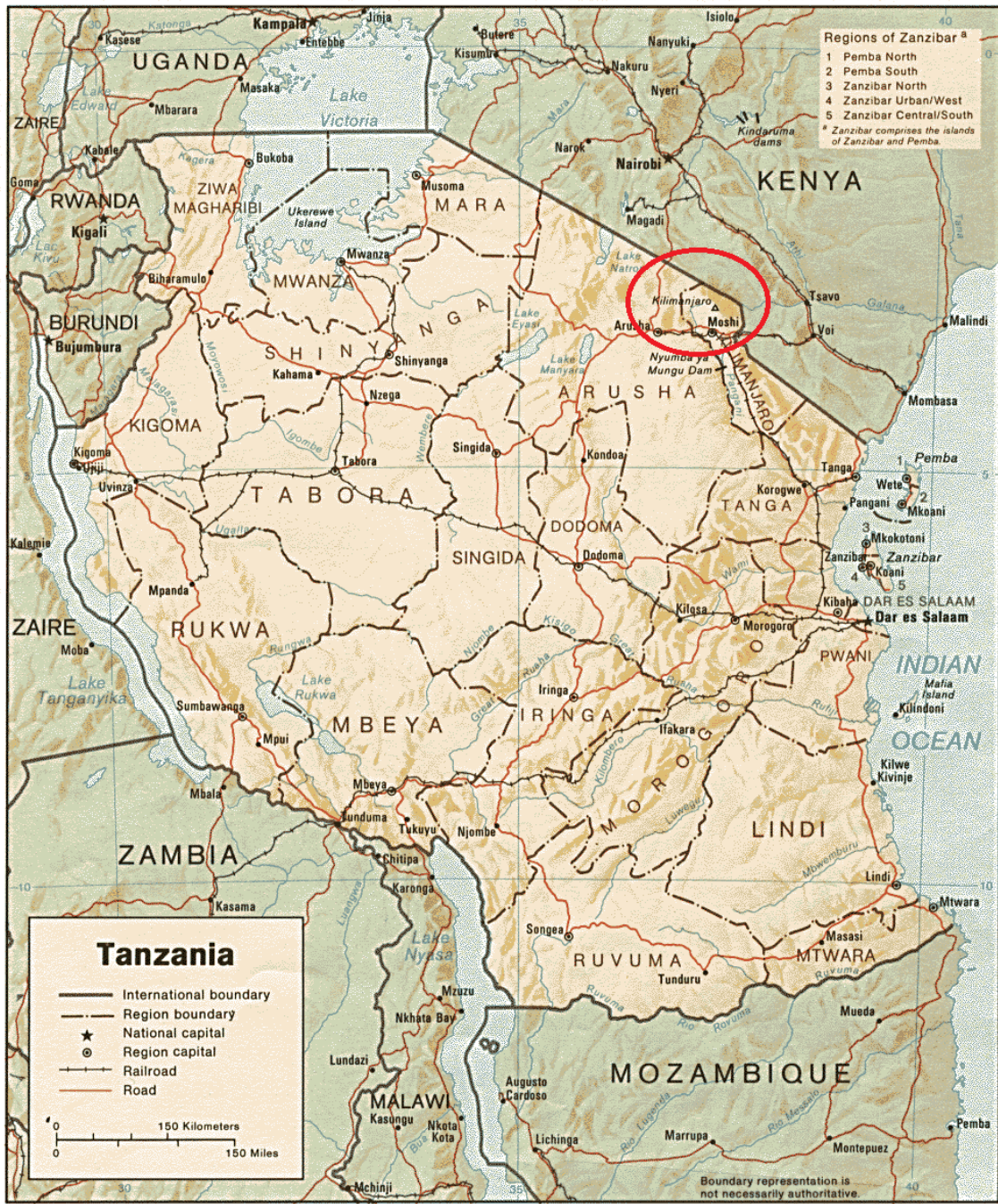
Map 1*: Map of Tanzania. The red circle indicates the study area.*
Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/tanzania.gif.

1. Introduction

> My Jesus! At this moment, the timber is highly restricted. It will reach a moment when even the pastor says that the people must be buried in plastic coffins (I#1).

Ranking as number 148 on the World Bank Human Development Index, Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world (WB 2010). Still, it is also one of the richest in natural resources like forests, wildlife and land itself (Nelson and Blomley 2010). Tanzania has about 33.5 million hectares of forests and woodland, offering habitat for one of Africa's highest density of wildlife (Lambrechts et al. 2002). While the large majority of the Tanzanian rural population relies on these resources for its everyday livelihood, extensive land areas are simultaneously conserved. In 2007, approximately 36 per cent of Tanzania's area was protected. However, new areas have been established since then and currently, at least 40 per cent of Tanzania's total land area is conserved in one way or another (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a).

The link between conservation and poverty alleviation is a highly controversial topic. Conservationists, governments and development agencies argue that protected areas are attractive tourist destinations and consequently create important sources of economic development and prosperity (TANAPA 2008a, UNDP and UNF 2010, AWF 2011). These same voices claim that protected areas also benefit the local population through community-based conservation and benefit-sharing programs. Protected areas are thus considered to create win-win situations where wildlife and biodiversity are protected while helping to reduce poverty. On the other hand, critics argue that restrictions on natural resources inflict even greater costs on the poor local population (Emerton 2001, Brockington 2002, Goldman 2003, Adams et al. 2004 and Igoe 2004). In contrast to a win-win situation, conservation is claimed to increase rather than reduce

poverty. Furthermore, several publications in recent years indicate that the development of conservation and natural resource management in Tanzania is about to change. From a former focus on a participatory natural resource management where benefits are owned and shared by the local community, some authors claim that there is a movement back to earlier conservation practices, involving eviction and exclusion of local people from protected areas that are enforced by military strategies (Hutton et al. 2005, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a, Nelson 2010). Against this backdrop, this thesis aims to contribute to the scholarly debate on conservation by providing empirical knowledge in the case of Kilimanjaro National Park.

1.1 Purpose and Research questions:

The purpose of this thesis is to get a better understanding of the local perceptions on conservation and poverty alleviation through accounts from local people who live next to the border of Kilimanjaro National Park.

Two sub-questions were formulated ahead of fieldwork: 1) What narrative(s) can be identified about conservation among local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park, and 2) how are this/these narrative(s) compared with discursive narratives about conservation and poverty alleviation on Kilimanjaro National Park? The sub-questions were utilized as a working tool to conduct my fieldwork as well as to present findings.

Furthermore, I contextualize and analyze these perceptions in the light of currently implemented conservation practices on Kilimanjaro. Based on findings identified in this study, I thus seek to accomplish this purpose by answering the following main research questions:

- In contrast to the win-win narrative produced by global actors, why do local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park present a narrative of exclusion?
- Despite resistance by other actors, what forms of power resources are exercised by KINAPA that enable their preservationist practice?

While the first of these research questions attempts to place findings in their social context and investigate *why* the local people say what they do (i.e. what happened), the other seeks to explain *how* it could happen. In this thesis, *Global* actors will be understood as multinational organizations and institutions operating at a global level, such as International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), World Wildlife Fund (WWF), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Foundation (UNF). A *preservationist* practice will be understood as the practice of military and territorial strategies to expand the national park, and the practice of excluding local people from access to natural resources, management, conservation and decision processes regarding expansion of the park.

1.2 Limitations and relation to other research

The thesis is connected to a larger project entitled "Protected Areas and Poverty in Africa (PAPIA) with duration 2007–2011. It is funded by the Norwegian Research Council, Program on Poverty and Peace (POVPEACE). "The principle objective of PAPIA is to provide a significant research contribution to the understanding of the complex relationships between protected areas and poverty" (PAPIA 2008:4). The project identifies factors and mechanisms contributing to positive and negative relationships between conservation and poverty alleviation. This is examined thoroughly through a design with a selection of cases based on

four national parks: Kilimanjaro and Mikumi National Parks in Tanzania and Bwindi and Mount Elgon National Parks in Uganda. Due to time and resource restraints, my study is limited to one of the four cases, Kilimanjaro National Park. In addition, this thesis focuses chiefly on the narrative analysis aspect of the PAPIA-project.

1.3 Thesis outline and interdiciplinary

This thesis consists of eight interrelated chapters. While this first chapter introduces the purpose of the thesis and research questions, chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework. In chapter 3, I present the study area and methodology. Then I proceed to present findings from the narrative analysis (chapter 4) and a comparison of these findings with narratives within global discourses on conservation (chapter 5). When presenting findings, theoretical approaches on narrative theory and analysis outlined in chapter 2 will be applied. In chapter 6, I place findings in a social context by investigating why the local people living next to Kilimanjaro National Park present a narrative of exclusion. Subsequently, chapter 7 analyzes what forms of power the Kilimanjaro National Park Authorities (KINAPA) exercise that enable their preservationist practice, despite resistance by other actors. Seven forms of power resources presented in chapter 2 will be utilized to analyze the research question. Finally, I will provide some concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

Sociological perspectives on narrative research have been adopted as one of the main approaches within this study. However, important elements are also situated within human geography and the emerging discipline of political ecology. Political ecology focuses on "interactions between the way nature is understood and the politics and impacts of environmental actions" (Adams and Hutton 2007:147). In contrast to studies within human ecology, political ecology

pays attention to how actions and conflicts within natural resource management and conservation are inherently political. Furthermore, political ecology embraces the studies of "power relations in land and environmental management at various geographical levels, from the local via the national to the global, and on the interlinkages between these levels" (Benjaminsen et al. 2009:425). The power aspect has also been adopted in this thesis as a framework for analysis. Moreover, discursive approaches to the analysis of environment are also of particular interest within the field of political ecology (Adger et al. 2001, Benjaminsen et al. 2009). In this thesis, I have chosen to emphasize discourses and narratives within conservation, and the exercise of discursive power. Thus several different disciplines within social science form the scientific basis in this thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, an overview of theoretical approaches and concepts will be given, related to the research topic. The section includes three major parts: 1) theoretical approaches to narrative theory and analysis, 2) discursive narratives and discourse types within conservation and poverty alleviation, and 3) a theoretical framework on power. Finally, I will provide a summary and briefly describe how theory will be applied further in this thesis.

2.1 Theoretical approaches to narrative theory and analysis

The field of narrative research does not consist of only one theory or approach. Rather, it involves a broad spectrum of different theoretical perspectives and traditions (see e.g. Lieblich et al. 1998, Czarniawska 2004, Johansson 2005 and Squire et al. 2008). Furthermore, narrative theory must be considered as highly interdisciplinary. As stressed by Elliot (2005:7), it "crosses the usual disciplinary boundaries and has been taken up as a useful tool by researchers with very diverse backgrounds." Narrative theory and analysis can be found within anthropology, ethnology, sociology, pedagogic, psychology, organizational theory, hermeneutic and within discourse analysis to mention but a few (Lieblich et al. 1998, Johansson 2005).

Different theoretical frameworks have been developed regarding narrative theory and analysis (see e.g. Mishler 1995 and Lieblich et al. 1998). However, a rough division may be detected between linguistic and sociological approaches. Within the field of socio-linguistic, the most crucial contributors may be Labov and Waletzsky (1967). They were the first to apply methods of linguistic analysis to interview narratives. Their development of a structural model for analyzing

narrative form laid an important foundation for further contributions within the field (Mishler 1986). The structural model[1] of Labov and Waltesky may be useful in analyzing short sections of interviews in which narratives occur. On the other hand, it might be less suitable if you want to analyze life stories or interviews as a coherent narrative. Another limitation of the model may also be that it is mainly focused on the linguistic structure of a narrative, while the *content* is of minor importance.

These aspects have, on the other hand, been given greater attention within sociological approaches to narratives. Sociological research done by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958), Linde (1993) and Rosenthal (1993) are all examples of holistic narrative analysis, i.e. analysis where "sociological insights can be gained from examination of the content of a single, whole narrative" (Elliot 2005:39).

Great variations in main focus and emphasis however, can be found even within sociological approaches to narrative research. An example is the theoretical framework presented by Lieblich et al. (1998). Their framework distinguishes between analyses focusing on *content* versus *form* of the narratives. *Content* analysis concentrates on the explicit story given by the teller—what happened and why, who participated, what happened next —whereas a sociological *form*-based analysis finds its clearest expression in looking at the plots or structure of complete stories given by the interviewees (Elliot 2005). Within the narrative that will be presented in this thesis, themes like conflict and exclusion are examples of content. The *way* informants told their stories, like identifying KINAPA as villains, exemplifies form.

In a content analysis, the reading and interpretation of the analysis may vary. On one hand, one can listen to or read the narrative as a "true" presentation of the

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[1] For a thorough review of the structural model of Labov and Waletsky, please see Mishler (1986) or Elliot (2005).

world, accepting and respecting the content exactly as it is presented. On the other hand, the analysis may also be on a so-called interpretive level. This includes a variety of theoretical assumptions, or searching for "silences, gaps, contradictions, symbols and other clues to the underlying or implicit contents that the interviewer is concealing, also often from him- or herself" (Lieblich et al. 1998:76). While silences and gaps may be relevant topics *not* mentioned within a narrative, contradictions may refer to a presence of ambiguity or conflicting statements and arguments within the coherent narrative. In the narrative presented in this thesis, I will provide examples of relevant topics that the informants do not mention and make note of the presence of ambiguity.

In a form-based analysis, the plot development of a narrative can be progressive, steady or declining. In a progressive narrative, the focus of the story is on achievement and success while a narrative of decline presents a story of deterioration and regression. In the stable narrative, the dynamic of the plot is neither progression nor decline (Lieblich et al. 1998). Another central theme within sociological form analysis may also be to look at different actors[2] presented within the narrative, as evident in Vladimir Propps structure analysis of Russian fairy tales from 1928 (Svarstad 2009).

Although Lieblich et al. (1998) mainly focused on *life* stories when analyzing narratives, I found their conceptual framework useful to apply in my narrative study, since I also strived to get coherent stories and perspectives from my informants. However, when studying the local narrative from Kilimanjaro, it was problematic to make a clear distinction between content and form. As I aimed not only to look at *what* people told about the park, but also *how* they spoke about it, it would have been difficult to focus only on the content of the local narrative.

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[2] In narrative theory, the term "actor" refers to how different people play different roles in a narrative. In this thesis I have chosen to apply the term both when referring to the actor gallery presented in the Local Narrative of Exclusion and when I refer to participants or agents involved in the natural resource management on Kilimanjaro.

Furthermore, when aiming to focus on the form of the local narrative, the content could not be ignored; this was essential to understanding its form. Thus I found it most fruitful to focus on a combination of both content and form.

2.1.1 Defining narratives

The diversity within narrative theory and research has now been examined. Yet, a definition of *narrative* remains to be clarified. It is important to be aware of the lack of consensus among authors when it comes to the different terms and explanations. However, a common explanation has been to define narratives as stories with "a beginning, middle and an end" (Roe 1999:13, Adger et al. 2001:685 and Svarstad 2009:47). An important element in this definition is that narratives are chronological. That is, they consist of a sequence of events that follow each other in a chronological order (Elliot 2005). However, a limitation may be that the definition serves little to explain the sociological purpose or *meaning* of narratives. In contrast, Elliot (2005:4) proposes a broader conceptualization. In addition to being chronological, she claims that two additional key features of narratives are that they are *meaningful* and inherently *social*.

The first key feature refers to the perception that we produce narratives as a way of organizing knowledge and giving meaning to the world. Through narratives, we construct and communicate our perceptions about the world, ourselves and others. Thus, narratives give structure, context and meaning to our experiences (Johansson 2005). This perception is shared by Gee (1985:11), who claims that "One of the primary ways—probably *the* primary way—human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form." Furthermore, Johansson (2005:16) argues that narratives are our basic cultural foundation. She states that narrating is a universal human activity. Through all times, culture and traditions have been transferred through written and oral narratives. Hence, there

is little doubt that narratives have an important role in the human form of expression. However, this does not mean that it is the *only* form of expression. Despite the main focus in this thesis on expression through narratives, it is important to emphasize that there are several other important forms of human expressions—for instance, when we put up an argument, when we describe objects or how something works or the expression of feelings and beliefs (Mishler 1986).

The second feature emphasized by Elliot (2005:4) is that narratives are social, i.e. they are clearly produced in a social context and for a specific audience. Growing awareness in social science in general and within narrative research in particular has been on the self-reflexive and participatory role of the interviewer when stories are constructed (not just collected) during an interview. In the methodology chapter, I attempt to reflect upon my self-reflexive role as an interviewer.

2.1.2 Individual narratives and the collective story

Elliot (2005) distinguishes between *first-order* and *second-order* narratives. The first-order narratives are the narratives that individuals tell about themselves and their own experiences. Such individual narratives may be told spontaneously in everyday life settings, or in a more formal context like a job interview. It may also be developed through an interview with a researcher, where the individual tells a coherent account of his or her life experiences. Distinct from these first-order narratives, or *individual* narratives as they will be termed in this thesis, are second-order narratives. These are the accounts researchers construct "to make sense of the social world and of other peoples experiences" (Elliot 2005:13). When focusing on individuals as the unit of the analysis, the second-order narrative can be understood as the *collective story,* or a group of people's collective way of thinking about a certain phenomenon. Although the second-

order narrative is more abstract compared to the first-order narrative, it may be representative for individuals within a category of people. As explained by Elliot (2005:13), an individual's response to the collective story may be: "That's my story. I am not alone." Although there are also several other interpretations of narratives (see for instance the description of "big narratives" by Lyotard 1997 or Roe's 1999 "development narratives"), I find the conceptual distinction between individual and collective narratives useful to implement in this thesis. Hence, the *collective* story of the people living adjacent to the border of Kilimanjaro National Park will be presented based on *individua*l narratives given by the informants.

2.2 Discursive narratives and the presentation of discourse types on conservation

Theoretical approaches, definitions and perceptions to narrative theory and analysis have now been outlined. In the following section, I seek to place narratives as part of a larger discourse by looking at 1) discursive narratives and 2) four discourse types on conservation and poverty alleviation.

2.2.1 Discursive narratives

Narratives may also be part of a larger discourse, namely as *discursive narratives*. According to Tumusiime and Svarstad (2011:5), "a discursive narrative is a narrative of a case that is produced according to the way the discourse frames the issue". These narratives strengthen and support the perspectives presented within a discourse. Consequently, there may be a close relationship between narratives and specific discourses (Svarstad 2009). As there may be confusion about the difference between discourses and narratives, I find this necessary to clarify. A *discourse* can be understood as a shared perception or

a shared point of view on a particular issue. Adger et al. (2001) define discourses as:

> A shared meaning of a phenomenon. This phenomenon may be small or large, and the understanding of it may be shared by a small or large group of people on a local, national, international or global level (Adger et al. 2001:23).

Discourses differ from narratives in that they can be viewed as socially constructed "knowledge" or "truth regimes" (Adger et al. 2001:685). These knowledge regimes are based on assumptions, judgments and contentions expressed in multiple ways, such as through arguments, disagreements, debates and even through narratives (Svarstad 2004). Thus, a discourse can consist of a corpus of different narratives.

From a linguistic perspective, a discourse is seen as language or "a stretch of language that may be longer than one sentence. Thus, text and discourse analysis is about how sentences combine to form texts" (Svarstad et al. 2008:118). The *sociological* understanding of the term adopted in this thesis, however, is inspired by the work of Foucault (1979). Foucault revealed how social practices of sexuality, punishment and imprisonment change over time and therefore must be seen in their historical context (Svarstad et al. 2008). This implies that the different knowledge or truth-regimes must be understood as shared perceptions of the world that change over time.

2.2.2 Presentation of discourse types on conservation

Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b:66) claim that certain actors exercise discursive power, i.e. they specifically contribute to the production of leading discourses on a global level. Such powerful discourses create an important framework for political decisions and how specific cases are handled. Examples are the *managerial* discourse and the *populist* discourse presented by Adger et al.

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(2001). According to these authors, the national and international policy and actions regarding environment problems have strongly been influenced by the aforementioned discourses. Moreover, in the field of natural resource management, Svarstad et al. (2008) present four types of discourses that have proven to be influential to practices regarding conservation and poverty alleviation: 1) the *preservationist* discourse, 2) the *win-win* discourse, 3) the *traditionalist* discourse and 4) the *promethean* discourse. In the following section, I will provide a short presentation of these four discourses. Narratives produced within each of the discourses, i.e. discursive narratives on conservation, will also be presented.

The preservationist discourse

The preservationist discourse originating from the 18th century's western ideas about environmental management has according to Hulme and Adams (2001:10), been a dominant view until recently. Colonialists perceived the African landscape as wild and untouched by human activities and they saw it as their duty to preserve it. The preservationist approach involved the attitude that the African wilderness should be protected from human activities and especially from the native inhabitants who were seen as pests and threats to wildlife, ignorant of the beautiful African landscape (Brockington 2002, Igoe 2004).

The western preservationist perspective led to a strategy of the creation of reserves in order to avoid human impact. The strict distinction between people and parks, also named *fortress conservation*, resulted in militaristic conservationist strategies, eviction of local people and denied access to resources upon which they were dependent (Igoe 2004, Hutton et al. 2005).

Narratives within the preservationist discourse focused on claims of how African agriculture and population growth resulted in environmental degradation and the decline of wildlife. The main argument within the stories was that "the human

life and the wild life must be separated permanently and completely. So long as man and animals live together there will always be complaints and serious trouble" (Hingston 1931:406).

The win-win discourse

Since the late 1980s however, new perspectives have evolved from the preservationist discourse with a focus on local participation in conservation processes (Hulme and Adams 2001). The new focus has led to a wide number of projects and programs labeled under the term Community-based Conservation. Hulme and Adams (2001:13) define Community-based Conservation as "those principles and practices that argue that conservation goals should be pursued by strategies that emphasize the role of local residents in decision-making about natural resources." Additionally, some programs also focus on sharing of economic benefits and/or give compensation to the people concerned (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a).

Different reasons have been emphasized to explain the new focus. A number of authors argue that the main reason for the creation of the new strategy was still grounded in an interest in conserving biodiversity (Hulme and Murphree 2001, Svarstad et al. 2008 and Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a). As it became apparent that the strict distinction between people and other species failed to conserve the environment, interested parties saw the need for protection also in the wider and densely inhabited landscape outside protected reserves. However, this task was thought to be difficult to achieve without involvement of local residents (Hulme and Adams 2001). This has resulted in a number of initiatives, such as the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). WMAs are areas outside protected areas where an important goal is to "transfer the management of WMA to local communities, thus taking care of corridors, migration routes, and buffer zones; and to ensure that the local communities

obtain substantial tangible benefits from wildlife conservation" (Sletten 2009:78).

Other reasons may also have had an impact on why the new perspective evolved: First, the preservationist practice was strongly criticized and challenged when attention was brought to its human costs. Pressure from human rights groups and other supporters of the local communities who pressed for more human-friendly conservationist practices may therefore have been influential (Hulme and Adams 2001). Second, the win-win discourse must also be seen as a result of the ideas that became influential through the Brundtland Report (1987) "Our Common Future" (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a). Through the concept of sustainable development, the report promoted a win-win relationship between development and environment—a development that conserves the environment at the same time that it meets the basic needs for current and future generations (The Brundtland Report 1987). Similarly, a new perspective evolved during the 1970s and 1980s with a focus on "bottom-up" planning. Many people argued that the technocratic state had failed to deliver economic growth and social benefits. The solution was considered to be decentralisation and local democracy. Words and phrases like "community," "grassroots" and "participation" became popular (Hulme and Adams 2001).

Narratives within the win-win discourse focus on how involvement and participation of the local community will result in a win-win situation with poverty alleviation and conservation of biodiversity. The win-win narratives are progressive success stories where all the stakeholders end up as heroes (Adger et al. 2001). As with the preservationist narratives, the win-win narratives often begin by describing how population growth and poverty put severe pressure on the environment. The local population is first portrayed as victims, with no other choice than to destroy the environment in order to supply their owns needs. With help from external stakeholders through implementation of benefit-sharing

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programs and education, however, the local population learns to see the value of protecting the environment (Adger et al. 2001, Alden 2001).

According to Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010a:388), the win-win discourse still holds a dominant position at the global level. It is promoted by a large amount of powerful actors operating at a global level, such as the IUCN, WWF, the Nature Conservancy and Conservation International. As we will see in this thesis, it is also promoted by UNDP and UNF.

The traditionalist discourse

The traditionalist discourse type may be seen as a reaction to the dominant win-win discourse. In contrast to the win-win perspective, it is argued that the current conservation policy increases rather than reduces poverty (Svarstad et al. 2008). Social conditions and the rights of local people to manage their own resources are emphasized, rather than preservation of biodiversity. The position is also based on the assumption that if local people are given the opportunity, they are the most capable of taking care of biodiversity and other natural resources without intervention from external actors (Adger et al. 2001).

Narratives within the traditionalist discourse often highlight "the negative impacts that external global and national conservation interests have on local communities' rights and livelihoods" (Ngoitiko 2010:269). The local communities are portrayed as victims, powerless because of the intervention by external and powerful forces. Global stakeholders are, on the other hand, presented as villains who benefit at the expense of the poor local communities in the South (Adger et al. 2001, Ngoitiko 2010). As the involvement of external actors is claimed to result in a worsening of the situation for the local communities, the traditionalist narratives clearly represent a narrative of decline.

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The traditionalist discourse is maintained among human rights organizations, social scientists and particularly within the field of political ecology (see e.g. Neumann 1998, Brockington 2002, Goldman 2003, Igoe 2004).

The promethean discourse

The promethean discourse type promotes a perspective in which nature is seen as an unlimited resource for human development. As it claims that environmental issues do not exist, there is no need for protection of nature and its biodiversity (Svartstad et al. 2008). Promethean thinking has historically been an important and dominating discourse. Today, however, it plays a smaller role and its perspective will consequently not be given space in this thesis.

Four discourses on conservation and poverty alleviation have now been outlined. In chapter 5, I will place the local narrative on Kilimanjaro National Park in a discursive context by comparing it with discursive narratives within the preservationist discourse, the win-win discourse and the traditionalist discourse. In the following section however, I will present seven forms of power resources applied to analyze how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice, despite resistance from other actors.

2.3 A theoretical framework on power

This last part is organized into four interrelated sections. First, I will justify the choice of power as a framework for the analysis in this thesis. Second, I will present different theoretical approaches to power. Thereafter, I will define power and other related key concepts applied. Finally, I will present seven forms of power resources that may be exercised by different actors to either enable or resist a preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro.

2.3.1 Rational for choice of power

A common way to study natural resource management has been to adopt a participatory approach (see e.g. Cornwall 2008 and Mannigel 2008). While some focus on how participation and involvement of local communities have improved through implementation of community-based conservation and different participatory programs (Alden 2001 and Bergin 2001), others critically emphasize how such programs only provide passive participation (Goldman 2003, Igoe 2004 and Goldman 2011) —that is where the local communities attend meetings and listen to decision-making without having influence, in contrast to active participation, where the local communities have responsibility and/or ownership of land and the ability to express opinions (Agarwal 2001).

Participation as a theoretical framework was also assessed in relation to this thesis. However, findings presented in chapters 4 and 6 revealed that the closest neighbors of Kilimanjaro National Park do not seem to participate in the forest management. In contrast, it appears that they are completely excluded. Thus, it was considered more interesting to analyze how KINAPA have been able to accomplish this exclusionary practice. Although closely interrelated to the participatory approach, the power aspect was considered to be most instrumental regarding this issue.

2.3.2 Theoretical approaches to power

There are a multitude of different theories, approaches and perceptions of the concept of power. Thus, it will not be possible to thoroughly embrace them all in this thesis. However, according to Lukes (2005), there are, in general, three dimensional approaches to the concept of power, as presented in the following section.

Lukes three dimensional approach[3] to power

The *one*-dimensional approach to power focuses on the study of behavior in decision-making on issues over which there is a direct, i.e. actual, observable conflict. This approach is often referred to as pluralism: the idea that the concentration of power by one group in decision-making is always balanced by the powers of others (Lukes 2005). The *two*-dimensional approach consists of critics of this first approach (see e.g. Dahl 1958 and Bachrach and Baratz 1970) arguing that the study of power should also include *non*-decisions. While the one-dimensional approach limits their study to concrete decisions, "it takes no account of the fact that power may be exercised by confining the scope of decision-making to relatively safe issues" (Lukes 2005:22). Lukes (2005:22) states that although the two-dimensional approach pays attention to decisions that are "left out" from the political arena by the decision-makers, the power to suppress certain issues is still seen as a form of decision-making. Thus, he claims that like the one-dimensional approach, the two-dimensional approach is too committed to the study of covert, actual behavior. Furthermore, Lukes (2005: 23) claims that both approaches are inadequate, as they only study actual, observable *conflict*. "Just as the pluralists hold that power in decision-making only shows up where there is conflict, [the two-dimensional view] assume[s] the same to be true in cases of non-decision making" (Lukes 2005:23). Lukes (2005) argues that we need to think about power in a broader context, not only in situations with observable (overt or covert) conflict. As an alternative, he proposes a *three*-dimensional approach to power. This approach includes both the one-dimensional and the two-dimensional approach to power. However, it also embraces a third dimension to the understanding of power, emphasizing that the most effective form of power is "to prevent such conflict from arising in the first

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[3] It may also be worth noting that in its application of power in natural resource management, Raik et al. (2008) present an almost identical framework of Lukes' three-dimensional views on power.

place" (Lukes 2005:27). This form of power resource can be exercised in many ways, for instance through control of information, mass media or socialization:

> "Indeed, is not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have—that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?" (Lukes 2005:27).

Lukes (2005:26) also points out that the one-dimensional and two-dimensional approaches appear to be too committed to the actor-perspective in the understanding of power as "the probability of one or several individuals to realize their own will in spite of resistance of others" (Weber 2000:53[4]). Although Lukes (2005:26) may be understood as a "Weberian" himself, he emphasizes that power is not only something realized by individuals. It must also be seen as a function of collective forces and social structures. Thus, in contrast to the first two actor-centered dimensions of power, the three-dimensional approach encompasses both an actor-oriented approach and a structural element, acknowledging how individuals exercise power through and within social structures (Raik et al. 2008).

When discussing how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice, this thesis will analyze forms of power exercised by KINAPA that make it possible to implement this practice despite resistance from other actors. Hence, like the one-dimensional and the two-dimensional approaches, the perspective adopted in this thesis is based on Webers'(2000) instrumental understanding of power. As pointed out by Raik et al. (2008:731), this is the most common approach to studying power relations within the field of natural resource management, simply due to the observed practice of coercion and exclusion in the creation and establishment of protected areas. However, in the analysis of different power resources exercised by KINAPA, I will also make use of the form of power

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[4] My translation

emphasized by Lukes (2005) in his three-dimensional approach. By analyzing "discursive" power and "environmentality" (as will be further described below), I will discuss whether KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice through "controlling (…) [other people's] thoughts and desires" (Lukes 2005:27). Furthermore, to explain how KINAPA may have been able to enable their preservationist practice despite resistance from other actors, I will also analyze how the interaction between actors and broader social structures may have influenced the situation. Thus, like the three-dimensional approach presented by Lukes (2005), I will pay attention to both actors and structural elements.

2.3.3 Defining power: Key concepts and definitions

In the previous section, different approaches to the concept of power have been presented. In this section, I will provide a definition of power and other important key concepts related to power that will be further applied in this thesis.

A definition of power
Although the power aspect is often used as an explanatory model in environment and natural resource management, it is not always entirely clear what is understood by the term. A definition proposed by Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b) may serve as useful, suggesting that:

> Power is exercised when one or more actors performing intentional actions in relation to other parties and this contributes to the maintenance or alteration of environmental management in a way that to some extent or entirely is in accordance with their intentions. Power always involves both actors and structures. When exercising power, the actors use one or more forms of power resources (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b:20).

The definition above is especially propitious due to its juxtaposition of both a structure-oriented view and an actor-oriented view in the exercise of power. Following Engelstad (1999), Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b:20) argue that

power must be intentional, relational and generate results. The first perspective means that power is exercised through the actions taken by some to achieve something (i.e. the preservationist practice has been implemented by KINAPA to achieve something). The second perspective refers to how action takes place within relations between two or more players (i.e. the implementation of a preservationist practice despite resistance from other actors). The third implies that the actions taken have desired effect (i.e. actions taken by KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice).

Power to control or maintain access

Another important concept that needs to be clarified is the relation between power and *access*. Ribot and Peluso (2003:154) argue that within the field of natural resource management, there are some people and institutions that have the power to control the access to natural resources while others have to maintain their access through those who have control. *Access* is understood as "the ability to benefit from things—including material objects, persons, institutions and symbols" (Ribot and Peluso 2003:153). While access *control* involves the power to mediate others' access, access *maintenance* requires power to keep the access to the resources open (Ribot and Peluso 2003). This implies that the people and institutions possessing access control may also have the power to *exclude* others from accessing the benefits. Thus, the concept of exclusion needs to be further elaborated.

The power of exclusion

Following Ribot and Peluso (2003)'s understanding of access, Hall et al. (2011:7) define *exclusion* as "the ways in which people are prevented from benefit from things". This can be exclusion from benefits in the form of land, property or natural resources, as well as prevention from participation in crucial management and/or decision-making processes. Hall et al. (2011) divide processes of exclusion into three main types: 1) ways in which access to land by

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one group exclude other groups of people, 2) when people with access lose it, and 3) ways in which people who lack access are prevented from getting it. In this thesis, I will focus on all three types of exclusion by first looking at 1) ways in which KINAPA's access to the forest excludes the local communities, 2) how the neighbors of Kilimanjaro National Park have lost access to the forest due to the expansion process of the park and 3) ways in which local people neighboring the park are prevented from getting this access.

Power and legitimazy

The last concept that should be accounted for is legitimacy. Bernstein (2005:142) defines legitimacy as "the acceptance and justification of shared rule by a community." Furthermore, Sikor and Lund (2009:7) argue that what is considered as legitimate "varies between and within cultures and over time, and is continuously (re-) established through conflict and negotiation." Most thinking on legitimacy evolves from the classic writings of sociologist Max Weber (2008) and his understanding of power and legitimacy. Weber (2008:10) claimed that there are three pure forms of legitimate power: the first is legitimacy through tradition, customs and practices that have been sanctified through the habitual setting of their maintenance; the second form is power through charisma; and the latter form of legitimate power is through faith in legal laws and rules. Referring to the classical work of Weber, Parkin (2002) provides a useful distinction between *legitimation* and *legitimacy*:

> "Legitimations are the claims that dominant groups make about themselves —claims that they would naturally wish everyone else to accept. Legitimacy, on the other hand, refers to the condition in which such claims have in fact been accepted as valid by those who are expected to do the obeying" (Parkin 2002:77).

Like Sikor and Lund (2009), I find it most fruitful to see legitimacy as a historical contingent rather than something fixed. Furthermore, the understanding

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of legitimacy presented by Parkin (2002) will also be further applied in this thesis.

2.3.4 Seven forms of power resources to enable or resist a preservationist practice

In this last section, I will present seven forms of power resources that may have been exercised to enable or resist a preservationist practice. *Power resources* may be understood as forms of capital that different actors possess to a greater or lesser extent, and which they could potentially use to influence and achieve their will (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).

A conceptual framework of different power resources have been presented by a multitude of authors. For instance, Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b) present nine forms of power resources that actors may possess and eventually utilize. These include: economic power, property/user rights to land and natural resources, political power, influence on governmental institutions, discursive power, power through knowledge, power through the exercise of violence, the "weapons of the weak" and power through identity.[5] Furthermore, Ribot and Peluso (2003) provide ten mechanisms of access that shape access processes and relations. These are: legal access, illegal access, technology, capital, markets, labor, knowledge, authority, identities and social relations.

Based on the different forms of power resources presented by Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b) and the mechanisms of access outlined by Ribot and Peluso (2003), I will in this thesis analyze seven power resources considered most relevant for the case of Kilimanjaro National Park: 1) Legal rights, 2)

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[5] For a more thorough presentation of the nine forms of power resources, please see Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010b).

environmentality, 3) discursive power, 4) violence, 5) political power, 6) the weapons of the weak and 7) donor influence. While the first three (legal rights, environmentality and discursive power) will be analyzed as power resources that may have been exercised by KINAPA to implement a preservationist practice, the latter three (political power, the weapons of the weak and donor influence) will be analyzed as forms of power resources that may be used by other actors to resist this practice. *Violence* will be analyzed both as a power resource that may be utilized to enable or to resist a preservationist practice.

The *relevance* of the seven power resources was assessed based on findings from the field and considerations of their relevant connection to the research question. However, it was also a question of priority considering the scope of this thesis. Consequently, I will not claim that these forms of power resources encompass everything one could say about power in natural resource management, nor that they represent a framework applicable to all studies on natural resource management. I also recognize that the different power resources are not independent of one another. For example, the use of violence is often used as a means to enforce legal rights. However, I do suggest that the seven forms of power resources presented provide a thorough basis for the study of what forms of power may have been exercised by the different actors to enable or resist a preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro National Park.

Seven forms of power resources

1. **Legal rights:** Legal power may be understood as the ability to benefit from something through "rights attributed by law, custom or convention" (Ribot and Peluso 2003:162). Examples of power through legal rights are law-based property rights or user rights to a certain area or natural resources. Those who have property rights can control access while those who do not have such rights must get access through the property rights holders (Ribot and Peluso 2003).

2. **Environmentality:** Agrawal (2005:166) defines environmentality as how "technologies of self and power are involved in the creation of new subjects concerned about the environment." This involves the use of power to not only form and change environmental practice, that is, how people manage the forest, but also people's subjective identity, i.e. people's perceptions, beliefs and thoughts about the environment. Agrawal's (2005) concept of environmentality is directly based upon Foucault's "governmentality." According to Foucault, governmental power must be seen as a process of socially controlling people's subjective thoughts. What is seen by people as "rational" or political rationality, is, in reality, not pure, neutral knowledge. Rather, certain examples of knowledge and discourse are produced within governmental institutions such as schools, hospitals and public institutions as an effective way of exercising social control of an individual's thoughts, mentality and behavior (Lemke 2000). Thus, environmentality may be seen as a form of discursive power.

3. **Discursive power:** The utilization of discursive power involves the ability to get support for cases and policies through influencing other people's perceptions, ideas and understanding in the same case. According to Fuchs

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and Lederer (2007:8), discursive power "shapes perceptions and identities and fosters the interpretation of situations as of one type rather than another. Thus, it influences the frames of policy problems and solutions, of actors in the political process, and of politics and the political as such." Discursive power may involve getting approval for a particular perspective in spite of empirical research revealing facts that are completely different (Roe 1999, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).

4. **Power through violence:** The use of violence and force may be a powerful resource used by governmental institutions (more or less in coherence with formal laws) to sanction those who obey the rules and to enforce legal rights. However, violence as a power resource is not only used by powerful actors. It may also be used by other actors such as the rural poor to resist changes or to maintain access, as well as criminals and terrorists. Power through force does not necessarily involve the use of violence. Threat of violence may sometimes be enough (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b, Hall et al. 2011).

5. **Political power:** Power through political influence may involve the ability to influence laws, regulations, public budgets or the ability to transform the implementation of policy and practice. In a democracy, political power may be exercised through voting for political candidates in elections. It can also, for example, involve influence through lobbying or media publicity (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).

6. **The weapons of the weak: "**This is a form of resistance described by Scott (1985). He observed that poor local communities in the South have a tendency to find their own ways to exercise resistance, even in examples with large asymmetrical power relations. This can involve hidden, daily

resistance such as spreading of rumors, pilfering, arson or other forms of sabotage, both to protect themselves against being exploited and to resist changes. "The weapons of the weak" is characterized by the little planning it requires, and the avoidance of open rebellion (Holmes 2007, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).

7. **Donor influence:** Power can also consist of access to capital, such as finances and equipment. Those who exercise this kind of power may have influence to decide issues related to economic development or use their purchasing power to achieve their will. Examples of agents who may use this form of economic power are donor agencies. As will be illustrated in this thesis, foreign countries and donor organizations may have power to influence policy and practice through funding (Ribot and Peluso 2003, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).

2.4 Summary and theoretical context

A theoretical framework for this thesis has now been outlined. The first section presented theoretical approaches on narrative theory and research. These form the basis for interpretation and presentation of narrative interviews and analysis in this thesis, as will be evident in chapter 4. The second part consisted of a presentation of discursive narratives. Four discourse types were also outlined, applicable to a comparison of the local narrative with discursive narratives on conservation and poverty alleviation. Next, I presented different approaches to power and relevant key concepts that will be further utilized in this thesis. Finally, seven forms of power resources were outlined. These are considered to be an instrumental part of the analysis on what forms of power resources KINAPA exercise that enable their preservationist practice, despite resistance from other actors.

3. Study area and methodology

This chapter gives a brief presentation of study area and the methodology applied to carry out the study. First, relevant information on study area will be outlined. Second, I will present research strategy, research design and methods applied for collection of data and analysis. Finally, ethical considerations, as well as the limitations and challenges of narrative research, will be reflected upon.

3.1 Study area

Mount Kilimanjaro is situated 300 km south of the equator in Tanzania, at the northern Tanzanian border with Kenya (Map 1). With its highest peak rising to altitudes of 5,895 meters above sea level, Kilimanjaro is not only Africa's highest mountain; it is also the world's highest freestanding mountain (Lambrechts et al. 2002, Agrawala et al. 2003, Hemp 2006). Encircled by extensive forest and with a high density of rainfall, the mountain serves as a natural water catchment for both Kenya and Tanzania. The catchment forest is critical in the regulation of water balance, in the improvement of the water quality and in the prevention of soil erosion. Furthermore, it is also an important habitat for wildlife and biodiversity (Bjørndalen 1991).

Mount Kilimanjaro was first declared as a game reserve under the German colonial rule in the early part of the twentieth century, making it the oldest protected area in Africa. It was further gazetted as a forest reserve in 1921. In 1973, the area above 2,700 meters was reclassified as a national park (Lambrechts et al. 2002).

3.1.1 Kilimanjaro National Park

Kilimanjaro National Park is one of 15 national parks under the jurisdiction of Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), administered by the Kilimanjaro National Park Authorities (KINAPA). While several of Tanzania's national parks have received extensive criticism for their handling of local communities in recent years (Brockington and Igoe 2006, Davis 2011, Goldman 2011), Kilimanjaro National Park has, for many reasons, been considered a real success (Durrant and Durrant 2008).

Since the park was officially opened to visitors in 1977, Kilimanjaro Mountain has been a popular tourist destination, and the number of tourists climbing the mountain has increased dramatically. In 1995, the Kilimanjaro National Park had 15,639 visitors (GMP 2006). In 2007/08 however, more than 40,000 tourists visited the park (Mitchell et al. 2009). The yearly increase in the number of climbing tourists has also generated a relatively high income, enabling Kilimanjaro National Park to be the only self-sustaining park in Tanzania (Durrant and Durrant 2008).

Kilimanjaro National Park was also one of the first national parks to implement TANAPAS'community outreach program labeled "Community Conservation Service" (CCS). The purpose of the program is to help economically support the livelihoods of, and maintain good relationships with, the local people bordering the park. TANAPA has run the outreach program since the late 1980s. In 1994, the program was extended to Kilimanjaro National Park (GMP 2006).

In 1987, Kilimanjaro was recognized by UNESCO as a World Natural Heritage Site. The aim of the heritage sites is to conserve and protect areas of outstanding universal value for current and future generations. World Heritage sites are

considered to "belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" (UNESCO 2011a).

Mount Kilimanjaro is also one of six World Natural Heritage sites participating in the Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation Project (COMPACT). COMPACT was launched in 2000 by the GEF Small Grants Programme/UNDP in collaboration with UNF. The main objective of the project is to prove "how community-based initiatives can significantly increase the effectiveness of biodiversity conservation in and around World Natural Heritage Sites" (Brown et al. 2010:2)

3.1.2 The local people on Kilimanjaro

According to Durrant (2004:7) humans have been living in the slopes of Kilimanjaro area for the last 2000 years, and adjacent to the mountain for the last 250 years. The dominant ethnic group, known as the Chagga, mainly inhabits the southern and eastern slopes of the mountain (Durrant 2004, Durrant and Durrant 2008). "As a group, they are noted for their commitment to education, their long-standing agriculture lifestyle, and their skill in irrigation and water management" (Durrant 2004:7). Their children inherit the family plots from their parents. The connection and attachment to Kilimanjaro is therefore strong, as this is the place where their family and their ancestors has been living through generations (Durrant 2004). However, Kilimanjaro is also inhabited by a few other ethnic groups (such as the Maasai and Same people), especially in the less populated places in the western and northern parts of the mountain. During the last decades, the population on Kilimanjaro has dramatically increased, mainly as a result of population mobility and migration (Hemp 2006, Mongo 2007).

Specification of "local people"

The term "local people" has already been used several times in this thesis, and a specification is thus needed. Typologies such as the "local communities" and "local people" are ambiguous because it is not necessarily clear who this group consists of. For instance, as pointed out by Cornwall (2008:275), it may be a problem if a development project claims community participation without specifying who these participants actually are, and who is excluded. Similarly, it may also be a problem if local people are treated as a homogenous group when in reality they often include a diversity of ages, ethnicities, genders, classes, marital statuses and levels of livelihood. I will therefore emphasize that when using the term in this thesis, I recognize that the local people living next to Kilimanjaro National Park do not consist of a homogenous group but rather a multitude of people with differing interests, opinions and agendas. During my fieldwork I have therefore (as further elaborated under methods of data collection in this chapter), sought to reflect this diversity by interviewing informants from different backgrounds and with various and even contrasting perspectives. Nevertheless, I will also point out that although referring to the "local people", my study does not claim that it represents equally all the people who are living next to Kilimanjaro National Park.

3.1.3 Farming systems

According to Durrant (2004:7), over 80% of the population on Kilimanjaro is employed in agriculture. The agriculture in the southern and eastern area mainly consists of small-size farms known as the "Chagga homegardens." The Chagga homegardens consist of four layers with trees for firewood, banana trees, coffee trees and vegetables such as maize and beans. The use of multiple layers has been developed by the Chagga to maximize the use of the limited space. Zero-grazing is also practiced as a result of the high population density. This implies that the local people are dependent on obtaining grass and fodder from the forest

and carrying it to their cattle (Hemp 2006, Mongo 2007). Shamba (Taungya) system practices are used in places with forest plantations in the western and northern part of the mountain. This implies that the local farmers are allowed to inter-crop together with tree seedlings in the forest plantations until the third year of the tree growth (Agrawala et al. 2003, Mongo 2007).

3.1.4 Protection regime

The area (not the region) known as "Kilimanjaro" can be divided into three different parts: 1) The Kilimanjaro National Park, 2) the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve and 3) a narrow forest belt known as "The Half-Mile" Strip.
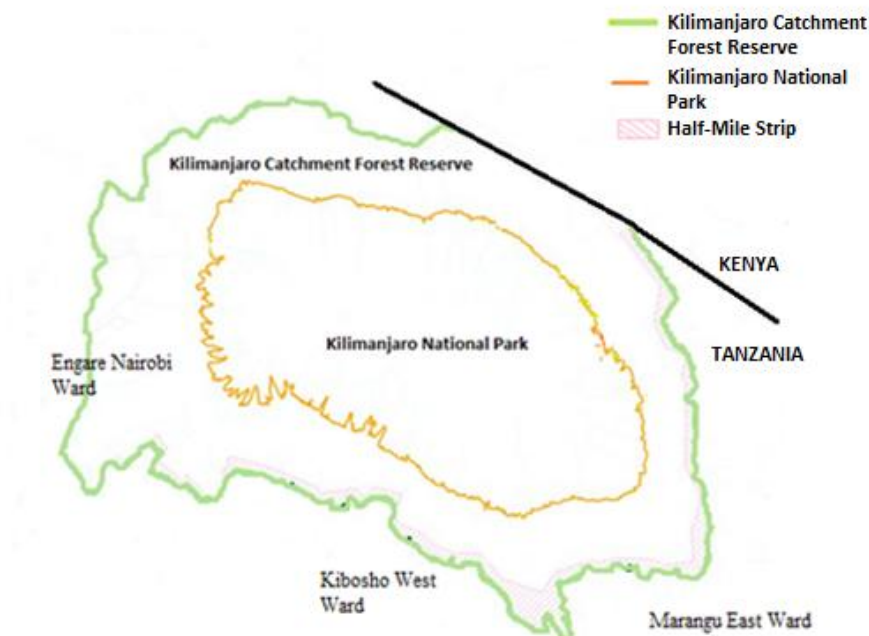
Map 2: *Overview of conservation zones on Kilimanjaro. Source: Edited map from Lambrechts et al. (2002).*

The Half-Mile Strip, traditionally called the "Chagga Local Authority Strip" is a buffer zone between the Catchment Forest Reserve and the villages on the lower

slopes of the mountain. It stretches through the three districts of Rombo, Moshi Rural and Hai, extending from Kilelwa River on the eastern side to the Sanya River on the western side of the forest. It is demarcated between 1500 and 1800 m.a.s.l. and covers an area of 87.69 ha, with the width of approximately one-half mile (0.8 km) (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991). In contrast to other places with so-called local commons, the Half-Mile Strip is, for many of the people who live next to the park, the only common area available for collecting natural resources such as grass and firewood. Access to the Half-Mile Strip is therefore considered to be crucial. In a study of the socio-economic benefits of the Kilimanjaro Half-Mile Strip, nearly 93% of the respondents from four villages[6] bordering on the Half-Mile Strip said they were dependent on the buffer zone as an alternative economic resource. Furthermore, 96%, 92% and 78% of the respondents from the three districts of Moshi Rural, Hai and Rombo respectively claimed the Half-Mile Strip was very important for their livelihood (Mongo 2007).

Management authorities

Wildlife and natural resource management in Tanzania is shared among different conservation institutions under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism: While the national parks are administered by Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) under the Wildlife Division, the national forest reserves are governed by the Forestry and Beekeeping Division.

Before the Kilimanjaro National Park was expanded in 2005, the area was divided into three separate management authorities: The Forestry and Beekeeping Division was in charge of the Catchment Forest Reserve, while the forest areas included in the national park were managed by TANAPA/KINAPA. The Half-Mile Strip was managed by local authorities through the District

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[6] Lukani village from Hai District, Kikelelwa village from Rombo District and Kidia and Lole-Marera villages from Moshi Rural (Mongo 2007:28).

Council (Lambrechts et al. 2002:11) (Figure 1). In 2005, however, the Catchment Forest Reserve was annexed to Kilimanjaro National Park and therefore came under the same strict protective status as the national park (GoTz 2005).
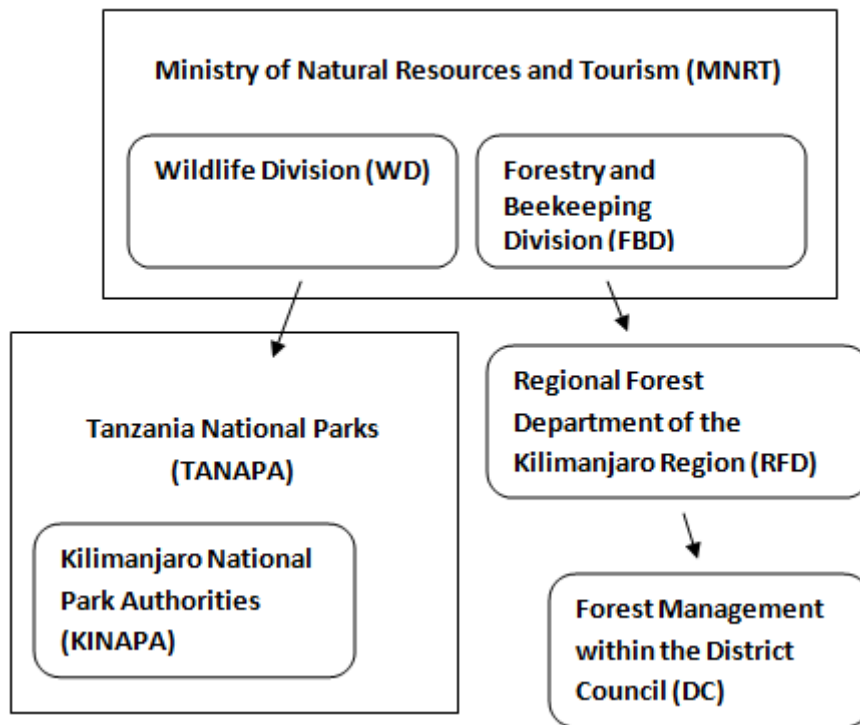
Figure 1: Organizational map – different levels of natural resource management authorities related to Kilimanjaro National Park and adjacent areas. Source: Based on field notes and interviews.

3.1.5 Location and rational for choice of study area

The national park area borders on three rural districts, Rombo, Moshi Rural and Hai. The study took place mainly in five villages from within three different wards[7]: Marangu East Ward and Kibosho West Ward from Moshi Rural District and Engare Nairobi Ward from Hai District (Map 2). Marangu East Ward is located southeast of the mountain, Kibosho West Ward on the southern slopes,

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[7] Out of consideration for the informants, I have chosen to specify ward level rather than village level.

while Engare Nairobi is located on the western side of the park. I considered it likely that variations in conditions around the park might affect the way people tell about their lives as neighbors to the park. Locations were therefore chosen in order to get different perspectives from various places adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park. The areas varied in location, population density, tourism and ethnicity: while the large majority of the inhabitants from Marangu East Ward and Kibosho West Ward were Chagga, the composition was, as previously mentioned, more mixed on the western side of the mountain. The former areas were also more densely populated as compared to the latter (Gamassa 1991).

The village-clusters bordering the national park in Marangu East Ward are located closest to the Headquarter of KINAPA and the main entrance to the park. Marangu is also the most popular of seven trekking routes and attracts the highest number of tourists (GMP 2006). The villages here may therefore, as pointed out by Durrant and Durrant (2008:375), more than any of the other places feel both the costs and the benefits of KINAPA. In contrast, reaching the trekking routes on the western side of the mountain (Londorosi and Lemosho route) requires a long drive and consequently they are not as frequently used by tourists. The trekking route closest to the third village-cluster (the Umbwe route) is mainly used by experienced climbers (ADAS 2011, CK 2011). The village-clusters in Marangu East Ward and Kibosho West Ward are bordering the Half-Mile Strip. In contrast, the village in Engare Nairobi borders directly on the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve. In practice, however, informants stated that before the expansion of the national park in 2005, parts of the forest reserve had served as a similar buffer zone where they could get access to fodder for the cattle and firewood for cooking.

Study area and rational for choice of study area has now been outlined. In the following section, I will present the methodology applied in order to carry out the study.

3.2 Research strategy

As emphasized in chapter 2, narratives play an important role in the human form of expression (Gee 1985, Elliot 2005, Johansson 2005). In order to investigate the different perceptions among the local people living next to Kilimanjaro National Park, I have therefore chosen to implement a qualitative study based on narrative research.

Lieblich et al. (1998:2) defines narrative research as "any study that uses or analyzes narrative materials." As previously mentioned, the field of narrative research is highly inter-disciplinary, embracing several narrative theories and analysis. However, there are some basic features of narrative research, as presented in the following section:

The epistemological position in narrative research may be seen as interpretivism, striving to grasp the subjective meaning of social action. Furthermore, the ontological position can be placed as one of social constructivism. This position suggests that that "reality" as we know it is socially constructed and in a constant state of change. Facts and meanings are built up and constituted in and through interaction (Bryman 2008). According to Svarstad (2009:49), there are two main positions within social constructivism. First you have those who challenge the basic idea that there is a definitive "reality." They claim that reality itself is determined by the observer (see e.g. Johansson 2005). Alternatively, there is the position closer to one of critical realism- This position acknowledges that despite the inability to understand reality exactly as it is, there is an existence of material and other aspects independent of human thinking (Bryman 2008, Svarstad 2009). Following the first position, it would have been meaningless to focus on anything in my study except the local narrative itself. However, from the vantage point of the second position, it makes sense to look not only at the narrative, but also at the features of the reality that the narratives claim to say something about.

Lieblich et al. (1998:122) may be placed within this argument, as they believe that if narrative analysis "completely ignores the context of the whole [it] loses much of its power and meaning." The latter is also closest to the position adopted in this study, as I seek to place the local narrative in its social context.

Another important feature of narrative research is that it is primarily inductive. Traditional, *deductive* research begins with a theory, and then research is taken to the field in the attempt to find proof that might fit. In contrast, there are usually no a priori hypotheses in narrative research. Rather, the hypotheses and research question are based on the material collected in the field (Lieblich et al. 1998). The overall approach adopted in my study may also be characterized as inductive, as the two main research questions has been formulated based on findings from the field. However, it is important to emphasize that the topics identified in the field were not chosen at random. Although starting with a broad question of what narrative(s) can be found, I had an idea that I wanted more in-depth knowledge pertaining to the perceptions among local people on conservation, tourism and poverty alleviation. Thus, this affected the result of my findings. Furthermore, the data collection and data analysis happened, to a large degree, simultaneously during the time spent in the field. Consequently, it was both deductive and inductive. This interactive process of collecting material and analyzing and generating theory in parallel may be compared to the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis as described in "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

3.3 Research design

There are several research designs to choose from such as experimental design, survey design, cross-sectional design or case study (Bryman 2008). In order to get a deeper understanding of the situation at Kilimanjaro National Park, a case

study seemed most appropriate and functioned as the chosen research design. Yet, what exactly is a case study?

According to Bryman (2008:30) a *case* can consist of a range of different types of groups, such as a community, an organization, a single family or a school. He argues that a case *study* is concerned with "the complexity and the particular nature of the case in question" (Bryman 2008:52). An important characteristic emphasized by Yin (2009) is that in contrast to historical studies, a case study investigates a *contemporary* set of events. He defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (Yin 2009:18). A major criticism of case studies is concerned with the lack of generalizability. In statistical terms of view, one single case can never be generalized to other cases. The intention of using Kilimanjaro National Park as a case study, however, is not to claim its representativeness for other cases. Rather, it is chosen as an object of interest in its own right. As emphasized by Yin (2009:47), there are many reasons to focus on one single case. One reason may be that the case represents something extreme or unique. Another reason may be that the case serves as a good example or as an illustration for the topic in question. Finally, a third reason to examine a single case may be to compare the collected data with theoretical arguments. That is, to give a specialized perspective on the subject matter through theoretical generalization.

The case of Kilimanjaro National Park possesses all of the above-mentioned characteristics, making this an ideal opportunity to carry out a case study. As a national park, Kilimanjaro is unique due to its different purpose and character. First of all, it is the national park in Tanzania with the greatest revenue per year (TANAPA 2007, TANAPA 2008b). However, it is also different from the other parks because the amount of wildlife in the park is relatively low. Although one

may see some animals, the main motivation for tourism here is mountain hiking. Kilimanjaro National Park was also seen as an interesting object of study as a "best-case" due to: The relatively long history as an established protected area, the early implementation of a community outreach program and its large revenue. All these reasons, together with its status as the "whole world's responsibility" should pave the way for studying Kilimanjaro National Park as an illustration of a "win-win" scenario. Thus, it was interesting to compare the empirical data gathered during my fieldwork at Kilimanjaro National Park with theoretical arguments within the win-win discourse on conservation. Finally, Kilimanjaro National Park was chosen because it constitutes part of the PAPIA-projects' comparative study of four cases. Although this thesis will focus on Kilimanjaro as a single case, it is thus also part of the larger scientific framework for PAPIA.

3.4 Methods of data collection

While the study consists of both primary and secondary sources, the former is clearly more emphasized than the latter. While narrative interviews and interviews with public officials functioned as the primary form of data, archival material was regarded as secondary data that provided valuable background information. In addition, I also used a fieldwork diary in order to track relevant events, ideas, information and observations. This has helped me to process my experiences, and it has been useful in the analysis of the material.

The fieldwork was carried out over a period of seven weeks in the months of August and September 2010. I spent a period of 10–14 days in each of the three wards, visiting the different villages. During this period, I was living with local people from three of the five villages.

An important characteristic of data collection in a case study is the use of multiple sources of evidence to obtain triangulation. According to Bryman (2008:700), triangulation is "the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross-checked." A critique of narrative research is that the researchers often naively believe in the narratives presented and uncritically disseminate these without examining the facts (Elliot 2005). As a response to this criticism, I will therefore, after presenting the narrative found among the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park, adopt a critical realist perspective and investigate why the local people presented a narrative of exclusion. Several different sources have been used in this process, such as interviews with governmental officials, archival records and documents.

3.4.1 Documents

Documentary information can take many forms (Bryman 2008, Yin 2009). In my study, I have used a broad spectrum of documents, including personal and formal letters, various reports and articles, governmental notices, management plans, proposals, and declarations, in addition to relevant literature on the issue. As pointed out by Yin (2009:103), there is no reason to assume that written sources are necessarily more reliable than other types of sources. Written documents such as reports and even official documents may be inaccurate or even biased. However, documents may be useful in the process of data triangulation and in order to verify correct spelling, titles and specific details. In my study, it was also interesting to detect different perspectives or any contradictions not only between formal documents and the narrative presented by the local people, but also between documents from different sources.

Collecting written documents was perhaps the most frustrating and challenging process during my fieldwork. Few events and situations described by the

informants have been documented. In addition, inquiries and complaints from the villagers are rarely written; rather they have usually been orally transmitted at meetings. However, members of the Maua Seminary, a Franciscan monastery that is home to a secondary school in the area had sent a number of formal inquiries and complaints to KINAPA and the government, describing their opinions about the park. As I got access to these and other personal letters, I found it relevant to include these letters as part of my study. It was also highly challenging to get access to official documents such as governmental proposals and declarations. Even though these public documents are supposed to be made available to everyone, many hours were spent visiting every regional and local office, searching non-systematized government libraries and contacting anyone who might have or knew someone who might have any relevant information.

3.4.2 Interview and sampling procedure

Without doubt the main focus and emphasis in my data collection has been the conduction of narrative interviews with people living adjacent to the border of the national park. Narrative interviews "center on the stories the subjects tell, on the plots and structures of their accounts" (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:153). There are many reasons to do narrative interviews rather than other forms of research interviews.

For instance, Mishler (1986:69) states that if given the possibility, it is not unusual for interviewees to respond to questions with narratives. However, she claims that many researchers have a tendency to teach the interviewee to only give short answers and statements. This is problematic because they suppress the stories that people attempt to organize and express their meaning through.

Another reason to conduct narrative interviews is the potentially improved validity. By giving participants an opportunity to elaborate and discuss the topics

in their own way, they will be empowered to provide more concrete and specific details. In addition, they will also be able to use their own words and vocabulary to describe their experiences (Elliot 2005). Consequently, by listening to individual narratives in the field, I got a deeper insight into the informants' lives and perceptions of the world.

The implementation of narrative interviews at Kilimanjaro

The purpose of conducting narrative interviews in my study was to get accounts of how various people speak about their life next to the Kilimanjaro National Park-for instance, their personal experiences, the different ways they talk about their situation, and also more general perceptions about the conservation of the park. During the interviews I used an interview guide with the issues I wanted to touch upon (Appendix B). However, this guide was not followed very strictly as the main purpose of the interview guide was to help me to stay focused on what I wanted to hear about in general, while at the same time being open to a wide range of stories the informants might tell. Consequently, I always started with broad questions, such as: "Tell me about your daily life in this village." I also tried to avoid interrupting the informants with questions in order to get narratives that were as coherent as possible. However, at the end of the interview, I asked more concrete and detailed questions. Some authors (e.g. Mishler 1986) claim that as long as people are encouraged, they will naturally tell stories during the interview. Other researches argue that they often have to give a lot of follow-up questions in order to get stories from the informants (Elliot 2005). My own experience from the field is mixed. With some of my informants, I felt that I had to draw out every word, while others seemed to be born storytellers. In the latter case, the most important job was only to listen and actively encourage the informant to elaborate.

The interviews lasted for a relatively long time (from about 30 minutes to one and a half hours) with an average time of about 45 minutes. As the interviews

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demanded my full attention, I tried to have only one or two interviews per day and never more than three. This gave me the opportunity to reflect more upon the information provided by each informant and my own role as interviewer. Few informants spoke English, thus interpreters translated during the interviews. Preferably, I would have chosen to use only one interpreter. However, due to the variation of local languages in the different villages and other practical limitations, I ended up using a different interpreter in each ward (three altogether). A tape recorder was used, but only after approval from each interviewee. None of the respondents declined to be recorded.

Selection of informants

Altogether I carried out 40 narrative interviews, but only 31 of these have been transcribed and included in the analysis. Among the 31 interviews, I had three group interviews (between two and three people). All interviews were conducted in five villages bordering the national park. Within these villages, I chose to focus on the closest neighbors to Kilimanjaro National Park, and in particular those whose day-to-day activities are directly affected by the park. The decision to limit my fieldwork to people living closest to the borderline was made after conducting a few pilot interviews in each place.

During my fieldwork, I interviewed both men and women of various age groups, the youngest being 23 years old and the oldest being 87. Among the informants, 16 were females while 15 were men. It was more challenging to get interviews with women, as it seemed that they often had longer working days and less time to be interviewed. I also discovered that some of the women were more skeptical about being interviewed than the men. In addition, in the three group interviews I conducted with a mix of both men and women, I experienced that the men talked and the females remained quiet for the entire interview, or merely confirmed the men's statements. I therefore thought that it would probably be better to focus on individual interviews with women in order to get a gender-balanced sample. Four

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of the informants were also recorded more than once and served as key informants, understood as a "knowledgeable insider willing to serve as an informant" (Weiss 1994:20). The key informants were chosen as a result of a willingness on their part and the possibility to contribute with unique information, perceptions, reflections and a thorough insight into the research topic. Furthermore, they were often characterized as being good storytellers, talking freely without interruption.

Table 1: Total number of narrative interviews conducted

	Male	**Female**
Number of informants	8	12
Number of key informants	3	1
Group interview 1	1	1
Group interview 2	2	1
Group interview 3	1	1
Total number of informants	**15**	**16**

In addition to the narrative interviews, I also recorded a few interviews with governmental officials from the village level as well as the regional and division levels. Three interviews were also conducted with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating in the area: Floresta, Kilimanjaro Children and Health Foundation and Tanzania Natural Resource Forum. These interviews were not part of the narrative research, but were conducted rather as part of the triangulation process in the analysis (chapter 6) in order to get additional information and perspectives of the situation around Kilimanjaro National Park.

Sampling procedure

The chosen sampling method is a technique known as *snowball sampling*. In this method information gained from one informant is used to find the next interviewee (Weiss 1994). In each village, a few individuals were selected to start with. These were asked for further referrals in order to identify other people who were considered as relevant for my study. Of course, as Bryman (2008:184)

points out, the chosen method does not claim to produce a statistically representative sample since it relies upon the social contacts between the villagers to get new informants. However, as I was interested in talking to the closest neighbors of the park, this method was an efficient way of achieving contact with this particular group of villagers rather than applying a random selection method. Moreover, when collecting the material, I aimed to get a wide diversity of individual narratives. As specified in the section about study area in this thesis, I therefore sought to find informants that might have different or even contrasting perspectives.

Self-Reflexitivity in data collection

An important element within narrative research is to be conscious of the self-reflexive role as an interviewer, understood as "a heightened awareness of the self, acting in the social world" (Elliot 2005:153). When conducting interviews, I tried to be self-conscious about how context and my identity as a white, European, female student might affect the informants and the relationship between us. A good example of how identity affects people's perceptions and expectations is my first meeting with the people living in one of the villages on the west side of Kilimanjaro: When arriving at the new village, one of the women asked me if I was there to vaccinate their children. This incident illustrates how I, as a white foreigner, was often seen by the villagers: either as part of a development project or, as a rich tourist who wanted to climb the mountain.

However, although it is important to be conscious of how my role as an interviewer may affect and create bias in the interview situation, it does not have to be negative. As recognized within the field of narrative research, my identity is also an important tool for receiving the information. For instance, as a young female, I might have an advantage when talking to other women. I also tried to emphasize my role as a young student who wanted to learn from my informants. This helped reduce the imbalance of power that can occur in an interview

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situation between the interviewer and the informants. A few people objected to talking with me, or seemed to be afraid of telling the "whole story" when being interviewed. In general, however, I was surprised at the informants' openness towards the interpreter and me. I also got the impression that most of my informants felt free to talk, even when sharing sensitive information.

3.4.3 Participant observation and informal discussions

Living with local families in the villages gave me unique insight into the villager's daily life and routines. I also got the opportunity to participate in meetings and events, listen to conversations (either through my interpreter or explained by a key informant) and get a deeper understanding of the villagers' relationship to the forest, the mountain and the national park in general. In this sense, participant observation became an important tool (Bryman 2008). As I lived close to the border, I also got an opportunity to have informal conversations with people employed by KINAPA. Despite my research permission, KINAPA refused any type of formal interview without special research permission from TANAPA regarding the park. However, as a "neighbor," I had the opportunity to ask the park authorities some questions and have informal conversations.

3.5 Data analyses and transcription

The process of analyzing the material was undertaken both during and after the fieldwork. Records were listened to and transcripts were read several times. This increased the familiarity with the accounts given by the informants and made it easier to reduce and select relevant information. The code-and-retrieve data analysis program Hyper RESEARCH 2.8.3 also functioned to discover patterns and regularities within the data. The program does not do the analysis itself, but it was helpful for me in order to store and handle a large amount of material and to quickly regroup and link themes, words and phrases. A problem that may

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emerge with a strong emphasis on the coding phase is that it can lead to fragmentation of the data material, and the narrative flow from the interviews can be lost. In contrast, narrative analysis stands out by providing greater attention to the context of what is said and the narrative flow in the process of analyzing the material (Bryman 2008). Thus, in my analysis, the coding process was subordinate to the focus on coherent narratives.

3.5.1 The process of transcribing

I hired two research assistants to transcribe the interviews. In the beginning, only the interpreter's translation in English was transcribed. The decision to use assistants instead of transcribing the material myself was mainly because of time restraints; the assistants could transcribe the interviews from one of the villages while I was doing my fieldwork in another village. The use of Tanzanian transcribers was also meant to function as a "quality check." The transcribers were directed to compare the English translation with the respondent's answer in Swahili and mark the text in places where the interpreter's translation was inaccurate or simply wrong. Nevertheless, this turned out to be difficult, as some of the interpreters' English seemed to be inadequate. Although the main points of the narratives were still there, I found it problematic to use inaccurate quotes in my master thesis. As emphasized by Elliot (2005:51), transcriptions will always be a compromise, as it will never be possible to transfer the whole meaning. This may be even worse when translated through another language. I therefore decided to hire a third assistant to translate the specific examples presented in my master thesis directly from Swahili to English. Although the risk of misunderstandings is still present, I hope that this more thorough process has helped to reduce bias.

According to Elliot (2005:51), there are mainly two ways of presenting transcriptions. She distinguishes between so-called *clean* transcripts versus more

detailed transcripts, where all the non-lexical utterances are preserved, such as false starts, repetitions and hesitations. On the one hand, clean transcripts are clearly easier to read, as they do not involve all the extra verbal material captured on the research tape. On the other hand, the latter may be important for those who are interested in the functions of the narratives and how they are performed (Elliot 2005). In my study, I initially chose *detailed* transcriptions. All pauses, repetitions and verbal utterances were transcribed as detailed as possible so that no valuable information would be "lost" in the process of analyzing the material. This was especially important due to my use of assistants. I wanted my assistants to write down exactly what they heard without trying to edit. However, in this thesis, I have chosen to present "clean" or sanitized transcripts. As my thesis does not focus on the linguistic part of the narratives, I found it more useful to present readable examples. As people's oral statements are very different from written statements, I also found it more respectful in relation to my informants to not include all non-lexical utterances. Comments from the interviewer such as "hmm" "ok" "aha" have also been removed. The exception is when the chosen quote presents a dialogue between the informant and me as the interviewer, as evident in the example below:

> H: Do you have anything more you would like to tell us?
> I: What pains us more is [that] KINAPA [has] closed the Half-Mile Strip

The letters *H* and *I* stand for my first name (as the interviewer) and the *Informant*, respectively. These letters will be further applied in the presentation of findings in chapter 4.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Prior to its implementation, my study project was approved by the Center for Environment and Sustainability. In addition, it was approved by the Sokoine

University of Agriculture (SUA), PAPIA's research partner in Tanzania. SUA also helped me to obtain a research permit. Furthermore, I obtained an approval from the ward executive office as well as the formal village leader in each place. This was important in order to get information, to make contact with relevant people and to secure the trust of the informants.

An important ethical concern I had to deal with was the question of payment for the interviews. On one hand, I felt that it was wrong to pay the informants money to participate in the interviews, as this might have led to the problematic expectation that they should always get paid when students conduct interviews in villages in Tanzania (Scheyvens et al. 2003). I was also concerned that money could be used to buy alcohol,[8] and I felt that this would be in opposition to the research principle "to do no harm." On the other hand, it would have been wrong not to give anything, as the informants had to spend a lot of their valuable time to answer my questions. At the end, I decided to give my informants one kilo of rice and one kilo of sugar to show my appreciation for their help.

3.6.1 Informed consent

Another important issue within social research ethics is the principle of informed consent. This means that the participants are given enough information to be able to make an informed decision about whether they wish to participate in the study or not. As stated by Scheyvens et al. (2009:142), it is "the notion that the person has a complete and thorough understanding of the aims and processes of the research project." Before the interview started, I always gave a thorough briefing about my study in general and the interview in particular (Appendix C). The briefing consisted of an introduction of my interpreter and me, and the purpose of the study. It also emphasized the independence of the project and the right to

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[8] According to my informants, misuse of alcohol was a common problem, especially among many men who spent all their money on banana beer. This was also confirmed by own field observations.

withdraw. An episode in one of the villages may be indicative of the level of informed consent in my study: After giving a thorough briefing as usual, one of my informants strikingly commented, "Is this interview about *you* or *me*?" This may also be an indication that the introduction might have been *too* thorough. However, I decided to continue with the same introduction in all the interviews to give them a good understanding of the concept of narrative interviews.

3.6.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity simply means to ensure that the names and identities of ones informants are hidden, i.e. that they remain nameless when publishing material. Confidentiality on the other hand is a broader term for a process whereby the researcher makes sure that the informants' identities remain hidden. Some examples of this consist of removing identities from the research records, removing names and descriptions that may reveal an informant's identity, ensuring that field notes, records and transcripts are stored in a safe place, and making sure that the material is used for the purpose of the study exclusively (Berg 2004, Scheyvens et al. 2009). As my study reveals some sensitive information, I decided to preserve the anonymity of all my informants as well as the names of the specific villages where they lived and originated from. I have also striven to ensure confidentiality by storing names and field notes separately from the taped records and by using codes instead of names for informants and villages. This was especially important as I used assistants to transcribe the interviews. However, as it is difficult to completely hide the informant's identity from the people who transcribe the interviews, my assistants were also informed about the principles of confidentiality. Interviews conducted with public employees in the government did not follow the principle of anonymity and confidentiality. As they are supposed to represent the views of the government, they were not given any promises of anonymity.

3.7 Challenges and limitations of narrative research

The challenges of qualitative studies in general and narrative research in particular are many.

An important critique of narrative studies is that it is too subjective. By this, it is meant that what is seen as important findings rely too much upon the researcher's unsystematic view and subjective interpretation (Bryman 2008). Subjectivity also lies in this study's nature; it is recognized within social constructivism that narrative research is interpretive, and naturally an interpretation is personal. On the other hand, this does not open the door to absolute freedom of speculation and intuition. Rather, as emphasized by Lieblich et al. (1998):

> Intuitive processes are recruited in the service of comprehension, which examines the basis for intuiting and should test it repeatedly against the narrative material. Interpretive decisions are not "wild" in other words, but require justification. While traditional research methods provide researchers with systematic inferential processes, usually based on statistics, narrative work requires self-awareness and self-discipline in the ongoing examination of text against interpretation, and vice versa (Lieblich et al. 1998:10).

As the presentation of my findings in the next chapter is based on interpretation, it is certainly a possibility that there are other ways to interpret the interviews or other aspects that could have been emphasized. At the same time, as mentioned in the section on analyses, my findings are based on a thorough and open process in which my thoughts and claims have constantly been measured directly with the direct accounts given by the informants.

Another challenge of narrative studies is that they are highly time consuming and result in an overwhelming amount of material. Yet, the large volume of information may also be seen as an advantage. As stated by Lieblich et al. (1998:9), "the use of narrative methodology results in unique and rich data that

cannot be obtained from experiments, questionnaires, or observations." Although the process of handling a lot of material was challenging, it also made it easier for me as a researcher to get a deeper insight into the case than I would otherwise have been able to discern.

3.7.1 Trustworthiness as a different criterion of evaluation

Qualitative standards are often evaluated in terms of reliability, replicability, validity and objectivity (Bryman 2008). These criteria are mainly quantitative: however, some argue that the same criteria should apply for qualitative research. Given the interpretative nature of my research, I find this epistemological position inappropriate to measure the quality of my study.

At the other extreme, relativists or poststructuralists would argue that there is no such thing as objective knowledge, rejecting the idea of scientific research being more valid than other subjective experiences. According to this position, there is no point in justifying the validity of research, since there are only subjective experiences (Svarstad 2003). Between these two extreme positions, I have chosen to put emphasis on *trustworthiness* as an alternative criteria for evaluation. Trustworthiness "involves checking the credibility of knowledge claims, of ascertaining the strength of empirical evidence and the plausibility of the interpretations" (Kvale 1989:78) —in other words, evaluating whether or not findings presented can be trusted. A critical attitude to my own findings has been adopted in order to avoid jumping to conclusions based on weak evidence. In addition, contradictory accounts and information have been visualized in the presentation of findings and included in the discussion.

Transparency may also be an important criteria for the evaluation of trustworthiness (Rubin and Rubin 2005). Hence, I have tried to describe choices concerning methods and clarify how I have conducted my study. Transcriptions,

interview records and notes from my fieldwork have also been stored. This has been critical considering that my study is part of the larger PAPIA project.

Furthermore, I have also tried to seek thoroughness and accuracy during the whole process of investigation (Rubin and Rubin 2005). This involves checking and re-checking facts, always considering alternative answers and options, and following new paths of evidence as well as being accurate and careful through the whole process of recording, transcribing, interpreting, analyzing and writing.

Accuracy also involves being honest when handling the material—that is, not to add or change the words of the interviewees or selectively choosing what the interviewee said (Rubin and Rubin 2005). Although I have sought to be honest through the whole process, or, by using Bryman's (2008:379) words, "to have acted in good faith," I found this aspect particularly challenging. It is not possible to include all findings or whole interviews in the thesis. Hence, during the interpretation process I had to make hard decisions of what to include. However, despite these challenges, I have striven to present material that accurately reflects the actual views and perspectives shared by the informants.

3.8 Summary

The study area and methodology applied in this thesis have now been outlined. Narrative research has been presented as the main research strategy and case study has been adopted as the chosen research design. Furthermore, methods of data collection, ethical considerations and challenges have also been given, together with methods of analysis and transcriptions. These methods form an important basis to the findings obtained from the narrative interviews and analysis, presented in the next chapter.

4. A Local Narrative of Exclusion: Presentation of Findings from Narrative Analysis

Through a social science narrative analysis, I have studied how people who live next to Kilimanjaro National Park speak about their situation. The analysis was conducted based on the following question: what narrative/s can be identified about conservation among local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park? Despite my method to obtain different and contrasting perspectives from a diversity of informants, there are some striking similarities between the individual narratives that were told. I will therefore argue that the collective story presented in this chapter has not been constructed based on over-generalization of my material, but rather reflects a common story that is representative for the majority of my informants. Still, it is important to accentuate that there were also some clear exceptions from the elements within the collective story. Consequently, these exceptions will also be included in the presentation.

The chapter is divided into two parts. First, I present the *content* of the collective narrative identified among the local people living closest to the border of Kilimanjaro National Park. I will present the content by going through the main foci of the narrative, "non-apparent" themes and exceptions. Thereafter, I present the narrative *form* by looking at plot and the different actors presented within the narrative, before giving a short summary.

4.1 The Local Narrative of Exclusion

The analysis concentrates on one major theme: exclusion, as manifested in the local people's descriptions and stories. Exclusion is reflected as an implicit theme appearing repeatedly in the informants' accounts and may be seen as the

core issue in the collective story presented by the closest neighbors of Kilimanjaro National Park.

4.1.1 Main foci of the local narrative

The Local Narrative of Exclusion suggests three main foci that appear repeatedly in the informants' accounts: The first one describes a poor relationship with KINAPA while the second gives accounts about lack of influence. The third main focus expresses a presence of ambivalence. The two first foci are based mostly on the explicit accounts, while the third is directed more toward an interpretive level. In the following section, I will go further into each of the three main foci.

Poor neighbor relationship

> We don't like to have them as neighbors. If you are close to someone and you have a problem and see a solution somewhere, you could ask your neighbor to help you but KINAPA doesn't want that (I#29).

Perhaps the most consistent focus in the narrative is the poor relationship with KINAPA, an issue that recurred in almost all interviews. The tense relationship with their closest neighbor was reflected in direct statements such as "there is no good relationship between KINAPA and the village life" (I#15) or "to be true, KINAPA don't have good neighborhood with the citizens" (I#9). It was also manifested through the rich and often detailed stories describing the relationship.

Based on the accounts provided by the informants, three main causes were given to explain the poor relationship: 1) restricted access to natural resources due to the expansion of the national park, 2) violent behavior by the park rangers, and 3) conflict regarding wildlife management. In the following section I will present examples from all three reasons for conflict given by the informants.

1) Almost all the informants describe their life situation as more difficult since the expansion of Kilimanjaro National Park. The villagers have now been excluded from previously available natural resources such as grass for the cattle and firewood from the Half-Mile Strip:

> It is like I have said: we were allowed to go there to collect firewood, which has stopped, ok! If you are caught with anything in the forest, you must have something like permit, while in the past, it was not like that (I#9).

Many of the informants also expressed a lot of frustration due to lack of flexibility regarding the restricted area. One of the informants explained it in this way:

> Sometimes the cow may break through the gate and run out you know, and if it enters the forest, you can't follow it. Can you imagine? It is not possible. Can you live like that? No! The buffer zone [i.e. the Half-Mile Strip] is natural, you can't take the cow, and it is just humanity (…). You can just imagine if someone has a child, and their child has become naughty and ran from home into the forest. Do you have to go to Marangu to ask for permission to go into the forest to look for your child? Is that possible? Can you imagine! That's our normal life. That's the way we're going to live forever. Is this not like a real prison (KI#2)?

The situation appeared to be quite similar on the western side of the park. Although there was no Half-Mile Strip, the informants said that they were denied access to previously available areas within the Catchment Forest Reserve.

2) Another recurring explanation of the poor relationship is claims about serious assaults and violent park rangers who are patrolling the national park. "After KINAPA took over, the woman has sometimes been raped, sometimes beaten; there's no peace in the forest" (I#23). "If they catch a person inside, they use to beat him very badly" (I#28).

Rich and often detailed stories were given on how they themselves, or someone they knew, experienced severe punishment if they stole grass or firewood from the restricted forest:

> What simply I could say is that sometimes when the people have been arrested within the park boundary, they used to be beaten very badly. Also not only that but also sometimes when the park rangers who are employed by KINAPA who are not native in this area, maybe a new park ranger, once they arrest people, especially the woman, they used to rape them in the bush. I have one experience. There was a lady living adjacent to this village. This March, she was raped by the rangers and she died at the hospital (I#8).

Although the interviews were conducted in different villages in different areas, accounts of violent park rangers occurred in interviews from all five villages:

> H: Do you have anything more you would like to tell us?
> I: What pains us more is [that] KINAPA [has] closed the Half-Mile Strip because they don't let us enter to the forest with an axe (…). They don't want to solve the axe issue with us. They don't want us to be close to them or have any contact where we can be close as neighbors. They don't want that (…).
> H: Is there one example where they have shown that habit?
> I: [One] time we entered the forest and were caught. The women were soaked in a pond of cold water for some time and at last they took their axes. This is the mistake we see as devastating, because they catch a woman and dip her in water.
> H: Were you among these women?
> I: We were like four women. They came and found us cutting firewood and caught us, but I ran. [The] others were taken to the camp and got the punishment of being soaked in water.
> H: Was it KINAPA who did this?
> I: Yes, it was KINAPA people (I#29).

The informants also expressed frustration due to lack of consistency in the management of the forest. Some places, they told, they were allowed to collect grass and firewood on certain days; other places they were allowed to collect grasses with their bare hands without using any equipment. As the rules seemed to vary from place to place, many informants said they were punished by the park

rangers, although they had not done anything illegal. Some of the informants also told about misunderstandings where they were arrested despite having permission to enter the forest, or cases where the park rangers arrested people outside of the park borders, used physical violence and planted evidence in order to get them arrested. One of the informants narrated it in this way:

> I: So I was passing by on the road, which is near the [Catchment] Forest Reserve, to the other side, because there is no other road except that one. Then we met on the way— outside the reserve. [The park rangers] were coming down and I was going up. They caught me and I explained the reality of the situation but they told me that even to cross the road is restricted. I accepted the crime because they said it is restricted (...). [Than] they cut down trees and told me to carry it. I asked them: "What are the trees for?" They told me: "Don't ask, just go with us!" They carried me in to the car and took me to their place. When we reached there they told me: "The trees are the evidence that you have done a crime."
> H: Is it true?
> I: Yes, it is true.
> H: And what happened?
> I: Then they brought me to the court; I paid a bill and was told not to repeat it again. From that day I have not repeated it (...).
> H: Did you know that you were not allowed to walk on that road?
> I: No, I did not know. I knew it was illegal to cut down trees or maybe enter the reserve with any weapon. I knew that such things are criminal, but to walk nearby the reserve is no crime.
> H: And how did the rangers treat you?
> I: They tried to beat me whenever I tried to explain myself.
> H: How was it?
> I: Whenever I tried to explain myself that it was this or that way, they beat me and told me: "Keep quiet. You are not allowed to talk" (I#25).

3) In addition to exclusion from the Half-Mile Strip and conflict with park rangers, many argued that deficient management of wildlife was an important reason for the poor neighbor relationship with KINAPA:

> We also have difficulties with our crops since the establishment of KINAPA. For example, these monkeys and pigs. I once chased them using stones and [there was held a meeting]. I tried to ask one national park guide called XXX, he is still alive, but he told me: "Don't chase monkeys

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or pigs; they will get high blood pressure!" He said it openly (…). I continued to ask them then what should we do? For us who lives close to these animals, what should we do? They advised me that "if you see them in the farm, go and report to our office. We will take the gun; there is a way to scare them without killing them. We know how to scare them and they will leave the place for some time." So if I find them in my farm I should not chase them! That's why I say they don't have good neighborhood with the citizens (I#9).

The frustration expressed by this person was shared by many of the other informants:

> They say, "Tomorrow we will help you with these animals," but they don't do anything until they're transferred. We complain to the new [park rangers]—they say they will do it, but they have done nothing (I#18).

Another said:

> There are many of them. Elephants are the ones who eat the most. When we tell [KINAPA] there are elephants, they say "elephants are Tanzanian animals, where should we send them" (I#27)?

The informants claimed that KINAPA was not helping them with the wildlife issue, while at the same time they were not allowed to handle the animals themselves. Many said they felt that KINAPA was not willing to listen to their complaints about the wildlife issue:

> Now the conservation has resulted into having more monkeys and pigs, and we are not even allowed to threat them in order to scare them off the farm, so all the struggle we do in the farms ends up being food for the monkeys and that is really serious. We asked for a meeting so we can talk about this but the national park people didn't even turn up (KI#4).

Exceptions from poor neighbor relationship:

The first main focus within the local narrative has now been presented, showing a poor relationship with KINAPA due to exclusion from natural resources, violent park rangers and conflict regarding wildlife. However, some of the

accounts from the village-cluster close to the headquarters of KINAPA were clearly distinguishable from the main view given by the informants. This may, of course, be coincidental, as I do not claim to have a representative sample. On the other hand, I still find it important to present what I consider to be exceptions from the general perspectives within my sample. Some of the informants in this area gave a more nuanced or even positive view of KINAPA:

> Another benefit we get from KINAPA is if someone here is sick, they used to provide a car or sometimes if someone has died, you will get the timber from KINAPA for making the coffin (KI#3).

In contrast to how the majority of the informants spoke about KINAPA and the park, the quotation above emphasizes how KINAPA is actually helping its neighbors. Another informant from the village-cluster close to the headquarters also gave a quite different perspective:

> H: How is the relationship between KINAPA and the people of this area?
> I: In average it is good, except for the villagers who goes into the forest to destroy by either cutting trees or doing something [like that]. That's when the organization becomes fierce. On the other side [we] have a good relationship; I have not seen them [have] problem with villagers. For example, if a park worker has died, we villagers who live close to the conservation area must visit and everyone bring either sugar or rice. And also for us who are outside [of the park], if we get the same problem, they do the same. Even for the sick ones. But it is not for [those living] far from here. It is only for [those who live] in the areas around here (I#1).

Thus, not all the informants described their relationship with KINAPA as poor. Rather, some stated that they are mutually helping each other as neighbors.

Lack of influence

The second main focus evident in the Local Narrative of Conflict is a lack of influence and exclusion from the conservation and the management of the park. The informants expressed frustration regarding three recurring issues, namely exclusion from: 1) cooperation with KINAPA, 2) the conservation of the forest,

and 3) decision processes regarding the management of the forest and the national park. In the following section I will give examples from each of the three issues:

1) The informants' recurring accounts expressed a sense of unwillingness from KINAPA to cooperate with the villagers. This was emphasized through statements and stories arguing that KINAPA is not willing to meet or listen to its closest neighbors: "The problem with KINAPA is when they don't listen to our complaints" (I#18). According to the informants, KINAPA refuses to cooperate and find solutions to their common problems:

> They were called to the meeting to resolve these things. This is because they were beating pregnant women so they aborted. We called a meeting but they didn't come. [We] claimed that their head in Marangu should come and listen to that meeting. But he didn't attend to make citizens know what is going on. So until today, the meeting has not been held (KI#4).

2) The informants also claimed that KINAPA is not willing to cooperate with the villagers regarding conservation initiatives: "Villagers no longer participate in conservation. After KINAPA came they do anything themselves" (GI#2).

As shown in the example below, the informants expressed frustration because the villagers are not included in the conservation of the forest:

> I: Another thing is that, when I said they should have a relation with neighbours, I meant neighbours are the one who see criminals. So if they collaborate with those neighbours around, like here, if someone enters there, I can see him. We wish they could do that so that we make the relationship closer so we can conserve the environment, because we want to protect it as a water catchment.
> H: Do you cooperate with them now?
> I: No.
> H: How was it previously?

I: Before them, there was cooperation between the Forestry and Beekeeping Division and neighbouring people. We cooperated with those people called forest guards. They were always walking around (...).The cooperation we had, it was like, they were telling us if we see people entering the forest, for example the one cutting poles, lumbering, we should inform them. In that way, we cooperated until when the KINAPA came (I#26).

It is interesting how the accounts give the impression that, unlike today, the former authorities worked closely with the local people to protect the forest. Many of the informants mentioned an environmental committee consisting of representatives from the villages who had been responsible, together with the Forestry and Beekeeping Division, to ensure that the forest was preserved:

H: And what was the role of this committee?
I: Their main role was to survey and patrol around the forest to see if there is anyone who is entering [the forest] either to destroy or to hunt or to do anything bad to the forest. That's the main role.
H: Do you still have this committee?
I: No. After KINAPA took over the forest that committee has collapsed (GI#3).

Many of the informants said that there had been a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding about the different roles and responsibilities in the transition phase when KINAPA expanded the national park. Informants who had previously been members of such environmental committees said they had been arrested by KINAPA when patrolling the forest:

At this moment we don't have these village game scouts because the area is already taken by KINAPA, so what are they guarding for? Because on the previous period they were cooperating with Kilimanjaro District Council to guard the area. But now, (..) even the "*mgambo*" or village game scout, even themselves when they're going inside the park, they are arrested by the fellow rangers and taken to court" (KI#3).

3) In addition to stories of exclusion in the conservation of the forest, frustration was also expressed due to lack of information and involvement in decisions regarding management processes. The villagers talked about not being involved in meetings, negotiations and agreements about the expansion of the national park. One of the informants provided the following view about the situation:

> Actually, the issue of participation is very problematic because we as the leaders of the villages, villages or wards areas, we are not directly involved in the meetings. What they used to do is they just provide a letter on what they agreed. They just expose us with directions and guidelines related to what they have agreed, but we are actually not directly involved in the meetings. Actually this is a major problem with these meetings or these agreements, because when the villages are represented by the council or the member of the parliament, automatically they don't represent the actual thing which occurs on the ground. So we wish that if it could be possible that we as the village executive officers are the ones which can participate in the meetings so that we can present direct information, the oral information from the village or from the local community (I#17).

Exceptions from lack of influence:

Few examples deviated from the exclusion perspective, except regarding one issue: Many of the informants said that they cooperated with KINAPA when fire occurred. In cases of fire in the forest, the informants said that they all worked together in order to extinguish the fire:

> H: Do the villagers participate to conserve the forest?
> I: Very much.
> H: How?
> I: For example when the fire starts in the forest, villagers will go to stop it (I#27).

> So in the conservation aspect we use to participate in an operation to extinguish the fire. When there is an outbreak of fire, we use to cooperate [with KINAPA] to stop the fire (I#1).

A presence of ambivalence

The third main focus in the Local Narrative of Exclusion is a presence of ambivalence in the informants' accounts. Ambivalence is especially reflected in the informants' opinions on two issues: 1) regarding management of the forest, and 2) benefits from the national park, as evidenced in the following examples:

1) Despite descriptions of KINAPA's poor behavior, the informants expressed willingness to conserve the area together with KINAPA. One of the informants put it this way:

> It would have been very good if we were incorporated. Not leaving the conservation of the forest to the villagers entire, but we should work together (GI#2).

When asked who should be responsible for conserving the area, they rarely proposed that the villagers should conserve the whole area, i.e. the Catchment Forest Reserve or the national park, on its own. Rather, a shared management was suggested:

> We think it is much better if the area can be subdivided. Part of it can be given to the people and part of it can be implemented as the national park, because on the previous we used to get the resources from the public area in the forest [i.e. the Half-Mile Strip], but at the moment we have no longer power to get the resources from there. So we think that it is much better if we have a portion and KINAPA have a portion as previous (GI#1).

Thus, one may argue that the relation to KINAPA is somehow ambivalent. On the one hand, KINAPA is strongly criticized for its current behavior. On the other hand, the park authorities are also considered to be playing an important role in the management of the area.

2) This ambivalence was also evident regarding benefits. Few of the informants emphasized KINAPA's Community Outreach Program (the Community Conservation Service program) or other similar programs such as the COMPACT-project as important sources of benefits from the park. In contrast, they claimed that their life situation has become more difficult due to the restriction of natural resources. In other words, the Outreach Program does not seem to outweigh the hardships resulting from the loss of access to the resources. On the other hand, most of the informants still thought that the existence of the park was important. Some said that without the national park, the forest would become "like a desert," and they did not see that as more beneficial to themselves than the present situation. In one of the group interviews, the informants expressed the following opinions:

> H: What is your experience with the national park?
> I1: We are the closest neighbors of the national park. So mostly because we are neighbors, we are in collaboration when it occur a fire, which can cause any effect to the reserve. And their management is very strong now. We have guards who patrol every corner to watch and make sure all environments are clean. So, to be true, that company of the national park is very strong, different from past years.
> I2: To add there, I can see they have done a good job to return the environment here to be good because in the past years, it was becoming almost like a desert. So they have done a great job to manage to control these poachers.
> I1: So all people who were destroying by cutting firewood, lumbering or anything, they don't have a chance to do that again (GI#2).

Economic benefits from the park were rarely mentioned. Yet, the informants still thought the conservation of the park had other positive effects as it became more densely forested due to the increased amount of rainfall:

> Around our area it is more beneficial to conserve the forest, because through conservation of the forest, we are benefited a lot. For instance it helps to attract the rainfall (GI#1).

Thus, the existence of the national park was still viewed as important, despite lack of other benefits. The minimal significance of economic benefits will be further elaborated upon in the section about themes not included in the narrative.

Exception from the presence of ambivalence:

In contrast to the ambivalence present in the majority of the statements, one of the informants argued that the villagers alone should have the responsibility for the forest:

> H: What are your views, or opinions based on those restrictions that have been set for you not to enter in the forest?
> I: If possible, we should be allowed to enter the forest because we are adults; we will not destroy anything. If we did destroy from the beginning, there wouldn't have been any forest now (…).
> H: Is there any other collaboration?
> I: No (…).
> H: How was it previous? In the past?
> I: Before the [KI]NAPA, I could not see any problem in the forest because people were protecting the forest as their property. People knew that it was their property because we were getting firewood, poles and timber. Now there is more destruction because the forest has been given to KINAPA. When they leave for a little while, people destroy the forest.
> H: Who do you think should be given the responsibility of taking care of the forest?
> I: It will be better if the villagers were given the responsibility because it is our property. We will protect it (I#27).

Although some of the other informants also gave similar statements, they were few.

4.1.2 Non-apparent themes

The three main foci in the Local Narrative of Exclusion have now been outlined. However, as previously mentioned, it may be just as interesting to focus on relevant issues *not* mentioned, to get a broader understanding of the situation.

Two important perspectives seemed to be missing in accounts provided by the informants: the KINAPA's Community Outreach Program and tourism.

Naturally, there are other perspectives not mentioned in the Local Narrative of Exclusion. However, there are several justifiable reasons why I have chosen to elaborate on the two mentioned above: First, KINAPA's Community Outreach Program is aimed directly at the neighbors of the park. The objective is to improve cooperation and neighborhood relations. One would therefore expect this to be brought up in the local narrative. Additionally, benefit sharing with its closest neighbors through outreach programs is one of the main foci within so-called win-win narratives and discourses. In light of this, I would argue that the apparent absence of this aspect in the Local Narrative of Exclusion is of interest.

Tourism is also often portrayed as an important source of revenue for development and to combat poverty. Based on the win-win approach, it would therefore be natural to expect that tourism was an important issue for local people living close to the park. However, as shown in the following examples, these two issues must be considered as non-apparent themes in the Local Narrative of Exclusion.

KINAPA's Community Outreach Program

Few of the informants talked about KINAPA's Community Outreach Program on their own initiative: "No, apart from the grasses we just take for ourself, there are no other benefits" (KI#3). When asked about the benefits from the park, the majority emphasized access to natural resources as an important benefit: "We are only benefited because of illegal access to the grasses" (I#28). KINAPA's Outreach Program was on the other hand rarely mentioned:

> I: What I see, if there were any profits which could be obtained, because the profit we are getting here are the same ones, like fodder and firewood.

If there were maybe any profit which could be obtained, like some revenues that could remain in the village.
H: But KINAPA have a program which says that KINAPA should share some of their revenues with those villages surrounding the national park. Have you got something?
I: Nothing (GI#2)!

After interviewing the informants for a while, I asked them directly about the program. Some of them then told me that they knew about the program and gave examples of support:

H: KINAPA have this Outreach Program where the villagers are supposed to be benefited. Has your village benefited from KINAPA?
I: Yes, I have one example. They contributed to build a classroom in the Secondary School.
H: Are there any other benefits from KINAPA?
I: They helped with this road, to put the gravel there (I#15).

On the other hand, many stated that they had never experienced any benefits through the Community Outreach Program:

H: KINAPA have this outreach program where the villagers who are bordering the national park shall benefit. Have you gotten any benefits from the national park?
I: Never. No support (I#15).

H: What about the Outreach Program to KINAPA where the neighbor villages shall benefit. Have you experienced any of that?
I: Never, I have not seen anything like that (I#18).

Some even claimed that they had never even heard about it.

H: Okay. KINAPA have something called Outreach Program, where they are supposed to share the benefits with people who are bordering the national park. Have you gotten any benefits from KINAPA?
I: This is the first time I hear about that Outreach Program.
H: So you've never gotten any kind of benefits from KINAPA?
I: No. Not even drinking water (I#26).

Exceptions:

The informants from the village-cluster in Marangu East Ward seemed to be more familiar with the Outreach Program than informants from the rest of the villages. The program was also mentioned a few times in this area without me asking specifically about it. Although not fully satisfied with the program, they were aware of its existence:

> Some of my neighbors have been promised by KINAPA through outreach programs that they are going to be helped, but until this moment KINAPA didn't fulfill their promises. So what the Outreach Program of [KI]NAPA did to our community is just building the schools and a bridge only. But other social services are not provided (KI#1).

Perspectives on Tourism

Tourism was another perspective that was missing in the informants' accounts. I found that few of my informants talked about tourism without my asking specifically about it. Even though I used a snowball method in order to get as many different people and perspectives as possible, tourism was a non-apparent theme. The lack of focus on tourism may have to do with the introduction of the interview, as they might have thought that I only wanted their perspectives on conservation of the national park. On the other hand, one should assume that the perspective would have naturally been brought up during the interview if it deeply affected their daily life and routines. The impression that tourism was not an important part of their life was also confirmed when the informants were asked directly:

> H: Do you have any experience with tourism?
> I: No.
> H: Does anyone in this village have any experience with tourism?
> I: I don't know (I#23).

Another replied in this way:

H: What about tourism in this area. Do you have any experience with the tourism?
I: In this village?
H: Yes.
I: There's no tourism here.
H: Are there people here who are participating or are employed in the tourism industry?
I: It's no one (I#24).

However, as my sample is not representative for all the villages bordering the national park, I cannot definitively conclude that tourism is not of importance for the villagers in general. It is also important to be aware that the omission of tourism from discussions varied from place to place. However, it seems that even in places close to tracking routes, tourism was not the most important aspect for the informants:

H: I also want to ask you a little bit about tourism.
I: Mm.
H: Can you tell me if there is any tourism in this area?
I: Yah, plenty. Even yesterday there was so many. They pass through here all the time.
H: Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
I: I am not concerned with tourism; I just see them passing.
H: Okay. So what is your personal opinion about the tourism?
I: Some of my sons carry the luggage, the tourist luggage, uphill.
H: So how did they get the job?
I: It is simply a day's job, like carrying the luggage up. It is not a permanent job.
H: So what do you think about the tourism. Is it a positive or a negative thing?
I: It is nothing compared to the benefits we got from the forest previous, because it's only very few people who can get this job of carrying luggage (KI#4).

As evident in the next example, many of the informants claimed that tourism was only of big importance for people employed in private tourism companies. The

local people living close to the border of the park, on the other hand, were excluded from benefiting from the tourism:

> H: I want to ask you about tourism. Can you tell me about the tourism in this area?
> I: In our area, what makes us weak is that we have not got the motivation of getting good intellectual, educated people to send many *wazungu* [i.e. white people] to the mountain. They take people from town only and from other places. And we who are here at the top are missing the opportunity. So we miss the chance to go.
> H: Who is bringing those guides from town? Is it the tourist companies?
> I: Yes, they are companies by private people who have already got tour guides from town.
> H: Can you explain the roles of these tourist companies?
> H: If you have your own tour company, you can receive tourists from abroad and supply them to these areas. You can show them and climb the mountain, or go to Ngorongoro or somewhere else. So, many are able to enjoy the tourism.
> I: Have *you* ever participated in tourism?
> H: No (GI#2).

Exceptions:

Perhaps the greatest exception between the village-cluster closest in Marangu East Ward and the other villages was the focus on tourism in the accounts given by the informants. Some of the informants living close to the headquarters talked about tourism in the following ways:

> My life entirely depends on the mountain. I used to climb the mountain so that I can get my life necessity (I#2).

> H: What is your personal opinion about the national park?
> I: It helps us a lot because if this national park was not here, automatically our business would have been here for nothing (I#1).

> Around here, tourism plays a great role to improve our livelihood. As you can see, people around here are not well educated, so their life entirely depends on tourism. There are a lot of young guys who are coming from this village who are employed in the tourism sector (KI#3).

Although tourism, in general, was spoken about in positive terms by these informants, the informants engaged in tourism activities also gave stories about problems and misuse by the tourist companies and lack of benefits for the local community living closest to the park:

> The tourism industry around here is not declining. What is declining around here is the local benefits, because the tourists are not purchasing our product. The tourists are not acquiring our service, the service from the local community. We have a lot of things to offer them but unfortunately [tourists] don't have chance to stop and ask about our commodities (I#1).

It could have been very interesting to go deeper into this material and look at the positive and negative experiences with tourism in the Kilimanjaro Region, as these perspectives may represent another collective narrative found at Kilimanjaro. However, the detailed material given about the perspectives on tourism represented relatively few of the informants in my sample. Furthermore, because I had to prioritize and make a selection, I have chosen not to include it as one of the key focus themes.

4.2 Plot development and actors within the narrative

The major lines within the content of the local Narrative of Exclusion have now been presented. In the next section I will present findings concerning structure. However, the major theme within the content of the narrative is essential to understanding the structure of the narrative and vice versa. Thus, exclusion may also be seen as a framework to understand plot development and the representation of actors within the narrative.

4.2.1 A narrative of decline

> The situation is becoming worse and worse day after day. I think even our grandchildren will not be benefited with the Forest Reserve which is nearby our place (KI#3).

As mentioned in chapter 2, plot development within a narrative can be progressive, steady or declining. With these three possible courses of development in mind, I will now present two different individual narratives from my sample:

> I was born in 19XX, at XXX village and I studied at XXX primary school. I started to do hand working after finishing the school. In 19XX, I got married at XXX village. This is the same place I am living. It was good luck that we stayed here and got children. My husband died in 19XX. I then remained here [to] take care of our children (…). I was working with felling firewood in the forest for taking care of my children. Soon after, the forest was under KINAPA. They said there should not be any firewood felling, timber or anything. Then we stayed and worked at home but monkeys, pigs and porcupines were entering in the farms. You are not allowed to catch them, so instead of working you are watching monkeys so they don't eat all the maize in the farm. Life continued to be difficult. We are now working in the maize farms and watch monkeys but if you catch them, they lock you up in the jail. Lumbering and firewood collecting are not allowed because they say the forest will be depleted. This is the life we are living here (KI#4).

The above example is taken from an interview with a widow. An interesting feature is her description of how her life situation has gone from better to worse. In the beginning she describes how it was good luck that she stayed in her village, married her husband and had children. After that, however, her life situation has steadily declined. First, her husband dies and she is left alone with her children. Then she loses her most important income to take care of her family, as she is excluded from getting firewood and timber from the forest. She then tries to depend on her farm for income, but wildlife is eating her maize.

Thus, the development of the plot in this individual narrative clearly represents a narrative of decline. This is substantiated by simple phrases such as "life continued to be difficult," implying a continuation of the regression in her life. The description of a deteriorating change is also evident in the next example:

> To be true, we are living here as neighbors of Kilimanjaro mountain conservation. In the beginning, we were very close friends to these park people because we were collecting fodder and firewood. We developed our lives on animal husbandry because we collected fodder from there and brought it back home for the animals. But now, there have been changes which made us to sell the animals we were keeping because they have taken even the half mile area for the village. Until this moment, if we enter the forest and get caught, you are charged a very big bill. It is very difficult to find a way of living now, because we depended on collection of fodder for animals and firewood from the forest (KI#3).

The first individual narrative involves a number of personal circumstances (such as the death of her husband) that has made her life more difficult. However, even though the two informants are telling their own, individual narratives from two different villages, some of the elements are strikingly similar. As in the previous example, the development of the plot is substantiated by phrases like "in the beginning (…)," "but now, there have been changes (…)." Another similarity is that the restriction of the forest seems to be an important element in both of the two examples. This is not unique. Rather, the life situation described in these two individual narratives seems to be quite similar to the collective story given by the majority of the informants. In all five villages, similar stories on how the restriction from the forest has changed the situation and severely affected the villagers was told by almost everyone interviewed, each describing a situation of deterioration and regression. The problem with wildlife and KINAPA is also shared by the majority of the informants, as evidenced in the previous section. Thus, it can be claimed that the narrative of decline outlined in the two individual

narratives is also representative of the dynamic of the plot in the collective Narrative of Exclusion.

4.2.2 Actors within the narrative

Based on the accounts given by the informants, two distinct actors appear to be particularly prominent within the narrative. On the one side, KINAPA, and especially the park rangers employed by KINAPA, seem to possess an important role. On the other side, the local people hold a central role in their own narrative:

> There's no good relation between people and KINAPA; it's that way. And the way they treat local people is like, they're like gods, and the local people have got no right whatsoever in the forest (I#9).

An interesting feature is how the local Narrative of Exclusion seems to draw a picture of a story consisting of two opposing role characters where KINAPA is clearly playing the role of the "villains." As shown in the example below, direct statements and descriptions are given by the informants to clarify KINAPA's role in the narrative:

> Accidentally, if they find you there, maybe there was no other choice and you have to go there, and if they find you they will beat you. So they're not like other humans, they don't have mercy. Also, if the women are found there, they will beat you using a stick, they torture them badly (I#23).

The characteristics given about the park rangers show how the informants highlight the distinction between "us," the villagers, and "them," the bad guys—KINAPA and the park rangers. The rangers represent the core of the conflict, described as inhuman, and unlike the local people. Rather, they are acting like "they're gods," "they don't have mercy." The local people, on the other hand, are representing the victims of KINAPA's bad behavior. These are the innocent people who "have no other choice" and with "no rights whatsoever." The

villagers are the ones who suffer from the restrictions and the rule changes implemented by KINAPA.

Some villagers have a sense of powerlessness. As one of the informants put it: "KINAPA is like a big elephant; it is nothing we can do" (KI#4). However not all accounts given by the informants describe the local people as passive victims, unable to act. For instance, the example below portrays the actors quite differently:

> So one of these days we happened to catch a team of thieves. (…) It was a truck full of unauthorized timber, like camphor (…). After stopping the truck, we told them that they are arrested because they've broken the law. They started begging, asking "please let us go!" They even tried to give us tips, but we were serious. We did not accept anything. We reported to KINAPA because by that time, KINAPA was operating half. We are participating you know, but really there's no real understanding whether we are really cooperating with them or not. We are waiting for such information, but we haven't got any. So we have to hand over these people to KINAPA. KINAPA officials came from Marangu and took over everything. Unfortunately, the people were free the next day. They were looking at us as if we were stupid. They said: "We gave them even less money than we offered you, only 200, 000 shillings." They would have been giving us nearly a million shillings for everything. So you can see how the government employees are corrupt, even the national park themselves. So who is to trust in the real conservation (KI#2)?

In the informant's narrative, KINAPA is still acting as the villain. However, in contrast to the previous descriptions of the villagers as victims, in this case they are presented as honest "heroes." The villagers are the ones interested in conserving the forest, playing an active role in stopping thieves from stealing timber. KINAPA on the other hand, is portrayed as consisting of greedy, corrupt thieves, more interested in money than conserving the forest. Several informants gave similar pictures where the villagers play an active role as "heroes" who participate and protect the forest:

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> The villagers don't have any positive experience [with cooperation], but KINAPA have. Because once a fire occurs, the villagers go there to help them to set it off. But even if you set off the fire and they catch you there the day after, they will beat you. They beat you despite that you helped them the other day (I#23).

Thus the self-image of the local people is mixed. Some portray themselves as victims of exclusion and KINAPA's bad behavior. But according to others, they are not only passive victims. They also play an important and active role in preserving the forest.

Exception from plot development and actors:

None of the individual narratives seemed to be different from a plot development of decline. Furthermore, few of the informants' accounts differed greatly from the actors presented within the collective narrative. However, one big exception should be mentioned. In the example below, the different roles are completely reversed when compared with the Local Narrative of Exclusion:

> I: This forest also helps citizens because they can cut fodder for cows and collect firewood. But in the same forest, there are criminals who are destroying. In general, the mountain helps many people.
> H: Do you have any experience with these criminals?
> I: I have worked as a patrol man to search for them. These criminals are very dangerous because if you go to him without quotation, he will cut you. They have wounded many people; myself I have a scar of a knife here. Those people are dangerous. That's why they are beaten very much when they are caught.
> H: Can you explain what happened when you got a scar?
> I: It was in the process of fighting with a poacher. In a running process, I got close to catching him and he turned back and cut me.
> H: When was it?
> I: It was like two month ago.
> H: Can you explain what happened?
> I: It was like this. It was in XXX area. It is a routine that every morning we eat food and go for patrol. So we got there and watched after poachers. We heard the sound of someone felling trees, and followed the sound.

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Unfortunately, one of us stepped on a stick, which broke and made [the poachers] aware of us, so they started to run. Then we started to run and run and run after them. We got close to one of them, but the others escaped to the slopes. It is better for them to fall in the steep slopes than to be caught. So in the running process, the others escaped, and we followed after the one. He turned back to cut me when we reached close to him. And there is another man who also got cut on his hand. He was so severely cut that even his fingers are not folding now. And with another one, a knife sharpener was thrown on him and hit his shoulder (…). They are also dangerous because sometimes they have weapons. So, in general, these are the threats which are here.
H: Who are these poachers?
I: They are citizens of the village (I#2).

As described by the informant, he participates in KINAPA's patrol and makes sure that no one is illegally destroying the forest. In contrast to the Local Narrative of Exclusion, the people patrolling the forest are, in this case, seen as brave heroes who defy the dangers of hunting for criminals to protect the forest. The danger of this mission is emphasized repeatedly. The villagers on the other hand, are the villains, the dangerous and criminal poachers who destroy the forest. And, as they are dangerous, it is necessary to beat them. This perspective was completely different from the view presented in the collective narrative, where the villagers are spoken of as victims of this behavior rather than dangerous criminals. The opposite perspective given by this informant may have to do with the fact that he is not Chagga as are the majority of the informants, or because he had, in contrast to other informants, been working with KINAPA and patrolling the forest.

4.3 Summary of the Local Narrative of Exclusion

In this chapter, I have presented main findings on how the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park talk about the park. The collective story presented a narrative about how exclusion has led to a poor neighbor relationship

between the closest neighbor of Kilimanjaro National Park and the park authorities. It was a narrative about lack of participation, influence and cooperation. The informants narrated about violent park rangers, restricted access to the previously available Half-Mile Strip, dissatisfaction with the wildlife management and lack of influence in the conservation of the forest and the management process. All these elements underpinned and constituted part of the main theme in the local narrative, namely exclusion. Despite this conflict, the villagers still saw the value of the park as important due to indirect benefits such as increased rainwater. However, direct benefits from tourism or revenue sharing programs seemed to have little significance for the closest neighbors. The local narrative possessed an element of ambivalence. The villagers were, on the one hand, very unhappy with the behavior of KINAPA. But by the same token, they did appreciate the value of the park and expressed a desire to cooperate with the park authorities to protect and manage the forest. The collective story presented by the closest neighbors was also a narrative of decline. The life situation for the villagers has changed from good to bad due to the increased amount of wildlife destroying their crops and the restricted access to natural resources. There were two important actors presented in the narrative: KINAPA and the villagers. While KINAPA were portrayed as inhuman and corrupt villains, the villagers were playing the role of victims. The local people also portrayed themselves as local heroes who were willing to contribute to the protection of the forest. In conclusion, I put forth that the narrative identified among local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park is a narrative of exclusion. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this narrative can be compared with discursive narratives produced by global actors.

5. Discursive narratives on Kilimanjaro: A comparison with the Local Narrative of Exclusion

This chapter presents a comparison of the Local Narrative of Exclusion with discursive narratives about conservation and poverty alleviation at Kilimanjaro National Park produced by global actors. Three of the four discourse types outlined in chapter 2 will be used as a framework for the comparison: The win-win discourse, the traditionalist discourse and the preservationist discourse. First, I will present a win-win narrative on Kilimanjaro National Park produced by the UNDP and the UNF led project COMPACT. I will then compare the Local Narrative of Exclusion with the Win-Win Narrative by looking at differences and similarities between the two narratives. Finally, I will briefly look at differences and similarities between the Local Narrative of Exclusion and features of narratives within the preservationist and traditionalist discourse.

5.1 Presentation of a win-win narrative at Kilimanjaro National Park

It may appear that Kilimanjaro National Park is often presented as a win-win case among global actors. I found a number of examples where the case of Kilimanjaro National Park has been presented as a win-win narrative among powerful actors such as WWF, UNDP and UNF. During my literature review I could, on the other hand, not find globally-produced narratives on Kilimanjaro within the preservationist and traditionalist discourses. Consequently, when I compare the Local Narrative of Exclusion with discursive narratives produced by global actors, the win-win narrative has been given considerable space.

An example of a win-win narrative is presented in a leaflet produced by the UNDP/UNF funded project "Community Management of Protected Areas for

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Conservation" (COMPACT). As Kilimanjaro National Park is one of six World Heritage Sites participating in COMPACT, I considered this narrative to be of particular importance.

The win-win narrative presented by COMPACT begins by portraying a negative situation where increasing population and pressure on natural resources threaten to destroy the entire mountain ecosystem:

> In the Mt. Kilimanjaro landscape, COMPACT is working in a context where increasing population and demand for natural resources pose serious challenges to efforts to balance conservation and poverty reduction (Brown et al. 2010:14)

> (...) Over the years, increasing demand for forest products and agricultural land has destabilized the fragile mountain ecosystem. The resource base is under unprecedented pressure from population growth that threatens the existence and sustainability of mountain resources. At the same time, these resources are critical to the livelihoods of mountain adjacent communities (Brown et al. 2010:14).

After the implementation of the COMPACT-project however, the situation has changed to a win-win situation where the local communities now see the value of conserving the wildlife and biodiversity:

> "COMPACT Kilimanjaro has demonstrated that conservation-led enterprises provide communities with economic incentives to conserve their natural resources-and treat wildlife not as a threat to their livelihoods, but rather as the basis of a sustainable livelihood" (Brown et al. 2010:15).

One of the main foci within the narrative presented by COMPACT is how conservation should be managed through involvement and participation of the local communities. In the presentation of the project, they claim that: "COMPACT has increased the active involvement of the local communities in planning and management of the Kilimanjaro World Heritage Site" (Brown et al. 2010:15). Their strategy has also

(…) led to conservation and development strategies that strengthen partnerships between stakeholders, and importantly, link communities with government planning processes" (Brown et al. 2010:15).

The Win-Win Narrative presented by COMPACT is a narrative of progression. In it they state that despite the many challenges due to overpopulation and pressure on natural resources, the strategies implemented by the COMPACT project have now led to a successful situation with poverty alleviation while similarly conserving biodiversity. Two actors can be identified within the Win-Win Narrative: The COMPACT stakeholders and the villagers. The external stakeholders from COMPACT are portrayed as heroes, as they "help to improve the livelihood of the local communities." The role of the local people is more diverse. In the beginning of the narrative, they are portrayed as a destructive force, as illustrated in these two statements: The "resource base is under unprecedented pressure from population growth" and the mountain is threatened by "overuse of natural resources by local communities" (Brown et al. 2010:14). Similarly, they are also seen as victims of their own behavior, as they are highly dependent on the natural resources for their livelihoods. However, the role of the villagers changes during the progressive narrative. With a little help from COMPACT stakeholders, they are in the end considered as "heroes," as they finally see the value of protecting wildlife and their own natural resources.

5.2 Comparison of the Local Narrative of Exclusion with the Win-Win Narrative produced by COMPACT

Several major differences between the two narratives must be mentioned. First, the issue of participation is presented quite differently. According to the Win-Win Narrative presented by COMPACT, the involvement of the local communities has increased both regarding the management of the forest and the planning process. The Local Narrative of Exclusion, however, gives a totally

different view. Rather than active involvement in the management of the World Heritage site, it claims that the local communities are now excluded from the management. In contrast to the claim of strengthened linkages between the communities and the government planning processes, the closest neighbors of the park expressed a feeling that the decisions were taken above their heads without any possibility for participation or power to influence the agreements. For instance, none of the perspectives given by the informants suggested that the local community has taken part in the decision to expand the park.

Second, the Local Narrative of Exclusion also deviates from the Win-Win Narrative regarding wildlife. While the Win-Win Narrative claims that the local communities now see the wildlife as a "basis of sustainable livelihood," the Local Narrative of Exclusion describes how increased wildlife is a source of conflict. Despite the fact that the wildlife eat their crops and threaten their livelihoods, they are not allowed to kill them or chase them away, because the wildlife can get "high blood pressure" (I#9), as one of the informants put it.

The two narratives also differ in their main perspectives. A major focus within the Win-Win Narrative is the emphasis on benefits for the villagers. COMPACT states that through economic incentives and improved livelihoods, the local communities now see the value of natural resources, but COMPACT does not specify how this has been achieved or what specific improvements have been made. References to economic benefits are on the other hand rarely mentioned within the Local Narrative of Exclusion. In contrast, a major focus within the Local Narrative of Exclusion is the poor relationship between the park authorities and the neighbors. This viewpoint is totally lacking in the Win-Win Narrative. Rather, the perspective presented by COMPACT narrates about "strengthen[ing] partnerships between stakeholders (Brown et al. 2010:15)."

The structure of the two narratives is also quite different from each other. In contrast to the local narrative describing a situation of regression and decline, the Win-Win Narrative is a story about progression and success, as illustrated in Figure 2. Furthermore, while the actors within the Local Narrative of Exclusion are presented as the villains against the victims/local heroes, it seems that both actors are, at the end, presented as heroes within the Win-Win Narrative.

PLOT DEVELOPMENT

Win-win Narrative

Local Narrative of Exclusion

TIME
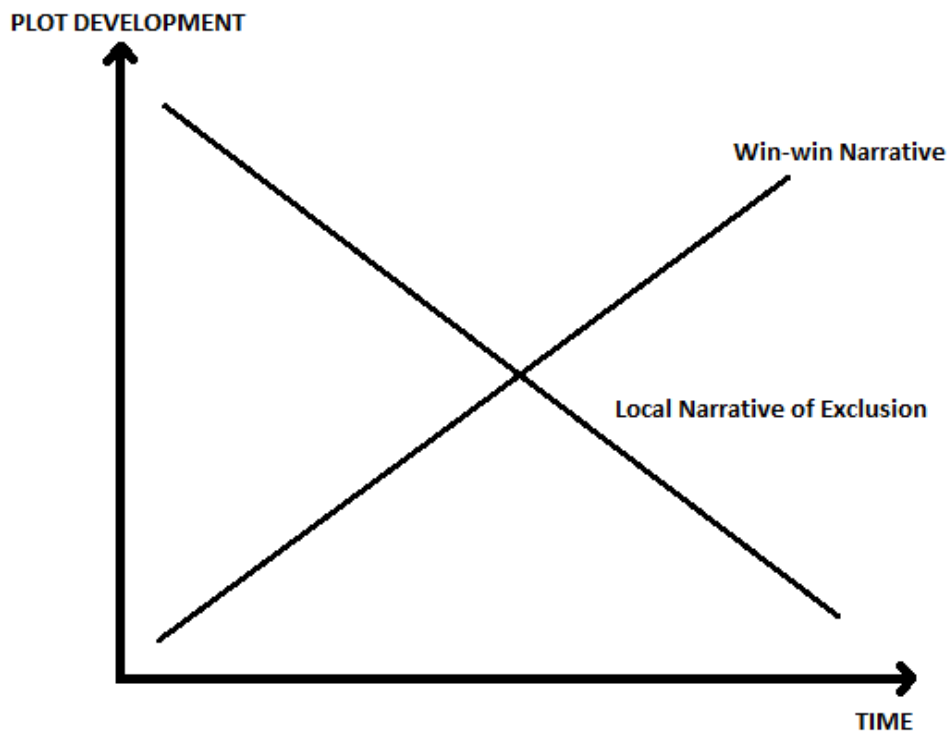
Figure 2: Plot Development of the Local Narrative of Exclusion compared with the Win-Win Narrative. Source: Based on figures from Lieblich et al. (1998:90).

A number of contradictions between the two narratives have now been accounted for. However, despite large differences between the Local Narrative of Exclusion and the Win-Win Narrative, there are also some similarities:

First, conservation is an important element within the Win-Win Narrative. Considering the main objective of the COMPACT project, community-based initiatives and improved living conditions for local people must first and

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foremost be seen as a measure to enhance the protection of biological diversity. Although conservation may not be considered as the *most* important perspective within the Local Narrative of Exclusion, the informants also emphasize conservation as an important issue.

Second, both narratives highlight the importance of participation in order to conserve the forest. According to the Win-Win Narrative, participation and collaboration with the local communities are considered an important tool to achieve conservation. This is also emphasized in the Local Narrative of Exclusion. Although the local narrative claims that there is no such cooperation today, collaboration is considered to be the best solution. A comparison of the two narratives is presented in Table 2.

To sum up, the Local Narrative of Exclusion clearly deviates from the Win-Win-Narrative provided by UNDP/UNF (Brown et al.2010). On the other hand, it may have many similarities with other discursive narratives produced on a global level. Thus, in the next section I will briefly go through differences and similarities of the Local Narrative of Exclusion with features within the preservationist and traditionalist discourse types, respectively.

		A Win-Win Narrative on Kilimanjaro National Park	**The Local Narrative of Exclusion**
Content	Participation	Active involvement of the local communities in management and government planning processes	Exclusion of the local communities in management of the forest and lack of influence in government planning processes
		Collaboration with the local communities considered as an important tool to achieve conservation	Collaboration with the park authorities is considered as the best solution to manage the forest
	Wildlife	Wildlife considered as a benefit, a basis of sustainable livelihood	Wildlife considered as a cost and a threat to the villagers livelihood
	Poor relationship between park authorities and neighbors	Poor relationship is a non-apparent theme	Poor relationship is a major theme
	Benefit-sharing through tourism and programs	Great emphasis on conservation through benefit sharing and economic incentives	Benefit-sharing a non-apparent theme
	Conservation	Protection of biodiversity and wildlife considered as a main objective	Protection of the forest considered as important
Structure	Plot development	Progression	Decline
	Actors	Heroes versus heroes	Villains versus victims/local heroes

5.3 A comparison of the Local Narrative of Exclusion with narratives within preservationist and traditionalist discourses

Few similarities can be found between the Local Narrative of Exclusion and narratives produced within a preservationist discourse. In contrast to the preservationist discourse in which a strict distinction between people and parks is considered as the best solution to achieve conservation, the Local Narrative of Exclusion focuses on participation of the local communities in forest management. Furthermore, while the local communities are portrayed as pests and a threat to wildlife within preservationist narratives (Brockington 2002), the local people are seen as victims or even heroes within the Local Narrative of Exclusion. In conclusion, the narrative given by the local informants does not seem to be represented within a preservationist discourse. Narratives within the traditionalist discourse, however, have many striking similarities. Consistent with the Local Narrative of Exclusion, a common content within traditionalist narratives is a focus on negative impacts caused by external actors. Furthermore, in conformity with the Local Narrative of Exclusion, the structure is characterized as a narrative of decline. Yet, there are also certain key elements that differ from a traditionalist perspective:

First, the Local Narrative of Exclusion deviates from a traditionalist perspective due to the informants desire to cooperate with KINAPA regarding conservation. Following a traditionalist narrative, the local people would be considered the best actors to protect the forest without interference from external actors. As mentioned in the presentation of the local narrative, a few of the informants argued that the villagers alone should have the responsibility for the forest. However, this perspective was not consistent with the dominant views given by the majority of the informants.

Second, the presentation of the different actors within the Local Narrative of Exclusion is more ambivalent than the presentation of actors within an "ideal" traditionalist narrative. On the one hand, the actors within the Local Narrative of Exclusion are portrayed as villains versus victims. This is consistent with the actor gallery presented within discursive traditionalist narratives. Yet, some of the informants within the Local Narrative of Exclusion also portray themselves as heroes, contributing to the conservation of the forest. This may be more consistent with a presentation of a win-win narrative, rather than a traditionalist narrative. Hence, despite an overwhelming similarity with narratives within a traditionalist perspective, I will submit that the collective story presented by the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park represents a more ambivalent and nuanced perspective than the simplistic "ideal-narratives" produced at a global level.

5.4 Summary

This chapter provided a comparison of the Local Narrative of Exclusion with discursive narrative produced by actors at a global level. Findings revealed that the narratives produced by UNDP and UNF focused on a win-win situation with poverty alleviation and conservation of biodiversity. This clearly deviates from the narrative produced by the local actors. In stark contrast to the Win-Win Narrative, the local narrative focused on conflict and exclusion. Furthermore, while the structure of the Win-Win Narrative contained a regressive plot development where the actors were portrayed as heroes, the Local Narrative of Exclusion presented a narrative of decline where the actors were portrayed as villains or victims/local heroes. This difference raises an important question: In stark contrast to the win-win narrative produced by global actors, why do the informants present a narrative of exclusion?

6. Placing the narrative in a social context

I will now analyze why the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park present a narrative of exclusion. Following Elliot's (2005) understanding of narratives (as presented in chapter 2), it may not be surprising that the informants are telling the same story at the local level. Elliot's (2005) definition implies that narratives represent a form of expression through which people give meaning to the world. It may thus not be unnatural when people express themselves in similar ways. Moreover, narratives are constructed in the context of social relationships, and the individual narratives may thus be a result of situations where the participants communicate and mutually influence each other. Still, I will submit that the coherence found in the Local Narrative of Exclusion is the result of real events and reflects changes that have actually occurred. To substantiate this claim, it will thus be necessary to compare the narrative with features of the reality that the Local Narrative of Exclusion claim to say something about. Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 3, narrative researchers may be criticized for naively believing the narrative presented by the informants, without investigating whether the narrative correlates with "reality." Consequently, I will in this chapter adopt a critical realist position to investigate the Local Narrative's claim of exclusion. This investigation was based on literature review and findings from several different sources including interviews with public officials, letters, reports and official documents. The following sections will be analyzed: Exclusion from 1) natural resources within the Half-Mile Strip, 2) management and conservation of the forest and 3) decision processes.

6.1 Exclusion from the Half-Mile Strip and denial of access to natural resources

In this first section, I will investigate why the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park claim that they are excluded from access to natural resources from the formerly available Half-Mile Strip. I will also go further into the claim of violent park rangers. In order to get a thorough understanding of the situation, a historical review of the management practice on Kilimanjaro is needed. Thereafter, I will look at the expansion process of Kilimanjaro National Park and investigate whether it is true that the local people have been excluded.

6.1.1 Forest Management on Kilimanjaro: A historical review

The Half-Mile Strip was established by German colonialists in 1941for the purpose of providing the local inhabitants with basic necessities such as grass, timber and firewood (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991). It was also meant to serve as a buffer zone between the densely inhabited villages and the protected forest. After the establishment of Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve in 1904, the Chagga people were, in line with the contemporary preservationist strategies, banned from accessing the forest and as a consequence they started to grow trees and fodder in their own gardens. However, it soon became clear that their small pieces of land could not provide all their life necessities. Hence, after demands from the local people, the Half-Mile Strip was established to serve as a common area for the villages and was to be managed by the local Chagga Council (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991). According to Kivumbi and Newmark (1991:85), the management of the Half-Mile Strip functioned well under the council. A reforesting program was implemented, and they put great effort into managing the area properly with involvement of the local population.

The Half-Mile Strip has historically been subject to many different forms of governance and management practices. Tanzania achieved its independence from the British colonial rule in December 1961[9] (Vilby 2005). Directly following this event, in 1962, the management of the Catchment Forest Reserve was transferred to the District Council. Until recently, the Half-Mile Strip has mainly been managed by the District Council, except for a period between 1972 and 1987, when the area was governed by the central government within the South Kilimanjaro Forest Catchment Project (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991). The main purpose of the South Kilimanjaro Forest Catchment Project was to promote soil and water conservation while social forestry objectives were given less attention. Hence, the local people were denied the privilege of accessing forest products for free. According to Kivumbi and Newmark (1991), this created

> resentment among local people particularly since they had contributed considerably in terms of labor for planting and thinning of trees, demarcating the boundary, and fighting fires. As a result many people resorted to illegal cutting of trees or even arson (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991:86).

As a result, the area was given back to the District Council in 1987 after pressure from local protest groups. In 1995, the government tried again to prohibit resource extraction from the Half-Mile Strip by prohibiting extractive use from the area. In practice however, the governmental restrictions failed and the local people continued to maintain access to the Half-Mile Strip, despite the restrictions implemented by the government (Mungo and Williams 2003, Durrant 2004, Durrant and Durrant 2008).

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[9] British colonial rule was established after Germany's defeat in World War I (Vilby 2005).

In 1998, in line with the approaches dominating at the global level, a new National Forestry Policy was released in Tanzania, promoting participatory forest management. The objectives of the new policy were to empower the local communities as managers and owners of the forests (Nelson and Blomley 2010). The policy involved two types of participatory forest management: Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) and Joint Forest Management (JFM). The first program is meant for village or private land, owned and managed by the village council. The JFM on the other hand, is directed towards reserved lands owned and managed by central or local government. The intention of the JFM is to include the local communities bordering reserved forests through shared responsibility and co-management (MNRT 2006). JFM has been strongly promoted by the Forestry and Beekeeping Division in montane catchment forests such as the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve. Through the JFM, the Forestry and Beekeeping Division sought to involve the local communities in the management of the forest through the establishment of village natural resource committees, by preparing Village Forest by-laws and through the establishment of management agreements between the government and the villages bordering the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve (Mongo 2007). Now, however, the local people claim to be excluded again. So what happened? In the next section, I will investigate this further by looking at the expansion process.

6.1.2 The expansion process of Kilimanjaro National Park

In 2001, an aerial survey of Kilimanjaro National Park was conducted. The UNDP/GEF Small Grants Programme originally initiated the aerial survey as part of the newly developed COMPACT program (Lambrechts et al. 2002). The purpose was to "identify the type, extent and location of the threats to the forests and provide a baseline assessment for the [COMPACT] project" (Lambrechts et al. 2002:5). The survey revealed that the forest encircling the

mountain was disturbed by several human activities, such as extensive logging, forest plantations, human settlements, livestock grazing and cultivated fields. The report concluded that the threats to the forest were severe, and prompt actions were necessary to stop further destruction of the World Heritage Site (Lambrechts et al. 2002).

The aerial survey resulted in a process to include the Catchment Forest Reserve within the national park with initiative from the COMPACT-project (UNDP/UNF) and the World Heritage Site Committee (Agrawala et al. 2003, UNESCO 2011b). As a result, the Catchment Forest Reserve has now been annexed to the park. Interestingly, the ideas and perceptions of *when* KINAPA officially took over the forest vary. Some of my informants said that the forest was taken over by KINAPA in the late 1990s or early 2000s, while Durrant and Durrant (2008:373) claim the Catchment Forest Reserve has been incorporated into the park since 2003. To further the confusion, according to the General Management Plan of KINAPA (GMP 2006), the forest was officially gazetted to the national park in 2005. This year is also confirmed by the official government gazette. According to the formal government notice, the forest was declared expanded by the president in 2004 and officially annexed to the national park in 2005 (GoTz 2005). One explanation of the different opinions of when the forest was taken over may have to do with people's poor memory when it comes to annual figures. Another explanation, however, may be that there is a discrepancy between the official legislation and the actual management practice implemented by KINAPA on the ground. Moreover, the confusion regarding the implementation process of the Catchment Forest Reserve is not unique. Conflicting information and ideas were also given regarding permissions, governance and management of the Half-Mile Strip. According to KINAPA, the Half-Mile Strip is part of the Catchment Forest Reserve, thus naturally implemented as part of the national park in 2005. However Mr. Kuchana from

the District Council stated that when KINAPA took over the Catchment Forest Reserve, the new beacons were placed to include the Half-Mile Strip by mistake (Interview: Kuchana 20.08.10). This view is also supported by Julius Mkumbo, manager of the Regional Forest Department (RFD) and the South Kilimanjaro Forest Catchment Project. According to Mr. Mkumbo (interview: 19.08.10), KINAPA were supposed to take only the Catchment Forest Reserve during the process of expanding the national park, leaving out the Half-Mile Strip. But then, in contrast to this intention, KINAPA decided to take over the whole area. Immediately after the take-over, however, negotiations were established with the park authorities to get the Half-Mile Strip back (Mkumbo: interview 19.08.10).

Disagreement and confusion over ownership and user rights of the Half-Mile Strip have also been documented by other recent studies. According to Durrant and Durrant (2008:378), the official policy is "obscure." They were told several stories about what was and what was not allowed within the Half-Mile Strip from both the villagers and the park rangers. Pettersen (2010:76) also gives a similar view: Although the majority of the local people approved the legal ownership of KINAPA, they contested KINAPA's right to exclude them from the natural resources. Furthermore, when asking my informants from the villages about the legislation, none of them recalled ever having seen the official gazette.[10] However, despite confusion of ownership, there is no doubt that KINAPA have taken over the Half-Mile Strip in practice, as stated by Mongo (2007) and Durrant and Durrant (2008). This has also been confirmed during my fieldwork through interviews with representatives on local, ward, district and regional

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[10] Accessing the official gazette also turned out to be extremely challenging, as it was not possible to find it in any of the public libraries or governmental offices in Moshi or Arusha. However, after almost six month and many efforts, I managed to get it through an assistant who found it in a public library in Dar es Salaam, quite far from the people living next to the national park. Unfortunately, the appendices with detailed coordinates of the new boundaries were missing. Due to time constraints, I chose not to put more effort in this task, despite a strong desire to get to the bottom of the case.

levels, through informal conversations with KINAPA as well as my own field observations. Implementing the Half-Mile Strip as part of the Kilimanjaro National Park involves giving it, in line with the rest of the national park, the highest resource protection provided in Tanzania (TANAPA 2008a), which implies a strict separation between the people and the park. Therefore it seems that the local people have indeed been excluded from access to the Half-Mile Strip, as claimed in the local narrative.

Violence by KINAPA park rangers is more challenging to document, except from the personal experiences told by the informants. However, episodes of severe violence were also documented by Pettersen (2010) during his study on livelihoods and conflicts around Kilimanjaro National Park. For instance, a person was reported to have been shot dead by a park ranger. According to Pettersen (2010:79), it has not been possible to find out what happened after the ranger was taken into custody by the police. However, according to his informants, this excessive use of force is used regularly. And as was reported by my informants, women in Pettersen's (2010) documentation also claimed to have been raped or harassed when they collected firewood. Similar stories on violence and human rights abuses have also been observed in other national parks and protected areas in Tanzania (see e.g. Neumann 1998, Brockington 2002, Igoe 2004, Neumann 2004, Brockington and Igoe 2006, Igoe 2007, Goldman 2011). Hence, the exercise of violence and force may not necessarily be unique to Kilimanjaro National Park.

To sum up, it appears that the local people have been strictly excluded from access to the natural resources in the Half-Mile Strip as claimed in the Local Narrative of Exclusion.

6.2 Exclusion from management and conservation

The Local Narrative of Exclusion does not only make claims about the exclusion from access to natural resources and violent park rangers; it also describes exclusion from the conservation and management of the park. Except in cases of fire, the informants report that they no longer participate in the conservation of the forest. In this section, I will go further into this claim by looking at the role of the Village Natural Resource Committees and local conservation initiatives.

6.2.1 The role of Village Natural Resource Committees

According to the Local Narrative of Exclusion, the local people previously had a good relationship with the conservation authorities. They cooperated in the management of the forest with the forest guards through environmental committees, formally named Village Natural Resource Committees.[11] This concurs with the observations made by Cooksey et al. (2007a), NORADs' external evaluators of the Management of Natural Resources Programme. In their evaluation report Cooksey et al. (2007c:4) claim that the relationship between the local people and the forest officials at Kilimanjaro was an improvement as compared to the years before the project was initiated. The forest officials taught the people sustainable beekeeping and fish farming, and the local people shared information with the officials.

According to Cooksey et al. (2007c:9), the committees were established in all the villages, whereas 50% were estimated to be active. The committees were responsible for protecting the forest, coordinating patrols and reporting to the village government. Villagers were given the responsibilities of patrolling the forest and guarding the natural resources from being illegally exploited (Cooksey

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[11] As mentioned in the historical review, the committees were established by the Forestry and Beekeeping Division as part of the JFM project.

et al. 2007c, Jansen 2009). However, according to the Local Narrative of Exclusion, the committees have all collapsed after the Half-Mile Strip and the Forest Reserve were annexed to the national park. Written sources confirming this current situation have been difficult to obtain. Nonetheless, a complaint from the Franciscan Maua Seminary, addressed to the directors of Forestry and Beekeeping, describes how, in 2008, members of the Village Natural Resource Committees were arrested by KINAPA and charged a fine of 250, 000 tz for maintaining the forest within the Half-Mile Strip (Ladislaus 2008b). Village leaders and representatives from the committees also gave similar stories, recounting the arrest of committee members for patrolling the forest. In conclusion, one may argue that as the members of the committees have been denied access by KINAPA to patrol the forest, the committees appear to have lost their main function.

6.2.2 Local Conservation initiatives

Local communities adjacent to the park were previously highly involved in tree planting activities within the Half-Mile Strip. A study from 2007 on the socio-economic production options of the Half-Mile Strip revealed that 97%, 98%, and 68% of the households in Hai, Moshi and Rombo, respectively, had planted trees in the past five years (Mongo 2007). A number of NGOs, villages and private initiatives have also been active with reforestation initiatives within the Half-Mile Strip. Tanzania Environmental Action Association, Tanzania Association of Foresters, Kibosho East Ward Group, Tarakea Environmental Conservation Society, and Kilimanjaro Environmental Development Association represent some of the initiatives (Agrawala et al. 2003, Mongo 2007). Maua Seminary is another example. The seminary has been working on reforestation in both the valley of the Mue River and inside the Half-Mile Strip with the use of the local community and private funding. However, after the take-over by KINAPA, they no longer have access to maintain reforestation within the Half-Mile Strip. A

number of requests, letters and complaints have been sent to the government and KINAPA, apparently without results (Interview: Ladislaus 02.09.10).

Consequently, it seems that the participation of the local people in the forest management of Kilimanjaro has declined after the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve and the Half-Mile Strip have been annexed to the national park.

6.3 Exclusion from decision processes

Finally, the Local Narrative of Exclusion expresses frustration due to exclusion from access to information, negotiations and decision-making processes regarding the expansion.

On the one hand, local people seem to have been partly involved in the process of expanding the national park: Before the decision was made, the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) was hired by KINAPA to create a formal proposal. According to Mr. Chengullah[12] (Interview: 08.09.10) who participated in the initial process of making the proposal, the local people were consulted during the process via meetings, surveys and seminars. Based on the information provided by the local people, the proposal concluded that the Catchment Forest Reserve should be added as part of the national park. At the same time, however, the importance of not incorporating the Half-Mile Strip to the park was also specified. Rather, it was proposed that the Half-Mile Strip should be managed by the local authorities as it had been previously (Interview: Chengullah 08.09.10).

The proposal is by KINAPA and Mr. Chengullah claimed to have been the basis for the declaration made in 2004/05 announcing the official expansion of the national park. However, there seems to be a discrepancy between the proposal

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[12] Mr. Chengullah was committed by IRA during the initial process of making the proposal. He is now working as a Wildlife Programme Officer in Tanzania Natural Resource Forum.

and the practices that have occurred on the ground. When asking Mr. Chengullah why the Half-Mile Strip was taken over by KINAPA even though this was discouraged in the proposal, he expressed surprise and emphasized that the take-over must be wrong—That the proposal had been written specifically to make sure the Half-Mile Strip was not incorporated by KINAPA (Interview: Chengullah 08.09.10). Thus, it seems that although the local people were partly involved in the initiation phase, their opinions did not "survive" the process.

Furthermore, the Local Narrative of Exclusion claims the villagers have been excluded from meetings and the subsequent negotiations regarding the Half-Mile Strip. According to Mr.Kuchana (Interview: 20.08.10), it is the Regional Forest Department that has coordinated the negotiations with KINAPA and the government on behalf of the three districts of Hai, Moshi Rural, and Rombo. Thus it seems that neither the village nor the ward leaders took part in the negotiation process. According to Mr. Kuchana, the negotiations are now over, and they are just waiting for the agreement to be acted upon by the central government, giving the Half-Mile Strip back the District Council. Similar information was given by the manager of the Regional Forest Department, who stated that the Half-Mile Strip would be given back soon. A map with the new coordinates is already drawn, and it is "only a matter of picking it up" (Mkumbo: interview 19.08.10). However, neither Mr Kuchana nor Mkumbo could tell exactly when the agreement would be implemented.

According to the informants, the Half-Mile Strip was supposed to have been given back "soon" for quite a long time. One of my key informants described how a meeting had been held in their village six month earlier. The villagers had heard that some representatives from the government were going to come and declare that the Half-Mile Strip was given back to the District Council. The villagers waited for many hours at the village meeting, but no one came. They haven't heard anything since then (KI#2). In September 2009, a meeting was

held in another village. At that meeting, Mr. Samiz, representing the government party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), announced that the Half-Mile Strip had been returned by KINAPA and given back to the District Council. However, nothing appears to have changed in practice, and the announcement has not yet been confirmed in writing (Ladislaus 2008a). According to my key informant, the Half-Mile Strip has to this date (May 2011) still not been given back to the District Council in practice (KI#2).

6.4 Summary

I have now investigated why the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park present a narrative of exclusion. On the basis of a literature review and findings from several documents, reports, letters and interviews with government officials, I submit that they present a narrative of exclusion on the basis of the developments that have actually occurred since the expansion of the national park in 2005. Although some information regarding ownership and management is still unclear, it appears that the local people are excluded from accessing basic natural resources such as grass, dead firewood and timber, as well as from participating in initiatives regarding the conservation of the park. Furthermore, information sharing and the involvement of the local people in the decision-making processes and negotiations appear to be limited. Rather than a win-win situation with participation and the involvement of local people, it seems that the park authorities of Kilimanjaro National Park in practice are implementing a preservationist practice supported by the use of military force to maintain a strict separation between the local communities and protected areas. How has this practice been enabled? This second and final main research question will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

7. The implementation of a preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro

The following chapter aims to analyze what forms of power resources have been exercised by KINAPA to enable a preservationist practice, despite resistance by other actors. A *preservationist* practice will be understood as the practice of military and territorial strategies to expand the national park, and the practice of excluding local people from access to natural resources, management, conservation and decision processes regarding expansion of the park.

The chapter is divided into three main parts: First, I will analyze different power resources that may have been exercised by KINAPA to enable their preservationist practice. Second, I will analyze different power resources that may have been used by other actors to resist this practice. In the final section I will look at the broader social structures within the natural resource management in Tanzania that may also have affected and influenced the changing practice on Kilimanjaro.

7.1 Power resources exercised by KINAPA

Four power resources will be analyzed with regards to whether KINAPA, in exercising these resources, have enabled their preservationist practice: 1) power through legal rights, 2) environmentality, 3) discursive power and 4) power through violence. In addition to violence, the remaining three of the seven power resources that were presented in chapter 2, that is, 5) political power, 6) the weapons of the weak and 7) donor influence, will be analyzed in relation to resistance from other actors in the second main part of this chapter.

7.1.1 The enforcement of legal rights on Kilimanjaro: Securing access or exclusion?

The first power resource that may have been exercised by KINAPA is the ability to expand the national park through enforcement of legal rights. The official gazette from 2005 declares the Catchment Forest Reserve to be annexed into Kilimanjaro National Park (GoTz 2005). Thus, KINAPA clearly possess juridical legitimation to expand the park boundaries. However, I will claim that legitimation through legal rights may not be the whole explanation for the way in which KINAPA have been enabled to expand the park borders and exclude the neighbours of the park. Two main arguments support this assertion: 1) the declaration from 2005 stands in opposition to local people's legal rights and 2) although KINAPA possess legal rights to take over the Catchment Forest Reserve, the formal rights regarding the Half-Mile Strip appears to be less clear. In the following section, I will go into further detail on each of these two main arguments.

1) First, the gazette from 2005 declaring the Catchment Forest Reserve as part of the national park clearly contradicts the national forest policy and legislation reform implemented in 1998:

Throughout the 1990s, a number of changes in Tanzanian legislation and policy were implemented, facilitating the decentralization of land rights and the devolution of wildlife and forest management to local communities. Through the Local Government Reform (1998) and the formalization of this reform in the Land Act and Village Land Act (1999), the legal responsibility for village lands was transferred to the village councils (Shivji 2003, Nelson and Blomely 2010). A new wildlife policy was also launched in 1998, emphasizing the importance of local rights regarding wildlife management and revenue sharing of benefits from safaris and hunting expeditions by tourists (MNRT 1998). Furthermore, as

mentioned in the historical review, a new national forestry policy was released, promoting participatory forest management. The forest policy was formally passed into law with the Forest Act of 2002, providing the legal basis for local communities to "own, manage or co-manage forests" (MNRT 2006:2).

According to Nelson and Blomley (2010:79-101), the forest reforms have provided a relatively clear and supportive framework for participatory forest management. Yet the empirical evidence from the situation around Kilimanjaro National Park does not support this claim. Although participatory forest management was introduced in the Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve through the JFM-initiative in 1998, it seems that the expansion process has excluded the local communities from the co-management of the forest. The Forestry and Beekeeping Division has also acknowledged this contradiction. In a policy brief from the division on how to secure Tanzania's Catchment Forest Reserves, it is noted; "TANAPA would like to convert some of the Catchment Forest Reserves to national parks, and this conflicts with the JFM initiative" (Sjaastad 2003:2). If participatory forest management is properly secured in legal rights, how is it then possible for KINAPA to expand the national park and exclude the local people from co-managing the forest?

First, it is not unusual with ambivalent laws in African countries. Laws made by the same government or even within the same time period may contradict each other, giving legal rights to the same resources to different parties. This ambiguity allows for discretion in each individual case, which may provide greater leeway for the strongest party (Ribot and Peluso 2003). Another reason may be the inadequate judicial formalization of the JFM in line with the Forest Act of 2002. A note from the Forestry and Beekeeping Division (MNRT 2006) reveals that although many villages participate in JFM, only a few Joint Management Agreements have actually been signed. These agreements are a necessity for the JFM to be formalized in the Forest Act of 2002. Similar tracks

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can be found within the initiative of Community-Based Forest Management. In 2006, a total of 329 forests had been declared as Village Land Forest Reserves. However, only 53 of these forests had been officially gazetted to the villages by the central government (MNRT 2006). As long as the central government is not following up with this "last step" of the decentralization process in the legislation, the claims of secured legal rights for the local communities within the forestry management scenario is questionable. However, these factors do not explain how KINAPA have managed to get political approval for the declaration to gazette the Catchment Forest Reserve, despite contradiction with local rights. Thus, it appears that legal rights alone are not enough to explain how KINAPA have been able to implement a preservationist practice.

2) The second main argument is that although KINAPA possesses the legal right to take over the Catchment Forest Reserve, this does not necessarily mean that they also possess the legal rights to take over the Half-Mile Strip. As claimed in chapter 6, there are great disagreement and confusion regarding the formal ownership of the buffer zone. Unfortunately, the official gazette (GoTz 2005) is rather unclear concerning this issue. Although the coordinates of the new boundaries are defined, there is no specification of whether the Half-Mile Strip is part of the expanded national park or not.[13] In conclusion, although KINAPA may possess legal rights to take over the Catchment Forest Reserve, legal rights regarding the Half-Mile Strip is vaguer. It may thus appear that legal rights alone cannot provide the causal explanation for how KINAPA have been able to justify the acquisition.

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[13] In order to find out, the new coordinates have to be drawn on a map comparing the boundaries with old coordinates where boundaries of the Half-Mile Strip are defined.

7.1.2 The power of environmentality

Another power resource KINAPA may have used to enable their preservationist practice is through environmentality. That is, the formation of environmental subjects. Or as described by Lukes (2005:27), "the power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have (...) by controlling their thoughts and desires". Agrawal (2005:179) argues that institutional changes, such as the establishment of administrative forest councils, also change the local people's subjective identity. To substantiate this argument, Agrawal (2005) uses examples from his research in Kumaon in Northern India and states that through participation in institutional regulatory practices, the residents of Kumaon have changed their perceptions of the environment. From previously destroying the forest

> Villagers now protect forests and control illegal practices of harvesting and extraction. They use the language of regulation and many of the same idioms of protection that state officials deploy, but they do so in pursuit of goals that they imagine as their own and in which they often construct state officials as inefficient, unsupportive, or corrupt. This imagined autonomy, stemming from precisely the practices of conservation encouraged by state officials, is crucial to the success of decentralized protection (Agrawal 2005:179).

In other words, he claims that the local people have been "brainwashed" to adapt the same interests as the government.

There are several reasons why I would argue that environmentality is not applicable with the situation on Kilimanjaro. First, the patterns of environmental practice on Kilimanjaro have been non-linear. Following the progression of Agrawal's (2005) argument, there should have been a linear development along the following lines: Initially, the local communities were destroying the forest. Then, through the establishment of the village-based natural resource committees and forestry education throughout the 90s, the villagers' subjective identity

would now have been changed to one of concern for the environment and a willingness to cooperate with the government to protect it. However, the environmental practice on Kilimanjaro seems to have been far from linear. According to Kivumbi and Newmark (1991), the Half-Mile Strip was properly managed under the Chagga Council during the time of colonial rule. When taken over by the government in 1972, however, the local communities started to illegally cut timber and even set fires in protest against the new protection regime.

Second, the concept of environmentality would also imply that KINAPA could take over the Half-Mile Strip and the Catchment Forest Reserve without protests from the local communities, as they all share the same ideas and percepts on the issue of conservation. However, despite the establishment of environmental committees and participatory forest management during the 90s, conflict has arisen again. Although the informants stated that they were concerned about the environment and wanted to conserve the forest as a water catchment, they object to their restricted access to natural resources within the Half-Mile Strip. Protests and resistance take the forms of illegally cutting graze for their cattle's and collecting firewood in the protected areas.

In conclusion, KINAPA do not seem to exercise power through the formation of environmental subjects. However, although they have not been enabled to get support from the local communities, they may have been able to influence external actors and their policies through the exercise of discursive power.

7.1.3 Discursive power

Possessment and exercise of discursive power implies that KINAPA may have been able to get support and approval from environmental organizations, global actors, researchers and donor agencies for their preservationist practices

implemented on Kilimanjaro. Discursive power can be crucial for KINAPA in order to get legitimacy for their practice as well as economic support and funding.

A number of contributions and reports produced by these external actors describe how the forest is severely threatened by extensive pressure from a rapidly increasing population on Kilimanjaro (see e.g. Newmark 1991, Agrawala et al. 2003, Mungo and Williams 2003, Brown et al. 2010). According to these voices, the solution of the problem has been to give the Catchment Forest Reserve the same strict conservation status as the national park. This may indicate that KINAPA have been able to influence external actors' perspectives and achieve legitimate support for the expansion.

On the other hand, the same actors also emphasize the importance of participatory forest management and the involvement of adjacent communities in order to protect biodiversity. Furthermore, the acquisition of the Half-Mile Strip is not considered as a legitimate act among these actors, but rather the contrary. Although they support the annexation of the Catchment Forest Reserve to the national park, they also emphasize the importance of involving the adjacent communities (Mungo and Williams 2003:42). Some even suggest decentralizing the ownership and management of the Half-Mile Strip, even from District Council to village level (Newmark 1991, Agrawala et al. 2003). Moreover, the evaluation report made by Cooksey et al. (2007a) on behalf of Norway and NORAD also expressed concern about centralization of the Half-Mile Strip:

> So there is district ownership of trees on catchment land, about to be taken over by KINAPA, with trees planted by people, who are at present able to use them for firewood. This heady mix of ownerships (…) presents huge potential for conflict if things are not documented and agreements made (Cooksey et al. 2007a:6).

Thus, the take-over of the Half-Mile Strip may not be considered a result of discursive power exercised by KINAPA. Another possible explanation, however, may be a gap between rhetoric and practice.

While the production of a discourse is something written or expressed orally, *practice* is, on the other hand, the actual management and actions implemented (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a). This implies that actors may say one thing, while doing something different in practice. This may also be the case regarding KINAPA and their management on Kilimanjaro. For instance, there is a wide gap between KINAPA's explicit strategy when it comes to participation and involvement of local communities and the actual management practice that has occurred on the ground. According to the general management plan of Kilimanjaro National Park, KINAPA shall, through the community outreach program "involve the local communities in relevant stages and aspects of park management process" (GMP 2006:125). Although sounding promising, the statement is quite far from the practice revealed in this study. According to Cornwall (2008:281), the concept of participation is often used as "cosmetic rhetoric" to secure support from powerful donor institutions or to attain legitimacy. Although KINAPA say they will involve the local community in the park management process, it is not specified what they mean by involvement, or the implication of "relevant" stages and aspects. Furthermore, it is not specified who represents the local community. The lack of specificity makes it difficult for other stakeholders to clarify what they actually mean by the statement. Thus, KINAPA may make claims of participation without actually securing active participation in practice. How has this gap been enabled?

The gap between rhetoric and practice may be enabled if donor institutions and NGOs do not have enough resources or means to check whether the participation has actually been implemented in practice. Additionally, NGOs may have their own agenda of interest: As their projects are often dependent on financial and

public support, success stories from the field are needed. This, combined with a lack of information may also explain the large discrepancy between the Local Narrative of Exclusion and the Win-Win Narrative presented by COMPACT[14]. Furthermore, absence of critical research illuminating this issue may also enable KINAPA to make claims of participation while in practice, implement a preservationist strategy.

In conclusion, KINAPA do not seem to have been using discursive power to get approval for their preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro. Resistance against the preservationist ideas and the embrace of the win-win discourse still appear to be present among these actors, who argue that the local people must be given a stake if conservation is to be successful.

7.1.4 The power of violence and the exercise of territorial strategies.

A forth, and rather different kind of power resource is the exercise of violence or threat of violence. According to Sikor and Lund (2009:14), institutions that are competing for authority often use territorial strategies in order to achieve their claims. "By making and enforcing boundaries, (…) different socio-political institutions invoke a territorial dimension to their claim of authority and jurisdiction." Furthermore, Sikor and Lund (2009:14) state that when these institutions compete for property, it is not uncommon that violence is also used as a powerful tool to achieve their claims. They argue that

> Violence is often an integral or underlying feature in struggles over property, sometimes preparing ground for new legitimizing practices. Violence, force and deception are powerful instruments in establishing "settled facts" on the ground (Sikor and Lund 2009:14).

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[14] To determine this definitively, further research would be necessary.

Following this argument, the "mistaken" placement of beacons between the villages and the Half-Mile Strip instead of between the Half-Mile Strip and the Catchment Forest Reserve and the use of violence by the park rangers may not be a casual incident. It may rather be a deliberate strategy to implement and segment the expansion of the national park. When the informants were asked how they knew that the forest and the Half-Mile Strip were taken over by KINAPA, they answered that they knew it because the park rangers started to patrol there:

> I: There was a village meeting, and we were told that from that day, the forest belongs to KINAPA. We also witnessed this by seeing the park rangers from KINAPA patrolling the forest, because in previous years, it was ordinary people who were patrolling, and not the rangers. So after we saw the rangers we understood that it now belongs to KINAPA (GI#3).

The placement of potentially violent park rangers patrolling the Half-Mile Strip may therefore be considered as power resource exercised by KINAPA as a means to establish the expansion process as a "settled fact" on the ground. That is, to claim legitimate right of management of and authority over the area.

The use of military-like strategies to protect the forest appears to be reflected also at the highest governmental level. In an article from the *Daily News* President Kikwete challenges the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to put more effort into fighting poaching and reducing their dependence on foreign authorities to protect the areas. Instead of asking UNESCO for "permission in everything we do" (Majaliwa 2011), he recommends the use of the army to fight the problem. Additionally, he also suggests tougher penalties, as the current lenient punishment might encourage poaching (Majaliwa 2011). However, although governmental institutions may see violence as an effective means of power, it is not necessarily seen as legitimate to all actors (Sikor and Lund 2009). Although acknowledging that the forest has been taken over by KINAPA,

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information and findings in the previous chapters revealed that the local people living next to Kilimanjaro National Park do not seem to consider the use of violence and exclusionary practices as legitimate. And what about international pressure? As pointed out by Nelson (2010:16), decisions regarding natural resource management are not shaped only by national and local actors. "Now, more than ever, African governance processes are fundamentally influenced by forces and actors operating at the global scale" (Nelson 2010:16).

7.2 Resistance by other actors

Various power resources that may have been exercised by KINAPA to implement a preservationist practice have now been presented. The analysis showed that the preservationist practice is met by resistance from both local and external actors. In this second part, I will analyze what forms of power resources may be used respectively by 1) local actors, i.e. the local people living next to Kilimanjaro National Park and 2) foreign donor agencies such as DANIDA, Finland, Norway, IUCN, UNDP and USAID. In light of this, I will discuss how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice despite resistance from these actors.

7.2.1 The (lack of) power resources exercised by local actors

Three power resources will be analyzed that may be utilized by local actors to resist a preservationist practice: political power, violence and the weapons of the weak.

Political power
Local actors may influence or prevent a preservationist practice through the use of political power. The ability to influence policy in Tanzania through democratic channels has been relatively limited, seen as a result of centralized,

bureaucratic policy making, domination of a single political party and the weakness of the media and civil society organizations (Nelson and Blomley 2010). On the other hand, Nelson and Blomley (2010:81) claim that the re-introduction of a multiparty-system in 1992 and the growing number of NGOs and civil society organizations have now led to an increased ability to influence through democratic and political channels. However, the political power exercised by the local people bordering the national park still appears to be limited.

Exclusion from meetings and decisions regarding the forest management makes it difficult to influence the process. The same applies to the lack of access to information. Few of the informants seemed to have access to official documents, and they also expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of willingness from KINAPA to discuss issues and share information. Without access to crucial information, it may be very difficult to know how to influence the proceedings regarding the expansion process. Furthermore, although public authorities from district and regional level claimed that an agreement has been achieved to give back the Half-Mile Strip, it has so far not given any results in practice. In contrast, the process appears to have stopped at the central level. Disincentives for state governments to give up control may explain why. According to Nelson (2010:311-330), the process of transferring the management rights in participatory forest management in Tanzania has a tendency to stop at the central level because the natural resources are considered to be too valuable to give up their control. This may be commercial value, or in the case of protected areas, value through attraction of tourists and conservation-based funding from donor agencies. Thus, it may not be in the interests of the central government (i.e. the Wildlife Division) to give back the Half-Mile Strip to the District Council.

Private actor's interests within the political system may also be an obstacle for the implementation of democratic processes, as the conflict between personal

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interests and political logic place constraints on the policy implemented in practice. Even when having a good framework for laws and policy, informal processes may according to Nelson 2010:15) dominate the management of natural resources. The many corruption scandals within the forest management in Tanzania are a good example of how private interests have gained control to what happens in practice. Extensive corruption has been revealed in all three departments within the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (Jansen 2009).

Political power through *media* on the other hand, seems to have increased since the establishment of independent media channels in 1988. For instance, during the past few years, a number of newspapers have written critical articles on concrete corruption scandals in which the names of leading politicians and administrators have been published. In 2002, there were about 20 articles on corruption in the daily press. In 2007, the number had increased to approximately 160 articles every month (Jansen 2009). This increasing number of critical articles seems to have gotten results but how far the results extend into practice remains unclear. In 2007, three of five directors within the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism were transferred to less important positions due to gross misuse of funds, but none of them has been indicted (Jansen 2009).

To sum up, it seems that although the ability to exercise political power may have increased, the opportunity for local people around Kilimanjaro to influence policy through access to formal political channels has remained relatively limited. Another power resource possessed by local people that may have been utilized to resist a preservationist practice is the use of violence.

Resistance through violence

Violence or the threat of violence is not necessarily a power resource used by powerful actors alone. As previously mentioned, it may also be used by less

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powerful groups such as the rural poor (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b). A good example is presented by Ngoitiko et al. (2010) concerning a conflict between the park authorities of Serengeti National Park in Tanzania and the local population of Loliondo. In 2008, the park authorities decided to expand the national park by demarcating the borders and placing new boundary beacons on the land. Unfortunately, some of these beacons were placed on village land and the local population responded to this action by removing the beacons, claiming that the expansion was contradictory to the official gazette. A conflict evolved, and the park authorities started to arrest the local villagers for destroying park properties. This led to a physical confrontation between the villagers and the park rangers. However, given the weak legal basis for placing the beacons on village land and confronted with the choice of an escalating violent confrontation, the Serengeti National Park authorities decided to back down in the end (Ngoitiko et al. 2010).

The incident at Serengeti National Park has some interesting similarities to the situation at Kilimanjaro. As in the case of Serengeti National Park, conflict arose when KINAPA expanded the park borders by placing beacons on village land. However, in contrast to the situation in Loliondo, the exercise of violence or threat of violence does not appear to be common among the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park. There may be some rare incidents, for example the story told by the informant who had been cooperating with KINAPA to patrol the forest about dangerous poachers who defended themselves against the park rangers with a knife or other types of weapons. However, extensive use of violence by the local people was not mentioned either by park authorities, public officials or the majority of the informants. On the contrary, the obvious militarily-based seizure of power by KINAPA looks rather to have succeeded in creating uneasiness and fear among the local inhabitants of further violent confrontations with the park rangers.

The weapons of the weak

Fear of repression and violence may prevent the local actors from open rebellion. According to Holmes (2007:186) however, the local people may then take advantage of hidden and anonymous resistance through sabotage and illegal use of natural resources. This form of resistance appears to have previously been an effective power resource used by the local people on Kilimanjaro. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the government's previous attempts to restrict access to natural resources in the Half-Mile Strip led to daily sabotage through illegal logging and even arson. As a result of this resistance, the Half-Mile Strip was after a short time given back to the District Council and the local people's access to its natural resources was reinstated (Kivumbi and Newmark 1991).

The use of daily resistance is also highly relevant to the current situation on Kilimanjaro. Findings from my material indicate that the new restrictions are violated by the local people who are entering illegally into the Half-Mile Strip to collect grass and firewood. As one of the informants explained it, "the rules are made to be broken" (I#28). The informants said that as soon as the park rangers were out of sight, people entered the forest to chop as much wood as possible. One of the informants also told that there had been incidents where local people removed some of the beacons that were placed by KINAPA between the villages and the Half-Mile Strip, however I have not been able to confirm this through other sources. As pointed out by Holmes (2007:196), the use of everyday resistance is often misinterpreted by the conservation authorities who quickly label the illegal use as encroachment and the users as poachers. Consequently, the authorities ignore the political content of these acts. Moreover, the daily resistance by the local people does not yet appear to have been able to prevent the implementation of KINAPA's preservationist practices. Although there has been negotiations about the Half-Mile Strip, the local people neighbouring the park still appears to be excluded from legal access to the area. On the other hand,

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it is worth noting that it may be similarly difficult to achieve the main objectives of the preservationist practice, i.e. to protect the forest area as long as daily resistance is maintained by the local people. As described by Holmes (2007:188), conservation projects may not necessarily fail as a result of changes in policy and legislation, but rather as a result of "the constant dripping effect of the thousands of small everyday acts of resistance".

To summarize, it appears that the local actors have few possibilities to resist the changing practice. Influence through political power seems to be limited. Furthermore, although the local people apply daily resistance, they have so far not been able to resist KINAPA's implementation of a preservationist practice. Support from external actors should on the other hand have the ability to influence this practice.

7.2.2 Resistance by foreign donors

External actors may resist the preservationist practice in many ways. One particular important way is through funding. In this section I will therefore provide a discussion of how KINAPA can implement a preservationist practice despite resistance from national and international donor agencies.

Aid can be a powerful means to influence and put pressure on a country's policies, legislation and practices. Since the economic collapse and crisis in the 1980s, Tanzania has been highly dependent on foreign aid. In contrast to the socialist policy that characterized the first two decades after its independence in 1961, structural adjustment policies were accepted in the 1980s as the condition for receiving economic support (Nelson 2010, Nelson and Blomley 2010). Today, Tanzania is one of the largest recipients of foreign funding in Sub-Sahara Africa. In fiscal year 2008/2009, about 35% of government spending was funded

by foreign donors (DPG 2010). Moreover, in 2009, Tanzania's external debt amounted 34% of the country's Gross National Income (WB 2011).

Tanzania's increasingly substantial dependence on foreign donors has also been influential in transforming the policy in natural resource management. A number of authors claim that the "development-friendly" policy within the wildlife and forestry sector in Tanzania during the 90s was to a great extent a consequence of influence from powerful donors such as the American USAID, the Finish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian NORAD[15] and the Danish DANIDA (Hutton et al. 2005, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a, Nelson and Blomley 2010). Based on this assertion however, an important question arises: Despite powerful pressure from foreign donors to implement a participatory practice, how it is possible for KINAPA to implement their preservationist practice?

One explanation may be a change in the objectives and agenda of foreign donors. Although promoting participatory approaches during the 90s, Hutton et al. (2005:349) claim that powerful bilateral and multilateral donor communities have now changed their policy. From a previous position of heavy investment in community-based conservation management programs, investors have now changed their focus to programs of trans-boundary natural resource management (TBNRM), where the primary concern is a "protected areas" agenda rather than genuine support of community-based projects. As a consequence, reduced funding to community-based conservation management may have weakened the previous pressure to implement participatory strategies.

Another reason that enables their preservationist practice may be withdrawal of support to participatory forest management. The participatory forest management

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[15] In 2004, the responsibility for the funding was transferred from NORAD to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The current role of NORAD is to act as a technical agency for evaluation, quality assurance and dissemination of results of Norwegian aid (NORAD 2011).

initiatives established in the 90s were largely supported by donor funding, either through NGOs, area based projects, or funding channeled through the Forestry and Beekeeping Division. However, a large amount of former support to participatory initiatives has now been lost. In 2006, support from Finland, DANIDA and Norway constituted the main funding to participatory forest management initiatives within the Forestry and Beekeeping Division (MNRT 2006). Since 2006, however, this support has either been withdrawn or held back by all three donor agencies as a result of corruption scandals within the Forestry and Beekeeping Division (Jansen 2009).

In the period of 1994 – 2006, Norway represented an important contributor to the participatory forest management initiative on Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve. Through the government-initiated Management of Natural Resource Program,[16] Norway supported the initiative of JFM on Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve and the establishment of Village Natural Resource Committees (Cooksey et al. 2007c, Cooksey et al. 2007d). However, in 2007, after the evaluation report and two subsequent reports from a Danish audit firm revealed extensive mismanagement of money and corruption, financial support for the whole program was withdrawn (Cooksey et al. 2007a, Jansen 2009). Thus a significant source of support to JFM and the concept of participatory forest management on Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve has either been withdrawn or channeled to other areas. Thus, donors may have become less influential in participatory forest management as a result of the withdrawal of funding.

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[16] The program was fully financed by Norway. During the period from 1994 – 2006, Norway has contributed about US$50 million to the program (Cooksey et al. 2007a:3).

On the other hand, a number of NGOs around Kilimanjaro are still supporting participatory forest management. Local, community-based NGOs on Kilimanjaro are getting support from the COMPACT-project through the GEF Small Grants Program (GEF 2006). In addition, despite Norway having stopped all support to the MNRP due to the extensive documentation of rampant corruption within the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, there does not seem to have been an effect on the Norwegian investment in a reforestation project in Tanzania through the "Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation" (REDD) project, where participatory forest management is considered to be a key concern. Through investment in the REDD-program, Norway plans to spend up to 500 million NOK in Tanzania, mainly through local NGO's and stakeholders (Bolle 2009). However, the pilot project has so far not involved forest land encircling Kilimanjaro National Park (REDD 2011). In conclusion, although reduced funding may not entirely explain the preservationist practice implemented by KINAPA, foreign donor organizations do not necessarily possess the same power resources as they previously did in order to provide pressure for participatory forest management on Kilimanjaro.

I have now analyzed seven forms of power resources that may have been used by the different actors to enable or resist the preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro. The seven forms of power resources have been analyzed as power that may have been possessed by the different actors used intentionally to achieve results in accordance with their intentions (Engelstad 1999, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010b).The relation between different actors and their possession and use of various power resources have thus been important to gain a greater understanding of how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice. Based on Lukes' (2005) three dimensional understanding of power however, it is also necessary to pay attention to collective forces and systemic or organizational effects. That is, structural effects that are not necessarily the result of intentional behavior but

still occur as a result of the power struggle between the various actors and/or from the form of organization. Moreover, although actors may use institutional structures to achieve their will, they are similarly operating within a broader structural framework not chosen by themselves, but that may have been decided by other actors in the past (Lukes 2005). Thus, in the third and last section of this chapter I will look at the broader social structures within the framework of natural resource management in Tanzania that may also have affected and influenced the changed practice on Kilimanjaro.

7.3 Back to the barriers? Changes in the natural resource management in Tanzania

A number of authors have recently argued that there is a shift in the policies and practices of the national natural resource management in Tanzania (Hutton et al. 2005, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010a, Nelson 2010). From an increased focus on participation and community-based conservation during the 90s, the authors claim that there is now a movement back to earlier preservationist practices that encompasses the exclusion of local communities, and the centralization of ownership and natural resource management. This seems to be in agreement with findings revealed in this study. The focus on participatory forest management in Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Reserve appears to have been replaced with a strict separation of the local people from the park. Different reasons may explain the new shift:

First, Nelson (2010:3) suggests that one reason may lie in the traditional characteristics of the Tanzanian governmental institutions. During the colonial era, the governmental institutions were built to ensure centralized control over access to land and natural resources. This trend has generally been reinforced after independence. Thus, governmental institutions' interest in political

authority of land and valuable natural resources may be a barrier to ensure a long-term decentralization and community-based ownership and co-management on Kilimanjaro. This may also explain how KINAPA managed to get political approval for the expansion of the park, as the government support a reinforcement of centralized conservation of protected areas.

Second, the shift in forest management on Kilimanjaro may also be explained by changes within the Wildlife Division. After the policy reform in 1998, Nelson and Blomley (2010:79-101) claim that the development within the Forestry and Beekeeping Division and the Wildlife Division has evolved in quite different directions. In contrast to the Forestry and Beekeeping Division, the institutional changes within the Wildlife Division are characterized by a recentralized authority of wildlife and a re-assertion of bureaucratic control. This appears to be consistent with the situation on Kilimanjaro: The initiatives of participatory forest management with the establishment of Village Natural Resource Committees and the implementation of JFM were first and foremost promoted by the Forestry and Beekeeping Division. After the management authority of the forest was transferred to KINAPA/TANAPA under the Wildlife Division, the situation changed dramatically, as revealed in this study. Thus, the take-over of the Half-Mile Strip and the exclusion of local people may be a result of different institutional practices even within the same ministry. According to Nelson and Blomley (2010:97), these diverse practices are largely a result of "institutional incentives linked to bureaucrats' discretionary authority over commercial resource values, but [it] is also influenced by historical factors and the agency of individual leadership."

Lack of resistance from external actors to prevent these structural changes may also have been influential. As evident in the analysis of actors' use of different power resources, throughout the 90s external pressure from donor agencies seems to have been important in the effort to replace the earlier preservationist

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practice within natural resource management with a focus on community-based conservation strategies. In contrast, changing priorities and reduced funding now may have weakened the influence to maintain pressure on participation and co-management within natural resource management. Limited access to political influence and other forms of power resources additionally make it difficult for the local people to prevent a change in conservation practice. Thus, neither foreign donors nor opposition from the local people seems to have been able to resist a shift in the natural resource management on Kilimanjaro.

In conclusion, the preservationist practice does not seem to have been implemented through the use of one specific power resource possessed by KINAPA. Rather, it appears to have been enabled as a result of a complex set of interrelated factors. The relationship between different actors and their various possession (or lack of possession) of power resources in correlation with broader structural and institutional changes appears to have influenced the current practice on Kilimanjaro.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed how KINAPA have been able to implement a preservationist practice despite resistance from other actors. The seven forms of power resources introduced in chapter 2 were applied as a framework for analysis. First, I analyzed whether KINAPA have been enabled in their practice through legal rights. The enforcement of the governmental gazette from 2005 may explain how KINAPA have been able to annex the Catchment Forest Reserve to the National Park. However, it is not sufficient to explain how they managed to get approval for this declaration despite being in contradiction to local legal rights. Furthermore, it does not explain how KINAPA managed to take over the Half-Mile Strip. Another power resource investigated was

environmentality. The analysis revealed that power through the formation of environmental subjects is not consistent with the situation on Kilimanjaro, neither does it appear that KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice through discursive power. Rather, it seems that KINAPA have adapted the win-win discourse promoted by global actors while in contradiction actually implementing preservationist strategies. Moreover, certain indications suggest that violence and force have been utilized as powerful territorial strategies to expand the park's borders and to determine the new ownership as a legitimate right. However, this strategy does not appear to have support from the local people living adjacent to the park nor the foreign donor agencies. Consequently, in order to get a coherent understanding of the situation on Kilimanjaro, it was necessary to also look at the broader structural changes within the natural resource management in Tanzania. A number of recent publications claim that there is now a shift in the natural resource management in Tanzania, back to earlier preservationist practices. Three main reasons were identified to explain this shift: First, centralized governmental institutions may be a barrier to ensure long-term community-based conservation. Second, the structural changes within the Wildlife Division may have influenced a change in practice. Third, this could be the result of lack of power resources possessed by local actors and foreign donors in order to resist this practice.

8. Concluding remarks

The purpose of this study has been to contribute to the current scholarly debate on conservation and poverty alleviation by looking at the case of Kilimanjaro National Park. Through social science narrative research, I have studied how the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park talk about their situation.

This study does not support the claims of a win-win situation on Kilimanjaro. Findings reveal that there is a wide gap between the successful picture presented by global actors, and the actual management practice implemented on Kilimanjaro. Rather than a win-win situation where local communities are benefiting from conservation and protection of biodiversity, this study indicates that there has been a worsening of the situation for the local people who live next to the park. Extensive expansion of Kilimanjaro National Park has resulted in a situation where local people have been excluded from access to basic natural resources such as firewood for cooking and fodder for their cattle. Furthermore, local people seem to have been excluded from co-management, conservation initiatives and decision processes regarding the expansion of the park. In contrast to the previous focus on participatory forest management, findings also indicate that the change in management practice has resulted in conflict and a poor neighbor relationship between the local people and KINAPA.

Narratives within the preservationist discourse, the win-win discourse and the traditionalist discourse have been utilized to compare the Local Narrative of Exclusion with discursive narratives presented by actors at a global level. Moreover, seven forms of power resources were used as a framework to analyze how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro, despite resistance from other actors. The analysis indicates that KINAPA may have enabled their preservationist practice partly through legal rights, enforcement of

territorial strategies and violence in combination with "cosmetic rhetoric" towards external actors. However, a shift within the natural resource management in Tanzania also seems to have influenced the practice on Kilimanjaro. One reason identified to explain this shift was due to the historical structures within the Tanzanian governmental institutions and their interest in political authority of land and valuable natural resources. Another reason may also have been the institutional changes within the Wildlife Division. These structural changes may in turn have been the result of a lack of power resources possessed by local and external actors with which they could have resisted these changes. In conclusion, the framework of seven power resources proved to be useful for understanding how KINAPA have enabled their preservationist practice on Kilimanjaro. In order to get a sufficient explanation however, it was also necessary to see the actor's possession and use of power resources in context with institutional and structural changes within the national conservation management in Tanzania.

8.1 Relevance of thesis

Although the case of Kilimanjaro National Park is a limited scope for generalization, I believe that findings from this study may have constituted with insights into the complex relationship between conservation and poverty. Furthermore, findings from this study appear to be consistent with recent research on conservation management in Tanzania, arguing that there is a general trend back to previous conservation strategies with a strict separation between people and parks. In conclusion, this thesis may be seen as an empirical contribution to research supporting this claim.

8.2 Research implications

This study raises a number of themes and issues that merit a continuation of future research. One example is the issue of tourism. As previously mentioned, surprisingly few of the informants in this study talked about tourism, with the noticeable exception of the informants living closest to the park's headquarters. Therefore, one valuable future research topic could be to survey the impact of tourism on the local people regarding employment, benefits and costs. Another focus worthy of further research is the issue of the human rights violations that are being inflicted on the local communities in "the name of conservation": Allegations of violence, rape and murder cannot be ignored. The same applies to the informants' statements of being judged without knowing why or for crimes they claim not to have committed.

Finally, a finding in this study, which for me was especially surprising, was the large gap between the presentation of the management on Kilimanjaro provided by UNDP and UNF through the COMPACT-project and the actual situation for the people who are living next to the park. What is the motivation behind the unilateral presentation of a win-win narrative? It would be useful and eye-opening to investigate the reasons why this is happening and how this gap has occurred.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Overview

Overview of anonymous interviews

Number of informants	Place	Time period
10	Engare Nairobi	10.09.10-18.09.10
11	Marangu East Ward	12.08.10-03.09.10
10	Kibosho East Ward	23.08.10-31.08.10

Overview of interviews with organizations and public officials

Informant	Affiliation	Place	Date
Kuchana, Msami	District Council	Moshi	20.08.10
Mkumbo, Julius	Regional Forest Department	Moshi	19.08.10
Chengullah, Enoch. L.	Tanzania Natural Resource Forum	Arusha	08.09.10
Fr. Ladislaus, Siegwart	Maua Seminary	Marangu	02.09.10

Appendix B: Interview guide

Personal experiences

May you please tell me a little bit about yourself?
(Describe family, work, daily routine, responsibilities, about your friends and families work, daily routine – can you describe, as detailed as possible what you did yesterday?)

Can you describe as detailed as possible how your life has been in (the village)?
(How is life there, positive and negative experiences with the life in the village)

Maybe you can tell me the story of why you/your family live in (the village)?
(How long time have you lived there/your family lived there, why did you/your family decide living there? have you ever moved? Why? Why not?)

About the park

Can you tell me about your experience with the National Park?
(About the conservational practices, restrictions of the park, opinion and experiences about the conservation and preservation of the park? describe your experiences)

What do you think about the nature and the wildlife in the area?

What is the role of KINAPA?
(How do they behave? What do you think about them? What is the relationship between KINAPA and people in the village? Has it been any conflicts? Do you have any personal experiences with KINAPA? (positive or negative), what about the park rangers? (Behavior, relationship, personal experiences?)

Has it been any changes in the conservation practices the last years?
(How has it changed/what kind of changes? Better or worse? Why changes? Who has made the changes?)

How is your access to resources?
(Water, food, wood, timber, soil, etc? Has the access changed? less water, more water?)

Park tourism

Can you please tell me about the tourism in this area?
(Personal opinion about the tourism, personal experiences (negative, positive) with the tourism? your role in relation to the tourist industry?)

Can you describe the role of the tourist companies operating in the area?
(How do they behave, personal experiences with the companies)

Has there been any change in the tourist industry the last years?
(What has been changed? For better or worse? Who has changed it and how?)

How do you think that the development of the tourism will be in the future?
(Opportunities, conflicts, positive or negative impacts?)

Discourse check-list

Has it been any benefits of the park?

Has it been any costs due to the conservation of the park?

Who has the power to change/improve the situation for people in the village?

Do you think it is important to conserve/preserve the wildlife?
(Why/why not? do you think that KINAPA will assure the preservation of the wildlife?)

What is your role/the villager's role in conserving the park/How do you participate in conserving the park?

What do you think that other people in this village think about the park?
- 	(Do they agree with your opinion? who disagree? why?)

Is there anything about the topic we have talked about that you would like to add..?

Finishing sequence:

As a humid asante sana for your participation, for your patience and for spending your valuable time with me, I have brought a little gift for you..

Appendix C: Briefing before the interview

The interpreter introduces himself and me. Explains who I am and why I am here. (master-student from University of Oslo in Norway). Fieldwork (two month) as part of my master thesis. I am a guest student at SUA).

Purpose of the research: Look at the different perspectives of Kilimanjaro NP among people living adjacent to the park.

Purpose of this interview: to hear your views about the park.

Looking for your honest opinions, perspectives and experiences, not expertise statements about the park. Need stories that show us what is happening – the more concrete and detailed, the better.

No right or wrong answers, every opinion and views are valuable, honesty most important. Want you to speak freely.

My research is an independent project – not connected to TANAPA, not connected to the tourist industry or any organization.

 Participation is voluntary, can withdraw whenever you want to (before, under or after) without any negative impact.

If you are uncomfortable with a question, you don't have to answer it.

The results of the research will be published as my master thesis.

Total anonymity, your name or identity will not be published. The material will

be confidential and handled very carefully so that there will not be possible for others to connect your statements with your identity. The only one who will have access to the material will be me and my advisor

Ask for permission to use a recorder. Easier for me with a recorder, but only if you allow.

Any questions?