

The Use of Critical Discourse Analysis in Understanding Claims For Legitimacy in Marine Protected Area Management at Jibondo Island, Mafia Tanzania: The Memoirs of Mzee Popote¹

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Abstract

Legitimacy claims by communities otherwise limited by various factors to access reliable mechanisms for such purposes are often manifested in a range of subtle ways that include verbal or written text. Through text, people not only express resistance or compliance to social processes, but they also articulate the nature of discourse regarding coastal and marine resource management from a local perspective. This article discusses the experiences of Jibondo Island, a coastal community in Mafia District Tanzania, in trying to express their disagreement towards the imposition of a state-led marine resource management system, that to them had implication on the way they led their lives. The article employs Critical Discourse Analysis to draw meanings from the verbal accounts of Mzee Popote, an elderly Jibondo resident, and his memoirs written over a period of time. From these sources it becomes possible to make a historical analysis as to why and in which context certain claims for legitimacy in access and power over resources were made and articulated by Jibondo residents.

1.0 Introduction

Discourse on natural resource management and practice as constituting political contestations regarding issues about perceptions, inclusion or exclusion to resources has been on the global agenda for a long time (Neumann, 1997; Adams *et al.*, 2003). In the case of coastal and marine resource management issues, where traditionally, the authority to make decisions regarding resource access and use has been vested in different levels of governance, such discourse has been equally intense (Sunde & Isaacs, 2008). Some of the contestations have been around the nature or scale of use of resources, while others have questioned how legitimacy regarding resource access and use has been defined (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

When new interventions such as Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) are introduced, they often touch on the range of ways in which people's rights regarding access and their capacity to engage in and benefit from management processes are availed. Although several studies indicate that in circumstances where traditional ways of management have been eroded and threats to the marine environment is high, MPAs may provide concerted intervention for addressing abuse of the environment, and minimise

¹This article is dedicated to Mr Said Ali Amri, nicknamed *Mzee Popote* (of Jibondo Island, Mafia, who has been a committed research participant since the WIOMSA/ICFS study of 2006, and the NUFU/UDSM research collaboration (2007-2010).

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conflicts in access. Yet, there is often the challenge of maintaining how local people regard themselves not simply as beneficiaries, but also as active participants in conservation of resources³. In addition, there are also questions regarding how MPAs have been able to take on board the contexts within which people lead their lives, their diverse relationships with each other and with resources. Most important is how people articulate such interventions in relation to their rights in the process (Andrews, 1998; Sunde & Isaacs, 2008; Mwaipopo, 2008).

The institution of a 'Marine Park' has specific applications and practices regarding marine resource management, which include ideas and measures about protection or conservation, no-take zones or regulated extraction, and resident fisher user rights, each of which becomes either negotiated or enforced. In this sense, any MPA defines the general dispositions of the different categories of people [commonly termed as 'stakeholders'] related to the MPA. Generally, discourse laden with concepts that claim inclusion through various labels such as conservation, local or community participation, stakeholder engagement, or community empowerment has dominated the current thinking in coastal and marine resource management (URT, 1994, 1997). The extent to which these seemingly meaningful concepts reflect local people's ideas and actual practice is the question. For example, too often the description of a stakeholder obscures its meaning to refer to simply participation than making decisions regarding rights to resources. Andrews (2000) referring to the Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) in Tanzania, writes that while the incorporation of the concept of community-based project is commendable, the Tanzania Marine Parks and Reserves Act (1994) had "given little thought to the meaning of 'participation' and 'community', allowing them to be loosely defined and put in practice" (Andrews, 1998:277). MPAs can thus be taken as actively constructed, resource management discourses, instituting rules regarding resource use, but also rights regarding use. The issue is usually how the control over access to resources is defined, and how the legitimacy of claims over resources is played out, suggesting that in situations of power imbalances in management, legitimacy claims to resources become contested by either party in the resource management agenda, each of them basing their claim on 'ideas' about rights (Andrews, 1998). Often, there is a misconception of the social values or processes through which people claim to have access or control over resources, their ideas about rights, and the interests invested into these resources for them to justify their continuous claims (Okoth-Ogendo, 1989).

In reference to the MIMP experience, Andrews (1998) notes the fallacy of forwarding 'strait-jacket' resource management systems such as a marine park [including 'no-take zones'] without due consideration of other options that would equally achieve conservation gains while ensuring people's commitment to management. He writes about the emphasis by Marine Parks as often being biased towards 'protecting' the biophysical aspects than being sensitive to the people who use them (Andrews,

³Chuenpagdee, Ratana, Julia Fraga & Jorge I. Euan-Avila (2002) Community Perspectives toward a Marine Reserve: A Case Study of San Felipe, Yucatan, Mexico. *Coastal Management*, Vol. 30, pp. 183-191, 2002; Andrews, Greg (1998) Mafia Island Marine Park, Tanzania: Implications of Applying a Marine Park Paradigm in a Developing Country. Case Studies: Destructive Fishing Practices and Collection Methods. ITMEMS 1998 Proceedings.

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1998:271). This idea is also recognised by the UN Convention for Biodiversity (CBD) that emphasises inclusion in [natural] resource management practice, and particularly, on the participation of indigenous and local communities in making decisions about, and benefiting from natural resources.⁴

In this article the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach has been used to discuss the experiences of Jibondo Island, a coastal community in South-Central Tanzania, and how the people expressed their resistance against the imposition of the state-led Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP), that to them has had an implication on the way they use resources and how they lead their lives. This article draws from the writings and verbal accounts of one of its oldest members, Mzee Popote, to illustrate how claims for legitimacy in access and power over resources are articulated and expressed in a different way from that provided by the state. Through these written texts we are able to see how Jibondo residents challenged the manner in which the MIMP intervention was conducted in 'their territory' which has often been attributed to arrogant defiance against management efforts.⁵

We thus reflect on Mzee Popote's documentation of the experiences and interactions around the MPA intervention as a unique way of making claims because the texts avail themselves to critical scrutiny and analysis. Using CDA, we examine not simply the words and language that Mzee Popote uses to talk about the establishment of the MIMP, but also the manner in which he expresses the forms and practices leading to resource management and how he articulates the contexts within which he developed his memoirs⁶ (Dunne *et al.*, 2005). Methodologically, Mzee Popote's hand-written memoirs in an exercise book, that contain chronological accounts about the MIMP-Jibondo saga, provide the primary source of the data, and the spoken word as secondary data from which the analysis is made regarding contestations within resource management around Jibondo Island. The intention is therefore to put them down as signifying memoirs of protest *vis-à-vis* dominating processes of marine resource management in the history of Tanzania.

Data for this article was collected through qualitative ethnography conducted in Jibondo within a span of nearly three years, from June 2006 to June 2009. In-depth interviewing and scrutinising the documents of Mzee Popote, a 69-year old man were key methods. He had attended school up to Primary Std. VI at Utete (Rufiji District) and was appointed as a TANU Secretary in 1958. During the period the MIMP was making its entry into Jibondo, Mzee Popote did not have any formal leadership



Mzee Popote: April 2009

⁴Ref. UNEP/CBD/COP/DEC/IX/12, 2008.

⁵Some of the accounts by Mzee Popote appear in the present tense to keep the original form of the memoirs where necessary.

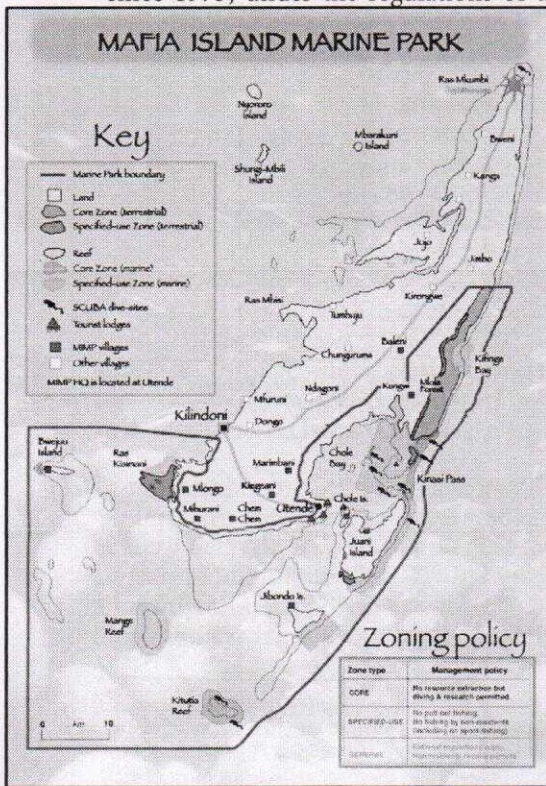
⁶The memoirs in this article have been put in italics to underline the fact that these are reflections most of which are spoken accounts.

position. In one of his reflections on the struggle for independence from the British, he said: "I demanded for freedom without the use of force, how does the MIMP come in after independence and want to use force?" Interviews with officials of the MNRT, Mafia District officials, MIMP Management and other Jibondo people were also conducted.

More important is the theoretical contribution that such experience provides, and this is about the political issues in the marine resource management discourse from the people's point of view – teasing out from the memoirs instances of defiance, contestations, construction of identities, etc., but all around the issue of marine resource management. The following sections present and discuss selected texts from Mzee Popote's memoirs, to illustrate the underlying discontent with the institution of conservation practices around Jibondo, largely expressing the way Jibondo people claim they were mistreated along the process, but also how they defended their position vis-à-vis the MIMP, simply for a recognised existence and the right to resources from the way they see this right.

2.0 Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) and Jibondo Island

The MIMP was formally established in 1995 as a result of the government's effort since 1975, under the regulations of the Fisheries Act of 1970, to gazette seven reef areas along the Indian Ocean coast in order to institute concerted management systems in the marine area. These included Chole Bay and Kitutia Reef area all of Mafia Island (Francis *et al.*, 2002). Lack of capacity delayed the process until 1988 when the MIMP as a management strategy was proposed (Andrews, 1998:267). MIMP covers an area of 822 km² south-east of Mafia Island, and has incorporated 11 out of Mafia District's 20 villages within its programme, Jibondo Island inclusive. About 10,000 people live inside its boundaries, mostly in traditional fishing communities, and whose livelihoods largely depend on fishing for food and income, and other resources such as mangroves and corals for sustenance. From its inception, MIMP has tried to control the practice of destructive fishing, having some success in minimising dynamite fishing, but not entirely able to control 'mtando' (seine net) fishing, said to be one of the most profitable fishing methods along the Mafia fisheries, but claimed to be quite destructive to the marine environment.



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At the community level, initial strategies to establish MIMP intervened through education and sensitisation programmes, seeking compliance through meetings largely held with community leaders. A stakeholders' workshop held in 1991 initiated the process for MIMP's first General Management Plan which carved the way for community participation (Andrews, 1998:269)⁷. The GMP stipulated its desire to stop destructive fishing and develop a multiple use environment that satisfied the needs of local fishing communities, tourism, scientific and research endeavours (URT, 2000). The GMP introduced a gear exchange programme that involved changing the common seine (*mtando*) net for shark nets, the zoning of fishing grounds, the introduction of a resident-user certificate (RUC), and an alternative livelihood scheme that has facilitated the introduction of income-generating projects to reduce direct dependence on the fisheries. The gear exchange programme was to some extent accepted simply because fishers wanted to continue with their life styles in the fisheries.

Challenges were however encountered over the zoning programme that categorised fishing zones within the MIMP into three zone types. The first is the *core zone* in which no resource extraction is allowed; it is reserved for diving (snorkelling) for tourist and research purposes. The second is the *specified-use zone* where fishing gear is specified and fishing by non-residents is prohibited (including sport-fishing). The last zone is the *general-use zone* whose management policies allow fishing in general, but non-residents require a permit. This zoning provision formalised the closing of the Kitutia Reef fisheries around which Jibondo fishers visited seasonally.

The zoning issue, in particular, set a negative precedence on the management strategy from the beginning. This was because Jibondo Island residents, who traditionally understood their rights to fish, depended on locally conceived ideas of boundaries and space, and primarily open access. Through oral accounts, Jibondo residents also identified themselves as having the right of ownership of this space in terms of their historical and social existence that included livelihood sustenance and modalities of access.

Although these rights were redefined with the Fisheries Policy of 1970, in which a small-scale fisher became legally identified as the holder of fishing rights through a Fishing License issued by the government (URT, 1970), this did not make any difference to Jibondo. Regulations about fishing modalities including type of fishing nets, mesh-size and other rules (URT, 1998) have simply been 'added' by local fishers into their systems.

In addition to the obligation of acquiring a fishing license, resident fishers within the MIMP are also required to obtain a Resident Users Certificate (RUC) which is both an identification document and also a means through which one can access the fisheries. A contentious issue about the RUC is the stipulation that 'a resident is not allowed to extract resources without permission', a point of contention by Jibondo people, since

⁷ It wasn't until 2000, five years after its formal establishment, that the MIMP General Management Plan was formally instituted.

they claim that ownership of the resource has been given to the MIMP, who now dictate terms of access⁸. Jibondo's residents therefore feel particularly disadvantaged by the resource use regulations introduced by the Park. Being highly dependent on the fisheries due to lack of arable land for farming or other viable livelihood activities, any regulations on the fisheries have thus touched them deeply, and they have protested since. In the course of the events leading to the institution of MIMP and after, Mzee Popote had been documenting the process in his notebook, recording key interactions between Jibondo residents and the MIMP management.

3.0 Use of the CDA approach in marine management discourse

In this article CDA has been used as an approach to the study of text at three levels: as linguistic practice, discursive practice and social practice (Fairclough, 2007). Looking at text as linguistic practice refers to the way we examine the meanings of the words used in the text and their function in society; that is, the ways in which they construct or represent reality. Varying debates have arisen within CDA about how to treat written texts in analysis of the message and meaning embedded in the texts. According to van Dijk (2003), for example, we can assign meaning and function to the words or language used by examining the specific context within which they had been used. This context is to be defined in terms of the speaker's (i.e. the author) intentions, beliefs, or evaluations, or relations between the speaker (author) and the hearer (audience) (van Dijk, 2003:5). Foucault (1972) also talks of how the situational context of a statement (the social situation in which it occurs) and its verbal context (its position in relation to other statements which precede and follow it) determine the form it takes and the way it is interpreted (Fairclough, 1992).

As discursive practice, the CDA approach refers to the production, distribution and consumption of text. According to Locke (2004:69), this level connects the micro-level of a particular text with the macro-level of the socio-cultural context within which that text is being developed. In this aspect we look at how the writer produces an argument through the use of certain incidences to convey messages about his position within a marine resource management process that is spearheaded from the national level. From the written texts provided, we examine how Mzee Popote particularly uses several texts to give certain messages [to an audience] about certain relationships regarding decision making about marine resource management. This is important since according to van Dijk (2008) "we use the notion of 'context' whenever we want to indicate that some phenomenon, event, or discourse needs to be seen or studied in relationship to its environment, i.e. its surrounding conditions and consequences. We thus not only describe but especially also explain the occurrence or properties of some focal phenomenon in terms of some aspects of its context" (2008:4).

The CDA approach also sees language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989), in which relations of power within the resource management discourse are interplayed

⁸This comes from the literal translation of some of the stipulates on the rear side of the RUC, one of which states "Hati hii haitoi ruhusua ya kuvuna rasilimali zote zinazopatikana katika eneo la hifadhi. Bali ni pamoja na kufuata Sheria ya Hifadhi za Bahari na Maneneo Tengefu ya mwaka 1994 ...". Another one says "Hati hii ni mali ha Hifadhi ya Bahari Mafia, hivyo mwanakijiji anapohama katika eneo la hifadhi lazima airudishe"

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at the social structure and social relations level. At this level we can also look at how identities are constructed or played out. In the analysis, we therefore use the CDA approach to examine how text expresses political engagement but also claims for social justice within the debates about marine resource management. This is concerned with how the position of the text (the writer) is achieved, and the means by which the author/writer commits himself/herself to truth or necessity (Dunne *et al.*, 2005). How does the writer want the audience to appreciate the process of marine resource conservation as played out in Jibondo, and what messages can we draw from Mzee Popote's construction of the Jibondo situation in relation to the whole process?

Foucault (1984:10) puts significant emphasis upon power struggles over the determination of discourse practices. "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle; discourse is the power which is to be seized". Fairclough (2007) has also written about this thinking in discourse analysis as he contends that 'language' does not merely express a mode of communication, but also as a process through which the social relations of power are produced and maintained, and also through which such relations can be changed, but only when the dominated become conscious of this domination. Such levels of analysis are also relevant to the study of Mzee Popote's texts.

We use this premise to discuss how people voice their claims about legitimacy to resources within the context of an MPA using the CDA approach. Concrete forms of discourse such as those manifested in written texts provide ways through which we can analyse the contexts within which issues regarding claims on the rights of access to resources are raised, and communicated. For communities otherwise limited by various factors to access points of appeal or avenues for advocating their demands regarding rights to resources, verbal communication or written texts have been among the mechanisms through which they can make such claims (Locke, 2005). Through text such as petitions, people have not only expressed resistance to resource management processes, but they have also articulated such meanings of management from a local perspective.

4.0 Resource management intervention: Encounter with MIMP in Jibondo Island

According to Mzee Popote's memoirs, from the onset, Jibondo residents questioned the legitimacy of establishing a Marine Park around Mafia Island. The entry point used by MIMP officials in 1998 was to propagate the idea that their primary intention was to protect the fisheries through eradicating dynamite fishing which was not only destroying the marine habitat around Mafia Island but also leading to low catches and hence poor livelihoods. This idea was more than welcome among the local community because they detested dynamite fishing. Speaking about how they felt that time, Mzee Popote said:

...walituambia tunakuja kuwafundisha kutumia boti ya doria na kuzuia kabisa uvuvi wa kutumia mabomu. Sie tulifurahi sana maana [uvuvi wa baruti] ulikuwa unatuudhi (*lit: they told us we have come to train you to use a patrol boat and to completely stop dynamite fishing. We were very happy since it [dynamite fishing] was becoming bothersome.*)

Francis *et al.* (2002) also documented this idea of consenting to the initiative of stopping dynamite fishing. Yet Jibondo people claim that in practice the ensuing processes to put in place strategies for such management of the fisheries were

undertaken differently. Mzee Popote recalls a visit by officials whom he called 'wataalam' (lit: professionals) from the Department of Fisheries who had come to Jibondo claiming that they wanted to teach the residents modern or proper fishing methods, that were environmentally friendly. In response to this contention, Mzee Popote says: "we wondered how these people could teach us how to fish while we had accumulated our expertise [on fishing] since birth."

In his explanation, Mzee Popote had found it very odd for people he called 'foreigners' to claim to teach those who had been fishing for all their lives, how to fish⁹. At this level, the exchange of perceptions and claims to knowledge regarding fishing were a crucial aspect in the early stages of management intervention. A year later, in 1999, Mzee Popote writes about another *mtaalam* who came in a patrol boat claiming to have come to combat illegal fishing practices. The villagers were subsequently informed that the use of the boat purported to be for patrolling would be jointly used by MIMP and the islanders, a suggestion that never materialised. Active engagement with Jibondo villagers about measures regarding conservation began in 2000 with the coming of the MIMP's Community Development Officer (MIMP/CDO). In his explanation, Mzee Popote recalls a 'youngish' officer explaining the process that should be followed in the conservation agenda and the areas which had been earmarked for different levels of fisheries management, which included establishing no-take zones, specified, and general use -zones.

Mzee Popote recalls that with the arrival of the MIMP/CDO, a public meeting was called where the need to regulate the fisheries and to conserve the Kitutia Reef as a 'no-take zone' was proposed to the Jibondo public. In this first encounter, the villagers were categorically against this intention. The MIMP/CDO held two other meetings during which the people stood their ground. In his account, Mzee Popote claims to have been irked by the nature of the discussions, and particularly by the representation of the visitors whom he felt did not include any government officials. The whole thing raised doubt whether the issue about conservation was formally recognised in other government circles. He said he stood up in the second meeting and asked them why their visit had not involved any government leader.

Pressure to succumb to the intention to regulate the fisheries continued until later in the same year, 2000, when the villagers consented to the MIMP-led fisheries management approach on the agreement that every aspect of the conservation had to have prior consent of the Jibondo villagers. One of the major issues of contention was the closing of Kitutia reef, around which was located a traditionally lucrative fishing ground. Closing the reef was flatly denied by Jibondo villagers, and what annoyed them was what some Jibondo residents referred to as 'the force' used to zone off Kitutia reef as a no-take fishing zone. Mzee Popote's recording on 27th October 2001 reads as follows:

The MIMP/CDO at a public gathering declares that buoys will be placed at Kitutia ... even if it means using some kind of force!" *Following this announcement, Mzee Popote claims to have stood up and demanded:* "How can you do this, when it was not part of our agreement? Why are you issuing orders now? And for whom are you reserving Kitutia?"

⁹ 'Foreigners' in this sense referring to 'outsiders'

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In his explanation, Mzee Popote said that this argument was based on the reasoning that Jibondo's population had grown significantly, from about 50 households in the 1970s to about 400 in the year 2000. All these depended on the same marine resources for a livelihood, and the fisheries around Kitutia were the most dependable. In any case, fishing around the reefs was not done continuously throughout the year because as he claimed: "God had already protected the area". His explanation regarding this contention was based on the fact that climatic seasons already determined when people could access the fisheries around Kitutia or could not, and because the reef was not sheltered, in seasons with high winds, fishers could not approach the reef.

Eventually, the demarcations on the fisheries were drawn, although without signifying buoys because of the threats Jibondo people had given to MIMP employees on that account, and the Kitutia fisheries became a no-take zone. However, Jibondo residents did not comply and in defiance kept on fishing regularly whenever the weather allowed. In early November 2001, the Police apprehended a number of Jibondo youths who were fishing around the Kitutia Reef. Fellow villagers responded by making constant follow-up on the case and appealed to the District Commissioner for intervention. The processes that ensued have been documented by Mzee Popote as follows:

We have arrived at Kilindoni at the MPs residence, with about 120 youths. Our objective is to get bail for 13 of our youths who have been put in remand (1 November, 2001).

We have arrived at Kilindoni, 60 people, for bailing out our youths (5th November, 2001).

We have presented our problems to the DC (9th November, 2001).

We have started attending court proceedings. Until the 20th August 2002 we had spent TShs. 1,554,000/- cash (18 November, 2001).

This particular court case ended with the Jibondo youths being sentenced to six weeks in jail. But active resistance towards MIMP prevailed, sometimes in form of local fishers acting contrary to MIMP regulations and continuing to fish in the no-take zone, or actively working to contest arrests they thought were illegitimate. Yet as if to make Jibondo people realise that they were actually powerless against the MIMP agenda, Mzee Popote documents the following:

The Mafia Member of Parliament has come to Jibondo to make a follow-up on the problems of the youth, and he has discussed the Conservation Policy saying that Hifadhi is a Government initiative! [implying that the initiative was mandatory, and that Jibondo people should accept it] (25 February, 2002).

Despite the obvious lack of agreement between Jibondo people and MIMP management that had gone on for some time, Mzee Popote took note of the fallacies hidden in official representations to the public about the Jibondo issue. In explaining this point, he said that although the case of Jibondo was well known to the public, some officials still claimed that nothing was wrong in the relationship between Jibondo community and MIMP management. He wrote:

The Head of the Marine Parks Reserve Unit (MPRU)¹⁰ using the media has claimed that Jibondo does not have any problems with Hifadhi, Mafia (19 February, 2002).

¹⁰ I have substituted the actual names of the persons with their official titles.

¹¹ Majira Newspaper of 19th February, 2002. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Such messages, he explained, were used to sidetrack the conflict, rather than address it. He then noted them down to justify the contention that there was indeed conflict between the Park Management and the island. In February 2003, about one year later, Mzee Popote recorded the arrival of the Head of the MPRU again; this time to try to sort out the difference between the Park management and Jibondo community. According to Mzee Popote, the significance of this second trip was to acknowledge that indeed Jibondo had an issue against the MIMP that needed attention, and he writes as follows:

The Head of MPRU arrives at Jibondo to iron out the problems between Hifadhi and the residents of Jibondo. Those who are in attendance include the Head of the MPRU, the MP, the Park Warden and the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Mafia District Chairperson (19 February, 2003).

The islanders' agitation against fishing regulations continued and prompted another visit by the Mafia's DC who was accompanied by several District Officials. After this visit, Mzee Popote's following text illustrates the use of a different strategy to end the conflict. Upon closer scrutiny, we find most of his records from this point portraying experiences of subjugation or the use of threats to Jibondo people, instead of attempting to iron out the differences between them and the MIMP management. He notes:

The Mafia DC, the Mafia District Security Officer, the Head of Mafia Prisons and the District Legal officer arrived at Jibondo. The DC that day gave an order, and said: "I, the DC do not depend on the votes of Jibondo residents, or those of Mafia residents. I am appointed by the President. This is the policy of CCM and the government; Warden, locate the buoys were you think it is ideal to do so!" He then called out the names of five local people who were to be responsible for this process (10 March 2003).

Later the following month, Mzee Popote recorded another visit by a Party official who also gave threats to Jibondo people regarding the MIMP.

The Division Secretary (South) has come to Jibondo to attend a public gathering and threatened the people by wielding handcuffs and saying that he has the powers of using the handcuffs anytime (6 April, 2003).

Again, he also recorded a visit by the MIMP Warden:

MIMP Warden has brought eight Policemen and has mentioned the order given by the Regional Commissioner [of Coast Region] that he [the Regional Commissioner] intends to put two people in jail for not consenting to MIMP regulations (28th June, 2003).

The discontentment resulting from such interactions prevailed for some time among Jibondo residents. Some of those who were present during these encounters kept referring to the words of the former DC during the interviews, who had openly declared that he did not depend on the votes of the people to stay in power. Still giving the impression of a community subjugated by government processes, Mzee Popote noted down another visit; this time however, with a slightly different tone.

The District CCM Committee members have arrived. They have come to consult Jibondo CCM members to get their views. These members include the District CCM Chairperson, District CCM Secretary, District CCM Executive Officer, Secretary of the MP for Mafia, District Treasurer of CCM Mafia, and two women who are all members of the District CCM Committee.

¹² CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi) is the ruling Political Party in Tanzania.

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After a lengthy discussion, they have come to the conclusion that the CCM Branch (of Jibondo) erred following the statement by the DC on the 10.3.2003 that he did not depend on the votes of Jibondo people, nor those of Mafia (26th August, 2003).

According to Mzee Popote, at this point, it was obvious that the local CCM Branch was incapable of resolving local problems related to conservation. From his texts, Mzee Popote proceeds to show how the exchanges illustrated above (between the DC and Jibondo people), seemed to have fuelled further threats instead of resolving the problem at hand. He writes as follows:

The Head of the Enforcement Unit of MIMP has taken photographs of people who are at Kitutia, and some without clothes on. I am saddened by this insensitive regard for women. This is the second time and we [of Jibondo] do not like to be treated as such (25th September, 2003).

Three (3) fishermen have been apprehended with their fishing vessel around Kalange area (25th November, 2004).

Anniversary of the 10th Commemoration of Women's Beijing Declaration. 150 Jibondo women were ambushed by the Police, as the former were at sea collecting octopus as their normal activity. This is how they celebrated their Beijing anniversary. The Police seized their fuel containers and some of them had their money confiscated (8th March, 2005).

Friday, Tanzanian Army personnel have arrived at Jibondo and punished people (6th November, 2006).

What could be deduced from these incidences put on record by Mzee Popote are the contestations existing within resource management processes between local people and government officials. Ultimately, there is the use of force to subjugate Jibondo residents into compliance. The following discussion on the use of a key concept in Mzee Popote's memoirs – *hifadhi* – links these incidences to the meanings and perceptions local people harboured regarding the whole marine resource management agenda.

5.0 Hifadhi: Protest discourse

The use and meanings of concepts in discourse analysis need to be located within a discursive formation through a description of how the field of statements associated with it is organised (Foucault, 1972). In this case, in order to understand the meanings that the word '*hifadhi*' carries, it needs to be located within the local contexts of contestations regarding resource management. As illustrated below, the terminology *hifadhi* is a central concept in the discourse on resource management in the country. It has largely been used not simply to denote the process of conservation or protection of resources, but also to signify the discursive nature of the contestations that the various players in the whole conservation process are engaged in. According to CDA, when people use words in speech or written text they usually make reference to other events or other sources of information to effect meaning. This is what Fairclough (2007) referred to as inter-textuality and inter-discursivity. This contention can be seen in the use of the terminology *hifadhi*. *Hifadhi* is a Kiswahili language verb which could be literally translated into English as 'protect', 'preserve', or 'conserve' (TUKI, 2001:103). Conservation, the noun, is also translated as *hifadhi* in Kiswahili (in the same dictionary) to indicate the practice of conservation, or the modalities and structures that are provided for conservation. In everyday normal usage, the word *hifadhi* is also used to refer to an area that is under resource protection rules or management – a 'conservancy' or 'sanctuary', in reference to a spatial entity. In

Jibondo Island and in the rest of Tanzania, the word *hifadhi* is used in reference to natural resource reserve areas such as the Mafia Island Marine Park area. Its related management structure is likewise referred to as *hifadhi* by the local Mafia people.

As submitted by other residents of Jibondo Island during the interviews, the term had initially been accepted by the people, including Mzee Popote, as a desired process. This is because it was used to introduce the idea of conservation practices desired by the people – the fight against dynamite fishing. The idea of conservation was put forward to justify interventions desired for the protection of the marine environment and improve the fisheries for the benefit of the people. It was only after experiencing the processes and activities that were developed to put in place the *hifadhi* in practice that the term *hifadhi* came to be the nucleus of an anti-conservation discourse in Jibondo, as Mzee Popote testifies below. For example, in his writing, Mzee Popote notes the following incidences:

Monday: Two vessels have been apprehended by hifadhi at the beach in Kilindoni and 36 people are in remand at the Police Station (22nd May, 2006).

Hifadhi has come to Kitutia with six Policemen, as Jibondo community members, both men and women, were conducting their fishing activities (17 February 2008).

Hifadhi Bahari has arrived and consulted with the elders of Jibondo. As far as the elders are concerned, there is no hifadhi! (12 May, 2008).

Hifadhi in these writings has been given the meaning of an entity, an object or structure that can act upon something else, in this case Jibondo residents. In the same sense, *hifadhi* is also given the identity of being an object that is not part of the community in Mzee Popote's records, despite the fact that Jibondo Island lies within the jurisdiction of the MIMP, and its residents are recognised by the Government of Tanzania as legal residents of the *hifadhi*. Hence, even the contestations as portrayed by local Jibondo people express vividly the separation between the structures and processes of *hifadhi* versus the people.

In the same manner, and as it has been experienced since the 1990s when the MIMP was established, the use of this particular terminology has not been uniform among the users when making sense of conservation processes and practices, as it is literally defined. The use of the word *hifadhi* has also been used to carry messages regarding an undesired intervention, albeit with different implications in different places (Fairclough, 1992). This is evident in the memoirs of Mzee Popote.

The ensuing discourse regarding *hifadhi* was also manifested in the perception developing among other fishing communities along the South-Eastern Tanzanian Mainland coast, particularly as an expression of the same resentment on marine resource management interventions, as experienced in Jibondo. Such resentment may have developed because the term *hifadhi* came to represent an aspect of local people's forced alienation and exclusion from resources, even though to some fishers, it meant restrictions against unregulated use of marine resources¹³. In the case of Mzee Popote, he was all along against

¹³Interviews with Fisheries officials in Mafia district established that fishers who benefit from the use of destructive fishing practices also mobilise other people against the MIMP because of the attached regulations. Some of these fishers come from South-Eastern Tanzania and traders from Dar es Salaam (March, 2008).

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the idea of conservation. He would say: "*Hifadhi hatuitaki!*" (lit: "we do not want [the structure] conservation"). This seemed to be the same position held by most people in Jibondo when asked about the intended resource management plan. As the terminology is used in this regard, it augments the contention that certain language uses take place in specific fields with specific social relations and subjective positions. This refers to the way in which every discourse entails certain representations and presuppositions about social interaction which occur within a particular historical context, and where its participants want to reflect certain identities commensurate with that context. In this case, Mzee Popote, like his fellow villagers in Jibondo, is expressing the power of denial towards conservation by making subjective claims of "*hatutaki*".

On the other hand, discourse can also be used to express power, in a manner that diffuses other sources or kinds of power, without confrontation. Declaring '*hifadhi hatutaki!*' may therefore be a socially constructed discourse meant to speak out about the undesirables in the whole *hifadhi* process, without the need of physical confrontation. At the same time, and according to Foucault (1984), in every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, [and] to evade its ponderous, formidable, materiality (1984:109). The procedures include constraints upon what can be said, by whom, and in what occasions. So, in every context of what is being said the exercise of power is evident, however subtle or disguised.

Although the exercising of power was evident from how the issue of *hifadhi* was handled, Mzee Popote tells us of a slightly different situation where one minister seemed to sympathise with the people. This one did not seem to show overt power or force; she was more understanding unlike the administrative leaders who were very arrogant. The expression of power by leaders was recorded by Mzee Popote in his memoirs, in the following words:

A contingent of 18 Members of Parliament (MP), led by a Minister have come to Jibondo to sort out the issue between the people of Jibondo and Hifadhi Mafia.

Decision: Hifadhi has mistreated the people. Hifadhi is to be owned by the people.

Decision about the RUC: The Minister [head of the delegation] has ordered that it needs to be reviewed since it is unpopular (19 April, 2004).

In his explanation, Mzee Popote said that when the minister came to Jibondo she said that she had come to listen to the claims Jibondo people had against the MIMP management. Mzee Popote recalled that the minister disclosed that her intention was to check whether or not the people of Jibondo had willingly accepted the intervention by MIMP and its objectives. She then asked the following question: "*Je, [MIMP] ilipiga hodi, ikakubaliwa?*" (Trans: "Was MIMP accepted by the people during its introduction?" This underlined the importance of local consent in ensuring that MIMP was appropriately being pursued. Following this, the minister is recalled to have demanded that a vote be cast to establish the general feelings of the local Jibondo people about their willingness to be part of MIMP. The vote was subsequently cast although she had to leave the island early. Mzee Popote wrote about the voting process and the decisions that ensued as follows:

People's decisions: The people of Jibondo have held a public meeting on whether the Hifadhi should be accepted or not. After a long discussion it has been decided that a vote should be cast.

The verdict: People have unanimously decided they do not want the Hifadhi at Jibondo and there has not been any dispute following this decision, made in front of the Honourable Councillor (29 April, 2004).

Several versions about what actually transpired that particular day were given by other Jibondo residents when they were interviewed, but the dominant version was that since most of the people had voted against the MIMP, the few who were positive towards MIMP shied away and didn't raise their hands during the voting, in favour MIMP, for fear of reprisals¹⁴. The majority therefore won. Proceedings of the meeting were written down and sent to the DC. Whatever prevailed at the meeting, at this juncture it was clear that the anti-*hifadhi* campaign had succeeded, and Mzee Popote's memoirs have been documented to reflect this outcome.

The use of the terminology '*hifadhi*' in the memoirs serves to intensify and reinforce Mzee Popote's message about the people's position vis-à-vis the *hifadhi* as both a structure and process. As a structure, *hifadhi* comes across in terms of conservation regulations, and in most cases, what is restricted; and as a process, *hifadhi* becomes understood as power in making decisions. In this sense, Mzee Popote also positions the actors in the MIMP agenda by taking note of the context within which they come into the picture (Locke, 2005:59). An example is the way he posits the coming of the police, and government officers often in a style of confrontation regarding the management of resources.

6.0 Jibondo and MIMP: An evolving discourse about power relations

Jibondo is indeed an evolving community in terms of its perceptions towards the MIMP and issues regarding marine resource conservation. In this discourse, ideas about power and ownership of resources still prevail as illustrated by the following quite recent incidence, as reported in a newspaper.

On the 12th and 13th of December 2008, a MIMP-led inspection exercise was conducted at Jibondo. The patrol team also comprised of Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) personnel. On the first day of the patrol, it is claimed, one of the fishers found on the beach said: "*mbona mnatufadhaisha!*" (lit: why are you harassing us!)¹⁵, as the patrol took stock of what type of fishing gear was being used. The following day, Jibondo was ambushed at 6:00 o'clock in the morning and several local people were physically roughened up by this patrol, especially when the patrol noted that almost all able-bodied men including village leaders had left the island the previous evening, having sensed danger. Some of the people I interviewed who had been involved in this incidence said that the patrol team was demanding to see the fishing nets used by the people, but those who were present refused to comply. The public outcry directed to Mafia District and TPDF headquarters later led to a brief evaluation process of the incidence, and some press coverage; but at the end the people were not given adequate explanation¹⁶.

¹⁴ Interviews with Jibondo residents (March, 2008).

¹⁵ Personal communication with Jibondo Village Government leaders on 15th December 2008.

¹⁶ Kulikoni Newspaper, 17th July, 2009

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I have used this example to put in context Mzee Popote's comments that express his feelings about how they were discriminated against, and how they were ruled by force. On the incident described above he said, "*tatizo la leseni, mpaka waje wanajeshi?* (lit: do we need to bring in the army to sort out a problem on license?). For him this was such a petty problem that intervention by the army was uncalled for. Using Fairclough's (2007:67) contentions, Mzee Popote's views can be taken as "significations that are generated within power relations as a dimension of the exercise of power and struggles over power". By using the CDA approach it has thus become possible to see through the texts and some interviews how Mzee Popote's version of the whole discourse about resource management is expressed. Analysing Mzee Popote's words it becomes evident how he becomes an agent or a human subject whose social reality is engrossed with the power struggles over resource management amidst the dynamic historical construction of the social and cultural context within which Jibondo people live their lives. At the same time, he is but an individual, and through his words he becomes a political subject intending to portray his own political contentions regarding the MIMP.

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