Tupo pamoja, we are together:

A collaborative case study of decolonising approaches to research and conservation with Mkuyu Guiding School, Tanzania.

Sara Mary-Charlotte Judge

BNatSc(EnvMgt), University of Western Sydney

GradCert Ornithology, Charles Sturt University

In Collaboration with Leonard Kilumile and Mkuyu Guiding School

Leonard (top-row, left), Moses (top-row, right), Frank (top-row, second from right), and Mkuyu student collaborative-participants.

A thesis presented to Macquarie University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Research (MRes).

Department of Geography and Planning

Macquarie University, Australia

Submission Date: 8th May, 2018

This page intentionally left blank

Mgeni siku ya kwanza. Siku ya pili mpe jembe akalime.

A guest is only a guest on the first day. On the second day, give her a hoe so that she can go to cultivate a field.

~ Swahili Proverb ~

"Haraka haraka,
Haina Baraka!"

"Haste, haste,
Has no blessing!"

~ Swahili Proverb ~

Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis is a collaborative case study with Mkuyu Guiding School, a Tanzanian-owned *safari*-guide training program located on the fringes of Ruaha National Park in Tanzania. Situated within the broad framing of Indigenous methodologies that emphasise decolonising approaches to collaboration, and addressing the complexities involved in working cross-culturally within previously colonised contexts, the thesis is a collaboratively-guided journey that privileges Mkuyu's identity as a *safari*-guide school, and acknowledges their important contributions as co-researchers and collaborative-participants.

The thesis comprises a case-study within a case-study. In the first instance, Mkuyu is presented as a case-study of Tanzanian ownership and self-directed environmental actions that challenge deep-colonial legacies within Tanzanian conservation. In the second, our engagement together on this project asks what contributions collaborative relationships can make to decolonising research and processes, such as those undertaken in conservation efforts.

The thesis argues that revealing alternative environmental and ownership narratives through collaboration with Mkuyu challenges deep-colonising legacies around Tanzanian-owned and shaped environmentalism within Western conservation frameworks. By mobilising decolonising methodologies, the thesis argues that similar decolonising approaches applied to current conservation in Tanzania could guide more genuinely collaborative engagements that centre Tanzanian perspectives and decision-making.

Author Statement

This thesis is my own work and contains no material published elsewhere or written by another person, except where due reference and attribution is made in the text. The content of this thesis is a result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program. This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for the award of any other degree or diploma at any tertiary institution. All research reported in this thesis received the approval of the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee, reference number: 5201700405.

Signature:

Date: 5th May, 2018

Acknowledgement of Country

I would like to acknowledge that my home, university, and the place in Australia where the majority of my work for this thesis was undertaken, is the homelands and Country of the Darug Indigenous people. I offer my humblest respect to this living, intentional land that I am blessed and honoured to share as home. I respectfully thank Darug People and Elders past, present, and emerging, for nurturing Country through thousands of years of their culture, customs, and song lines that continue today, despite the challenges and hardships of colonisation and dispossession. Humbly, I acknowledge the wisdom of Darug Country in teaching me to tread lightly and walk in good spirit, and ask that I be ever guided to continue learning such lessons and responsibilities as I continue to know it as home.

Acknowledgements

To my Mkuyu collaborators: Leonard Kilumile, Moses Nyakunga, Abell Swalo, Frank Kibuga, and Morris Nyambo. Without each of you, this thesis would not be what it is, and I would not have learnt as much as I have from your incredibly generous guidance, patience, kindness, and hospitality. During this safari, you have become family, *damu ya Mkuyu*. In particular, Leonard – 'Baba Buffalo' - whose leadership and determination forged Mkuyu Guiding School into what it is, inspiring so many young Tanzanian environmentalists…and one very grateful Australian research student.

To Mkuyu students Juma, Deogratius, Bahati, Ibrahim, Stanley, Maxmilian, John, Ivan, Enock, Levocatus, Veronica, Neema, Fausta, Alex, Anderson, Erick, Getruda, Shani, Maskati, Baraka, Grayson, Mofuga, Jackline, Bintu, Joel, Jelema-Ayoub, Naftali-Gadau, Wilfred, and Leah. Working with you guys was so much fun, and at times deeply moving thanks to your raw honesty, curiousity, enthusiasm, and sense of humour about my understanding of hip-hop! It is an absolute honour to work with each and every one of you, I look forward to meeting with many of you again. One love, guys, *upendo mmoja*.

To my awesome supervisor Sandie Suchet-Pearson – thank you! I have learnt so much from you, and couldn't have asked for a better person watching over me throughout this adventure. Sharing a mutual love of Africa, and desire to advocate for Indigenous peoples, the environment, and more-than-human futures with you has opened up my perspectives enormously, I have learnt so much. Your guidance, encouragement, and patience with my many lengthy emails is appreciated so very much!

To Lameck Mkuburo, who painstakingly dealt with Tanzanian government departments to ensure that I had all the necessary permits to work with Mkuyu, to secure Mkuyu passports to visit Australia. Words are not enough to express my gratitude. Asante sana, sana rafiki yangu!

To the many supportive people in the Department of Geography and Planning: MRes guides Emily O'Gorman, Fiona Miller, and Andrew McGregor for all their guidance throughout the MRes journey; Richie Howitt for his wise counsel on ethical dilemmas; Ashraful Alam for generously guiding me into the world of photographic methods; Lara Mottee for continually reminding me that I can do it, and that lunch breaks are important; and my MRes peers Harriet Narwal, Lana Frost, and especially Patrick McEvoy, whose regular check-ins when I was stressed frequently saved the day…thank you.

Finally, to my Team: Mum, Boo-Cat, and Vladimir: thanks for believing in me, patiently having my back on bad days, making cups of tea, putting up with my relentless demands for 'pet duties' (cat cuddles & poochie pats), and the late night comfort talks. I love you all so much more than I can ever express.

For my grandparents, John and Jeanette Judge:
Who were proud of me long before I wrote a thesis.

List of Figures

List of Research-Safari Maps

List of Tables

Preface: *Moyo na Roho*, Heart and Soul

Three years ago, I met a young Tanzanian man - Abell - whose ability to identify birds by sight and call with pin-point accuracy left me in awe. Though busily volunteering for an elephant conservation organisation in Tanzania, our free-time became consumed by our mutual passion for birds. I admired Abell immensely. It wasn't that he could identify the birds that astonished me, but rather the short time in which he had honed this skill to rival my own. As a keen birder with ornithological training, my skills with Australian birds had been refined over years of practice. For Abell, however, the skills had emerged from just six months of living and learning at Mkuyu Guiding School, a vocational bush-school on the doorstep of Ruaha National Park in southern Tanzania[1].

I quickly learnt that Abell was not a 'rare bird' when we visited Mkuyu and met his teacher, Leonard Kilumile. Beaming ear to ear, it is impossible not to be drawn in by Leonard's enthusiasm for all things 'ecosystem'! When he decided to start Mkuyu Guiding School in 2013, he had a vision for something different to the way that safari-guiding was taught at tourism colleges: vocation based on passion, experience, and encounter with, and as part of, Tanzanian ecosystems. Mkuyu guides would be more than tourism employees; they would be dedicated, knowledgeable environmental advocates too.

What first struck me about Mkuyu was how deep interests and sensitivities towards ecosystems were nurtured. I recall saying to Leonard one day, "Mkuyu students could match many university students with their skills and understanding of the environment". Given this impression, it is important to realise that Mkuyu students are not tertiary educated, coming either from vocational tourism colleges, or directly from secondary, and even primary, schooling. They learn their craft quickly and thoroughly through immersive experience, and through a passion that flows from Mkuyu teachers – including non-humans - like the rainy-season flows into dry rivers.

Admittedly, that passion also flowed into me. Something about Mkuyu seeped into my very being, and I found myself linked to place and people, with deeply invested emotions and responsibilities towards them. As I embark on the final stages of this thesis, I do so aware of the relationships that have formed between us as collaborators, friends, and family – roles that have been deeply realised through undertaking this '*research-safari*'[2] together. "You are Mkuyu-blood..", teacher Moses reminds me, "…even when you aren't here, you are". As I sit at my desk in Australia now, I feel that connection and

---

[1] See map (figure 1) in Chapter 1.
[2] See chapter 1.

all of its weight powerfully. I acknowledge this thesis as an act of love and responsibility, and feel it in my heart and soul. I hear *Baba*[3] Leonard's words:

"Mkuyu is your home, *Mama*[4], we are together".

---

[3] Kiswahili translation: *Baba* means 'father', also used to address a respected man.
[4] Kiswahili translation: *Mama* means 'mother', also used to address a respected woman.

1. *Karibu Mkuyu*[5] - A Research-*Safari*

"Tupo pamoja, we are together – from start to end, we are making this safari together, so karibu, karibu Mkuyu!"

- Leonard

With this Masters thesis, I invite you to share in the collaborative journey that Mkuyu Guiding School[6] (referred to as 'Mkuyu' from here on) and I have taken together through some of the postcolonial issues facing African-based conservation today. The thesis comprises a case-study within a case-study. In the first instance, Mkuyu is presented as a case study of Tanzanian ownership and self-directed environmental actions that challenge deep-colonial legacies within Tanzanian conservation. In the second, our engagement together on this project asks what contributions collaborative relationships can make to decolonising research processes. Imagined and presented as a 'research-*safari*', the thesis is a collaboratively-guided journey that privileges Mkuyu's identity as a *safari*-guide school, and acknowledges their important contributions as co-researchers.

Mkuyu Guiding School

Founded by Leonard Kilumile in 2013, Mkuyu is located within the wildlife management buffer-zone just outside Ruaha National Park in southern Tanzania (Fig.1, next page). Sharing its Kiswahili name with the fig tree, Mkuyu is a vocational bush school for aspiring *safari*-guides, where Leonard (as founder and teacher), other teachers and students live and learn as part of complex ecosystems. Elephants, hyenas, heat, floods, birds, insects, snakes, trees, grass, dust, wind, seeds, rain, rivers, and more shape and determine daily life at Mkuyu in profound, ever-changing ways. Diverse human communities participate in these ecosystems too, including Maasai, Mung'ati, and Hehe villages, non-government organisations (NGOs), and tourist lodges.

---

[5] Kiswahili translation: Karibu Mkuyu means 'Welcome to Mkuyu', both in the sense of being welcomed as a guest, and being welcomed to share and participate with Mkuyu.
[6] 'Mkuyu Guiding School', or 'Mkuyu', collectively refers to all Mkuyu teachers – including founder/owner Leonard Kilumile - and students who were involved in the project.
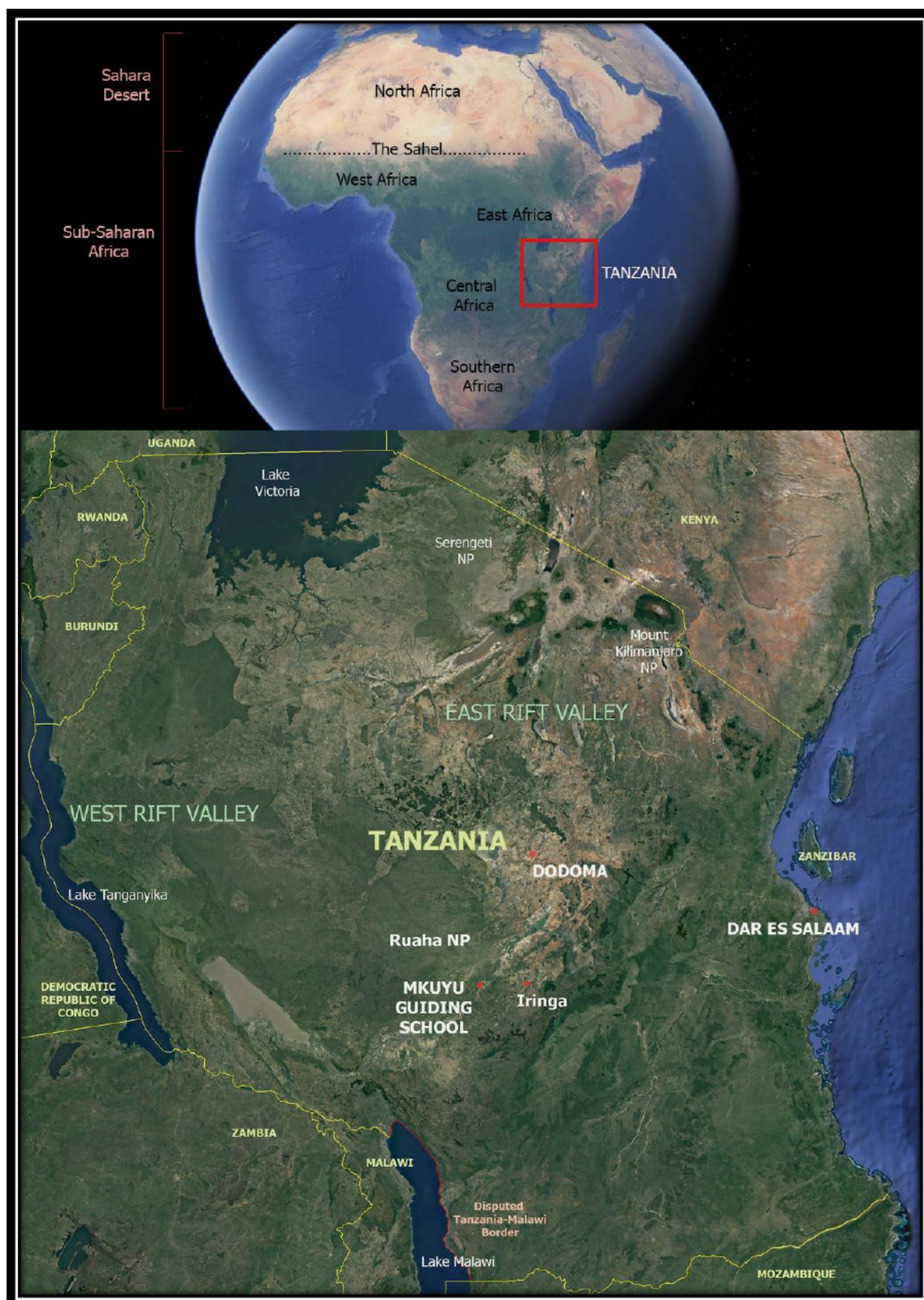
Figure 1 – Map of Tanzania in relation to the African continent (above); and Tanzania (below) showing the geographic location of Ruaha National Park and Mkuyu Guiding School (maps by Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

Within this dynamic, shared context, Mkuyu has grown beyond its primary role as a tourism training business. Although students typically arrive seeking to improve their practical employability, profound attitude changes while at Mkuyu often see them leaving as active, passionate environmentalists too. Voluntary projects, including environmental activities for local children, self-funded bin donations, community clean-up days, and active involvement in local conservation have become a common, optional addition to many students' training.

Mkuyu is an independent, Tanzanian-owned business. Without the direction of international organisations or Tanzanian environmental management authorities, Mkuyu is undertaking important local conservation actions based on their own initiative, resources, and values. Significantly, such local-scale, self-directed environmental action remains elusive in conservation efforts throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Adams and McShane, 1996, pp. 238–243; Maathai, 2009, pp. 134–171; Nneji, 2010).

Colonial Context

Historically, conservation in east Africa served colonial agendas in the form of restricted African rights, access to, and ownership of land and wildlife[7] (Adams and McShane, 1996, pp. 37–58; Neumann, 1997; Goldman, 2003). Like many colonised peoples dispossessed of land and cultural practices, this created a damaging human-environment separation (Plumwood, 2002a) that – despite decades of Tanzanian independence – continues to enable colonial legacies that influence dominant conservation narratives today (Adams and McShane, 1996, pp. xii–xix; Leach and Mearns, 1996; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Despite efforts by more recent community-based approaches to actively involve African people in conservation, a disparity in ownership and decision-making persists (Songorwa, 1999; Goldman, 2003; Levine and Wandesforde-Smith, 2004; Büscher and Whande, 2007). There remains a quiet assumption "…that the majority of Africans cannot be trusted to conserve their wildlife resources…an unspoken belief that underlies many current conservation programs" (Adams and McShane, 1996, p. xviii). Significant challenges and complexities perpetuate this thinking (Leach and Mearns, 1996), and understanding their colonial roots is central to engaging with them (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006).

Increasingly, postcolonial and Indigenous research is revealing colonial legacies in African conservation, detailing the prominent Western face of environmental management, and its limited

---

[7] While engaging comprehensively with colonial conservation history is beyond the scope of this thesis, a number of works in this area provide detailed analyses of the historical events that shaped current issues. These include Adams and McShane's 'The Myth of Wild Africa'; Roderick Neumann's 'Imposing Wilderness'; Wangari Maathai's 'The Challenge For Africa'; and Edward Steinhart's 'Black Poachers, White Hunters', all of which are engaged and cited throughout the thesis.

success (Neumann, 1997; Goldman, 2003; Mawere, 2012; Chibvongodze, 2016; Chilisa, 2017). While foreign-ownership contributes significantly to economic development and conservation, the clear imbalance in ownership, and subsequently power, sends a deeply reductive message about African capacities to undertake environmental projects of their own (Levine and Wandesforde-Smith, 2004; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Arguably, however, African-defined and owned conservation may achieve greater longevity and success through increased cultural relevance and environmental identity (Adams and McShane, 1996, pp. 249–263; Suchet, 2001; Maathai, 2009, pp. 231–233; Mawere, 2014).

Mkuyu: A Case-Study Within A Case-Study

Mkuyu's colonial context coupled with their self-directed environmentalism positions them to contribute important decolonising perspectives. This thesis is a case-study of Mkuyu, presenting an alternative narrative that challenges colonial legacies in conservation. As a Tanzanian-owned business with strong environmental ethics and motivations, Mkuyu represents a challenge to power imbalances, and an inside perspective on the problems that prevent successful Tanzanian conservation ownership.

Simultaneously, the thesis also contains a case study within a case study. As a collaboratively negotiated, designed, and implemented project, the methodological approach embodies decolonising concepts and practices. We nurtured collaborative relationships by continually considering, reflecting on, and adjusting how we work together at all stages. Mkuyu's ground-up involvement in research design, methodological decision-making, and important aspects of data analysis guided the development of this thesis.

Timeline

Due to coursework requirements of the Masters degree[8], I could not spend long periods in Tanzania. Three visits to Mkuyu were augmented by international collaboration using social media. My first visit to Mkuyu was for six weeks in 2015 before starting the Masters degree in 2016. Leonard and I began building a relationship and discussing potential projects during this time. Having agreed to a project together, we continued negotiating via social media until my next visit to Mkuyu in 2016 for eight weeks[9]. During this time, Leonard, other Mkuyu teachers, and I worked closely together on research

---

[8] The first year of the Masters program consists entirely of coursework.
[9] Not formally part of Masters fieldwork. This was a voluntary visit to continue building relationships with Mkuyu.

design and project-planning. This continued internationally via social media until my third visit for four weeks in August 2017, when the formal Masters fieldwork was carried out with two permanent Mkuyu teachers, a past student in the role of research-assistant, and twenty-nine students, with assistance and input from two guest Mkuyu teachers (Table 1).

TEACHERS	STUDENTS
Permanent teachers living at Mkuyu: Leonard Kilumile (founder, teacher): Primary co-researcher. Moses Nyakunga (teacher): co-researcher. **Guest teachers:** Abell Swalo, Morris Nyambo: offered additional perspectives to project planning stages of collaboration, but were not involved in fieldwork.	**Collaborative-participants, current students:** Juma, Deogratius, Bahati, Ibrahim, Stanley, Maxmilian, John, Ivan, Enock, Levocatus, Veronica, Neema, Fausta, Alex, Anderson, Erick, Getruda, Shani, Maskati, Baraka, Grayson, Mofuga, Jackline, Bintu, Joel, Jelema-Ayoub, Naftali-Gadau, Wilfred, Leah[10]. **Past student; translator/research-assistant:** Frank Kibuga.

Table 1 – Mkuyu teachers (permanent and guest) and students involved as co-researchers and collaborative-participants in this project.

Tupo Pamoja: A Collaborative Approach

This thesis is situated within the broad framing of Indigenous methodologies, emphasising decolonising approaches to collaboration, and working to address the complexities involved in working cross-culturally within previously colonised contexts. Collaborative decolonising approaches attempt to resist entrenched colonial legacies by privileging the agency of those usually excluded from decision-making (Rose, 1999; Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006; Smith, 2012, pp. 1–18; Suchet-Pearson *et al.*, 2013; Chilisa, 2017). They involve a 'give-and-take' between partners, where all stand to benefit through their contribution to a common undertaking (Ritchie and Rigano, 2007). Inevitably, this involves navigating the complexities, relationships, and emotions that arise from working closely with multiple perspectives, values, and goals (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Ritchie and Rigano, 2007). Questions around what collaboration means, on whose terms, and for whose benefit can become messy and complicated, but are critical to the process (Carter, 2010; Smith, 2012, pp. 9–11).

"*Tupo pamoja*, we are together…" guides the collaborative approaches and relationships central to this thesis, and is derived from the Kiswahili word *umoja*, or togetherness. The decision to undertake a project with Mkuyu was made in close consultation with founder and owner, Leonard Kilumile, who

---

[10] While Mkuyu teachers wanted to be fully named, many students did not. Student collaborative-participant surnames have been omitted for privacy, as negotiated during the informed consent process.

is formally acknowledged as a co-researcher[11]. From the ground up, we negotiated what the thesis would be about and the terms of engagement (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), often in further collaboration with Mkuyu teachers and students. For two years prior to undertaking this nine-month Masters project, dialogues with Mkuyu – particularly Leonard – were nurtured through both in-person and international communication. Our sometimes conflicting, confused understandings of our different project intentions, roles, and tasks created opportunities to learn about each other and deepen trust. How we negotiate differing views grew and changed over time, responding to our deepening relationships. *Tupo pamoja* has reminded us that we are together, even when our ideas are different.

Research-*Safari*

As an on-going collaborative work, this thesis is imagined and presented as a 'research-*safari*' where the role of Mkuyu as a *safari*-guide school is privileged and extended into the research context. Discussing collaboration with Mkuyu in research terms was not always successful, because it lacked relevance to them. Particularly for students, 'collaboration' was initially understood as 'participation' in my decision-making only. Reframing the project as a research-*safari* where I was cast as a guest or client, and Mkuyu as the research-*safari* guides into their lives and experiences proved far more helpful in building a mutual understanding of collaboration.

Safari lends many ideas and values to how we approached collaboration, but is not without colonial complexities. A Kiswahili word, '*safari*' is synonymous with the powerful imagery of untamed African wildernesses, teeming with magnificent wildlife and landscapes just waiting to be explored (Staples, 2006; Cejas, 2007). This, however, is an appropriated, partial understanding of *safari*, one that emerged during the nineteenth century colonial period in relation to Big-5 trophy hunting, and persisted into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as an ideology for nature-tourism (Adams and McShane, 1996, p. 18; Staples, 2006; Steinhart, 2006, p. 2). Connected to its earlier meanings, however, *safari* is "a travelling word" that means journey, discovery, and trade (Cejas, 2007). Influenced by the Arabic verb '*safara*', meaning to 'unveil' or 'discover' (Staples, 2006), *safari* described complex pre-colonial trading relationships that – despite problematic aspects such as slavery - supported Northern and sub-Saharan African economies based on the (mostly) self-determined use of resources (Steinhart, 2006, pp. 113–114; Cejas, 2007).

---

[11] Leonard's role as a co-researcher is acknowledged on the ethics application for this project. However, due to university requirements and timing constraints, the thesis is single authored (see next chapter). It is hoped that future publications arising from building on this work will be co-authored.

Similarly, our collaborative work sought to be a journey of mutual sharing that nurtures and 'unveils' Mkuyu's ownership and self-determination of their own natural, and intellectual, resources. As both a Tanzanian-owned tourism business and collaborative research partners, Mkuyu re-imagine and reclaim *safari* by translating colonial appropriations in ways that return to ideas of African ownership and decision-making. The journeying, discovery, and trade meanings of *safari* are engaged via collaboration in the form of mutual sharing, learning, contribution, and negotiation throughout the research process. Like the African-Arabic merchant caravans trading en route (Steinhart, 2006, p. 113; Cejas, 2007), our research-*safari* was a journey of encounters with colonial and cross-cultural complexities. In navigating these encounters, Mkuyu owned their *safari*-guide identities and guided our work together (Research-*Safari* Map 1).

Research-Safari Map 1 – Mkuyu Guiding School as depicted by collaborative-participants and co-researchers. This map collates all of the stops that will be encountered one-by-one on following research-safari maps.

Thesis Argument, Questions, Aims, and Structure

When I asked Leonard what he would like our project to be about, he said: "*I want to show the environmental things happening at Mkuyu, and that Tanzanians can own their own things.*" While this statement guides our research project, it is situated within a broader argument. The thesis argues that revealing alternative environmental and ownership narratives through collaboration with Mkuyu challenges deep-colonising legacies around Tanzanian-owned and shaped environmentalism within

Western conservation frameworks. By mobilising decolonising methodologies, the thesis argues that similar decolonising approaches applied to current conservation in Tanzania could guide more genuinely collaborative engagements that centre Tanzanian perspectives and decision-making.

It investigates two core thesis questions:

- How can collaborative relationships contribute to decolonising research, and potentially non-academic conservation work?
- How does Mkuyu's environmental actions and ownership challenge deep-colonising narratives of Tanzanian conservation?

The thesis engages with these questions alongside Mkuyu teachers and students as active collaborators and guides, and by utilising, and building upon, Indigenous methodologies, participatory action research and performance-based methods. In doing so, the thesis aims to:

- focus on relationship building as a key aspect of collaboration and attempt ways of collaborating that actively decolonise by enabling Mkuyu co-researchers as key decision-makers (Ch 2);
- contribute decolonising approaches to field methods, both academically and as inspiration for conservationists working in Tanzania (Ch 3);
- provide opportunities for Mkuyu to learn new technologies and skills, and to create tools for their use after research has ended (Ch 4);
- identify what supports and limits Tanzanian involvement in conservation:
  - by engaging with ecosystem connections and understandings at Mkuyu that challenge narratives of Tanzanians as environmentally disinterested (Ch 5);
  - by considering Mkuyu-identified obstacles to achieving their desire for a stronger grassroots Tanzanian presence in environmental decision-making and ownership (Ch 6).
- evaluate collaboration with Mkuyu by reflecting on what was learnt and contributed by this thesis, how Mkuyu used their data since completing the project, and opportunities for future collaboration and international networking as part of a decolonising approach to research (Ch 7).

The research-*safari* structures the thesis and shows our collaborative process as a journey undertaken together, but guided by Mkuyu on their terms as much as possible. Each chapter includes a research-*safari* map of Mkuyu that shares perspectives on our collaborative engagements stage by stage. Chapters two and three situate the thesis by engaging with literature around postcolonialism and decolonisation, conservation and environmentalism, Indigenous and participatory methodologies,

and how they have been used to inform decolonising approaches to collaboration with Mkuyu. Chapter four details our use of field methods, and how Mkuyu collaborative-participants engaged with decision-making around data collection, analysis, and dissemination planning. Chapters five and six present the findings of Mkuyu's case-study project by discussing the environmentalism emerging from the school, and Mkuyu-identified challenges to Tanzanian ownership of conservation decision-making. Chapter seven provides a concluding discussion of how the thesis aims were met, its broader research contributions, and future opportunities for collaborative research.

2. *Tupo Pamoja*[12] - Postcolonialism and Decolonising Our Project, Together

"To think deeply and widely the things in my mind, that is a good thing. I have ideas of my own. That is what we need here, for ourselves, for environment, for Tanzania."

- Leonard

"We started the project the day we met, not today."

- Moses

Our research-*safari* begins with first encounters, and the laying of critically important foundations for negotiation between Mkuyu[13] and myself. Although formally a nine month research project within a two year degree program, relationship-building began almost two years prior to the research itself, and continues presently. This chapter discusses decolonising approaches, and is represented by the Mkuyu gate (Fig.2), a swinging symbol of negotiation approached from roads travelling in different directions (Research-*Safari* Map 2, next page). The chapter focuses on early collaborative engagements between myself, *Baba* Leonard, *Amu* Moses[14], and other Mkuyu teachers as we approached the gate from different directions, meeting on either side to negotiate our project, and 'cook' new relationships.

Figure 2 - Mkuyu Gate. Photo by Deogratius.

---

[12] Kiswahili translation: *Tupo Pamoja* means 'we are together'.
[13] 'Mkuyu' refers to all Mkuyu teachers and students involved in the project, unless otherwise specified.
[14] Kiswahili translation: *Baba* means 'father'; *Amu* means 'uncle'. Used with relatives and respected male elders. Amu Moses' significant role at Mkuyu is acknowledged independently to other teachers, as he lives permanently at Mkuyu, like Leonard.
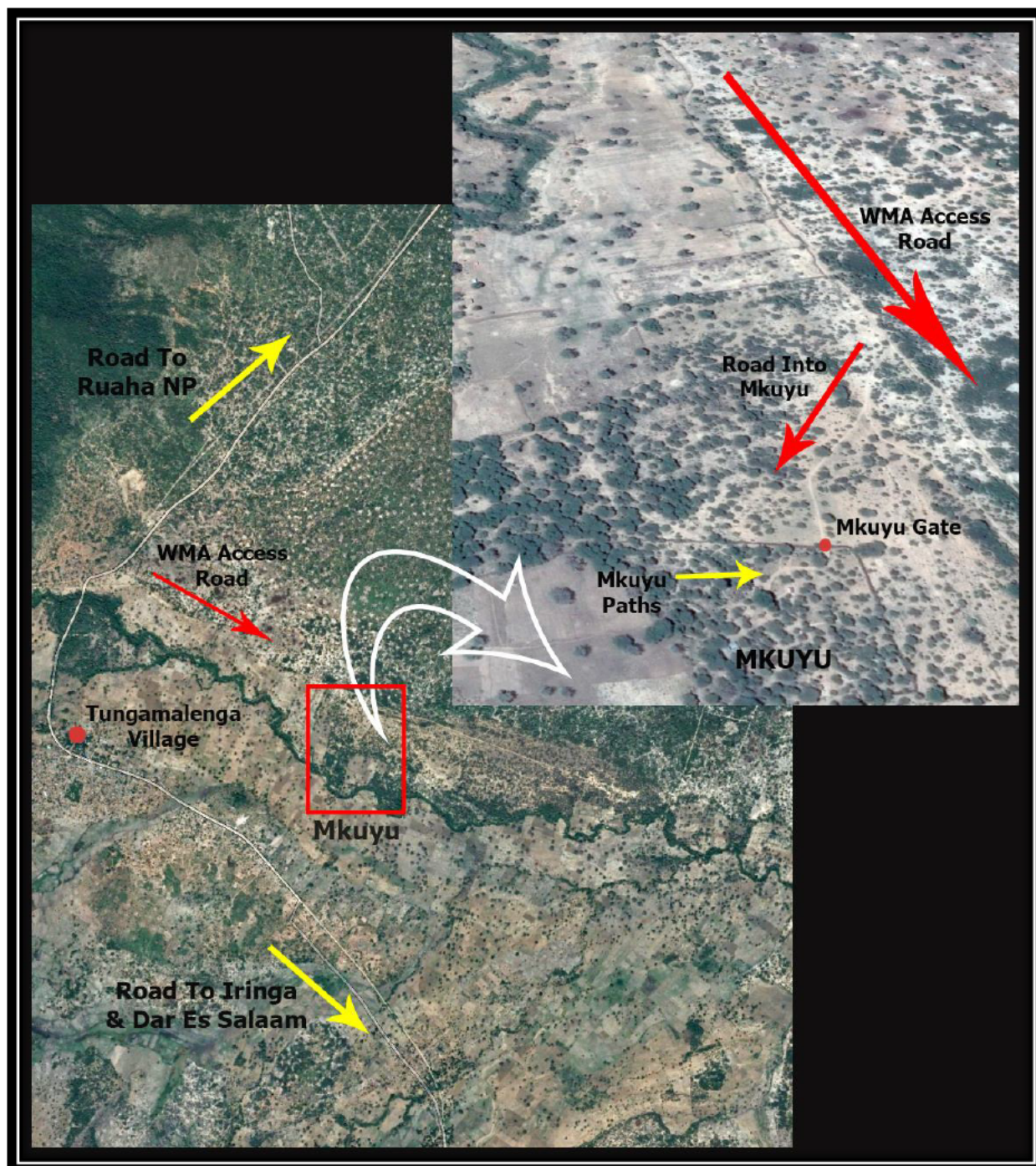
Research-Safari Map 2 – Roads in and out of Mkuyu, and the Mkuyu gate (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

Roads to Mkuyu: Coming From Different Directions

In 2015, my road diverged when I met Leonard and Mkuyu. I was planning an elephant study with a conservation organisation, walking a well-worn path in Tanzania, when Leonard's trail appeared in the overgrown spaces to the side. Mkuyu was not characterised by the iconic animals or human-wildlife conflicts that tend to attract conservation interest. Yet Leonard's *safari*-guide school was brimming with young Tanzanian environmentalists. Intrigued, I decided to walk the road "less traveled" (Frost,

1993, p. 1) to Mkuyu, and our research-*safari* began. But we often travel the road from different

directions (Fig.3), particularly when it comes to understanding each others postcolonial perspectives.
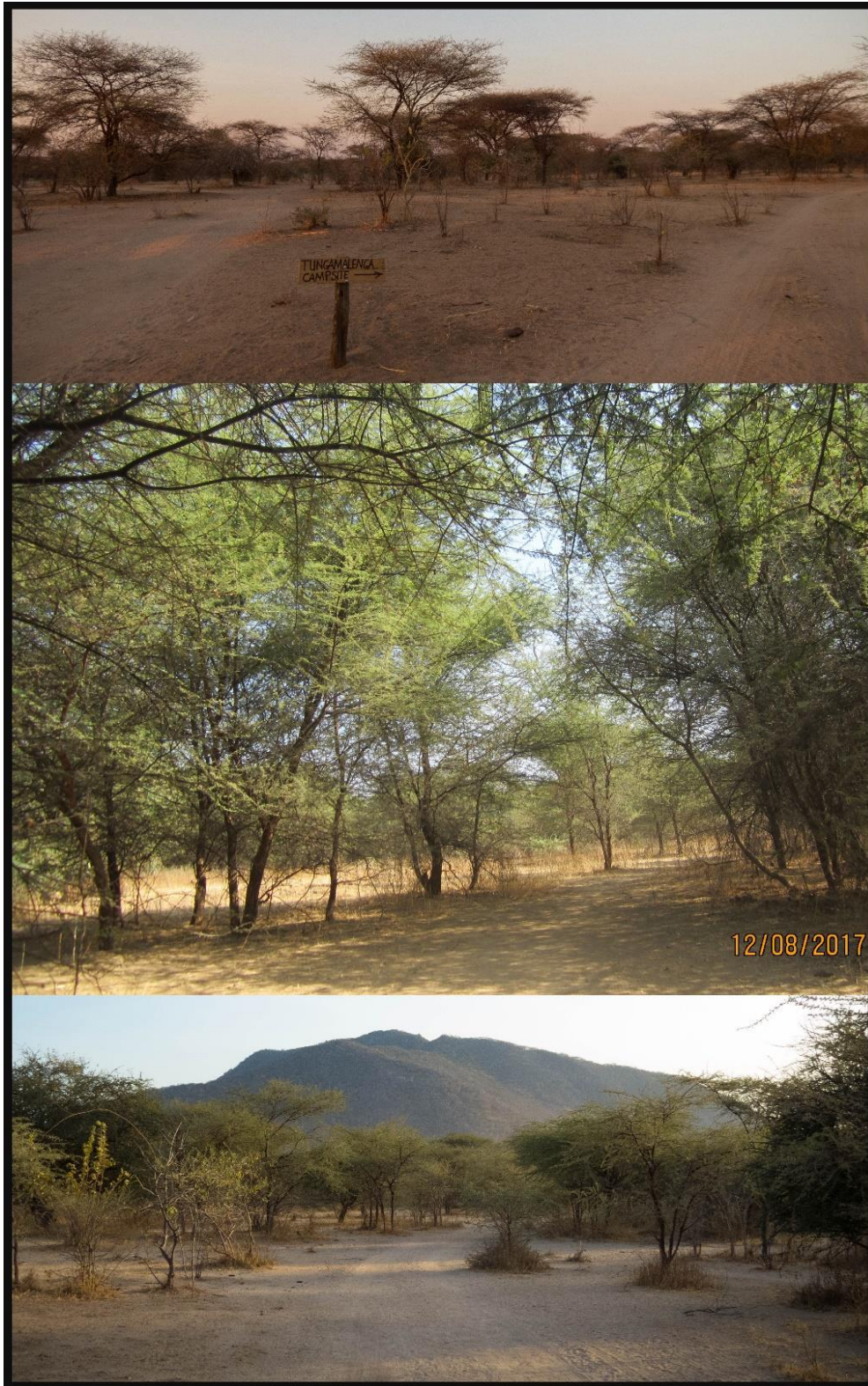
Figure 3 – Mkuyu's many road. Photos by Veronica (above), Mascut (middle) and Bahati (below).

Early on, we felt the discomforts and tensions of the C-word. Discussing 'colonialism' with Leonard and Mkuyu was never a comfortable experience. Independence is a source of pride for Tanzanians, with suggestions of continued colonialism eliciting passionate re-tellings of the struggle for independence, and the grand visions of first president Julius Nyerere for Tanzania. For me, the difficulty was in hearing these re-tellings, feeling them deeply, and wondering why so many of those hard-argued visions had failed to be realised in the fifty-seven years since independence. My Mkuyu colleagues wondered the same thing, but our explanations landed in different thinking-spaces: while I criticised the continuation of colonial legacies and power, they blamed themselves and their fellow Tanzanians. There are illusions, truths and complexities in both perspectives, as our project together reveals, but first we needed to learn how to approach them.

Like Helen Verran (2001, p. 36) working in postcolonial Nigeria, we wanted to "…avoid endlessly rehearsing old framings, yet allow the possibility of arguing/negotiating towards futures different from pasts." Previous works already make solid cases for the role of colonial legacies in African conservation (Adams and McShane, 1996; Neumann, 1997, 1998; Suchet, 2001; Maathai, 2009; Cloete, 2011; Kayira, 2015; Chilisa, 2017), and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to revisit these in detail. Yet, it is impossible to focus on different conservation futures for Tanzanians without understanding that the colonial past actively undermines them today, and asking how our project approach could accept, support, or resist these legacies. Verran (2001, p. 38) highlights the need for an "…ambiguous struggling through and with colonial pasts in making different futures", and our research-*safari* has at times taken bumpy paths towards decolonising our work together.

Decolonisation?

As an independent nation since 1961, using a decolonisation lens for a Tanzanian project may seem misplaced. Surely Tanzania ought to be considered postcolonially? However, this 'post' is criticised by Smith (2012, p. 101) as too suggestive of colonisation as "…finished business". For those living postcolonial realites, "…there is rather compelling evidence that in fact this has not occurred…the institutions and legacy of colonialism have remained" (see also Rose, 1999, pp. 182–183; Smith, 2012, p. 101). Colonial legacies persist in education, economies, language, governance, and organisations, enacting subtle, insidious violences that are often invisible (Norton-Griffiths, 2010; Smith, 2012, pp. 98–102; Kayira, 2015; Chilisa, 2017), but deeply felt like a wound unhealed. For instance, government corruption, apathy, and poverty are frequently identified as *African* problems hindering conservation, yet all have roots in the colonial past and neo-colonial, Eurocentric present (Ntuli, 2002, pp. 53–66; Büscher and Whande, 2007; Maathai, 2009, pp. 25–110; Mawere, 2012). People have been told by the wealthy West that they are poor, despite the cultural and ecological riches around them (Ntuli,

2002; Maathai, 2009, pp. 287–289; Ojomo, 2011); that they should slow development and conserve habitats, despite little tangible benefit to struggling communities (Adams and McShane, 1996, p. xv; Igoe and Croucher, 2007); and that their capacity needs building, while existing skills are patronised by paternalistic attitudes (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006). Rose (1999, pp. 181–183) calls this 'deep-colonising', suggesting with others (Verran, 2001, pp. 36–38; Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006; Smith, 2012, p. 101; Chilisa, 2017), that although much has changed in the contemporary postcolonial period, "…it is still the case that practices of colonization are very much with us" (Rose, 1999, p. 182).

Beyond the formal process, decolonisation is "…a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (Smith, 2012, p. 101). Psychological decolonising is a particularly important aspect of this project. African postcolonialist Ngugi Wa Thion'go (1986) argues that the most tenacious, devastating colonial legacies are psychological, a "colonisation of the mind" that influences how people view themselves, and each other. As will become increasingly clear throughout the thesis, Tanzanians frequently believe that they are incapable of undertaking conservation projects themselves, regardless of evidence otherwise. Conservation, and to a lesser extent tourism, is considered '*wazungu*[15]-business' (Chibvongodze 2016; Kilumile 2016, pers.comm.[16]) due to a significant disparity in ownership and decision-making (Igoe and Croucher, 2007). Intentionally or otherwise, the psychological messages being sent by Eurocentric conservation power engages "…a circular argument that legitimates deeply colonizing relationships" (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), where:

> the self sets itself within a hall of mirrors; it mistakes its reflection for the world, sees its own reflections endlessly, talks endlessly to itself, and, not surprisingly, finds continual verification of itself and its world view. This is monologue masquerading as conversation, masturbation posing as productive interaction…
> (Rose, 1999, p. 177).

Building on the 'hall of mirrors' metaphor, our project set out to resist deep-colonising not only by engaging a different narrative of Tanzanian environmentalism, but also through a project approach that attempted to decentre the Western researcher through collaborative decision-making and ownership.

---

[15] Kiswahili translation: *Wazungu* means Europeans, and is specific to white races.
[16] Quotes used from Mkuyu collaborators prior to the official fieldwork period have been checked with the speaker, and used with their consent.

Positionality: "I didn't think I had many assumptions, but actually I do…"

Being aware of my own 'hall of mirrors' was critically important in engaging with Mkuyu. All knowledge is situated, it begins where we ourselves are (Suchet, 2002). Relating to others is impossible without first being aware of the inherent assumptions and gaps that our own positionalities give rise to. As a Western researcher, I experience power and privilege in multiple ways. I hold four tertiary qualifications in science, community welfare, and geography, giving me confidence via an extensive Western education and affiliation with powerful institutions not readily available to my Tanzanian colleagues. My economically wealthy society gives me relatively obstacle-free access to assumed universal knowledge and information that working in Africa powerfully demonstrated not to be universal at all. As a settler Australian, racial and cultural discrimination are not experiences that I live with, or am directly effected by.

I have, however, experienced marginalisation in other ways. I am a first-generation tertiary-educated woman from a working-class family, and I am autistic (Judge, 2017). I have experienced fear, shame, violence, and self-doubt, and been actively excluded from employment, justice, and community engagement because of my gender, socio-economic status, and different-ability. Though different, the marginalising experiences of my Tanzanian co-researchers and I facilitated greater empathy and understanding between us.

Irigaray (2000, pp. 74–77) suggests that research is about resisting universalising objectivity/subjectivity dichotomies in order to be of service to those we do research 'with' and 'for', rather than 'on', and to share subjectivities through transformative encounters (Lorraine, 1999, p. 98; Chilisa, 2012, pp. 35–39). That meant being open to being changed by collaborative relationships where "…each respects the history and intentionality of the other, each cannot assimilate the other…[putting] limits on one's own becoming…[that] provide the material for further becomings" (Lorraine, 1999, p. 98). My path to Mkuyu was lined in assumptions that I did not think I had. It turns out I did, and likely still do. Many of these assumptions are challenged and rewritten throughout the thesis to better reflect the perspectives of Mkuyu, not just my own, while others remain unintentionally present, even reinforced. Sometimes, our paths have not been clear: it took us time to realise that similar ideas were often understood in very different ways, requiring clarification and 'situated-availability' (Rose, 1999, pp. 184–185), where we attend to our assumptions, whilst making ourselves available to the unexpected and surprising. Negotiating our project in decolonising ways required my Tanzanian co-researchers and I to allow ourselves to be unsettled, and ultimately changed in profound, sometimes difficult ways. We have taken this aspect of our research-*safari* together, though, and are always learning, growing, and changing alongside one another.

At The Swinging Gate Of Negotiation

Our project attempted to be decolonising by placing Mkuyu in key decision-making roles from the start. Leonard, in particular, had a critical leadership role in deciding what research would be about, and how it would be done and used. But it has not been as straightforward as handing over the reigns. Not only did we come from different directions philosophically, we also had different requirements that the project needed to meet. From inception onwards, negotiation and imagination have been central tools in achieving this. One afternoon, Leonard and I stopped at the Mkuyu gate. We were leaning on opposite sides, discussing our project and what we each wanted from it. Leonard had ideas and goals, and I wanted to centre them. But I also had to meet the specific academic requirements of a thesis. I could not talk about the great things happening at Mkuyu without positioning them within academic theory and analysing them through particular philosophical lenses. The problem was that Leonard and I did not always philosophically see things the same way. Leonard listened thoughtfully to my uncertain explanation of this, before taking hold of the gate. He shifted it towards me and said, "when the gate is open on your side, Mkuyu is open to your ideas…", then shifting it towards himself, he continued, "when it is open on my side, we are welcoming you to our ideas…if we don't share, the gate just stays closed, that's no good for anyone" (Kilumile 2016, pers.comm.). The metaphor was powerful, and guided us in co-imagining and negotiating the project throughout our research-*safari*.

Project Negotiation and Co-imagination

Enacting our gate metaphor began with co-imagination, supported by postcolonial and Indigenous concepts of negotiation. We chose the 'imagination' framing because for Leonard, doing projects of his own was something he had big hopes and dreams around, but lacked the resources to disseminate beyond his local context. Having the opportunity to 'co-imagine' something in partnership with an international university was important to him: "it's something big to us…to show what we can do, to see if we can do more – that's a big chance" (Kilumile 2016, pers.comm.). Project co-imagination attempted to envision something different to the way that projects are typically done in Tanzania by dismantling and reconstructing how Tanzanian roles and projects are thought about. One of the biggest steps towards achieving this was to identify Leonard as a primary co-researcher. Inspiration for this was drawn from Bawaka Country in Northern Australia (Wright *et al.*, 2012; Bawaka Country *et al.*, 2015), where Western academic and Indigenous Yolŋu collaborators engage as a research collective that acknowledges multiple subjectivities as active contributors to, and owners of, knowledge. Initially, I assumed that our project would take a participatory action research (PAR) path, since PAR challenges hierarchies between 'researcher' and 'researched' by engaging marginalised

communities as active participants, and empowering participant-directed action to beneficially change situations (Kindon, Rachel Pain and Kesby, 2007, pp. 1–2). Bawaka Country (Wright *et al.*, 2012; Suchet-Pearson *et al.*, 2013; Bawaka Country *et al.*, 2015) provided an inspiring framework for moving beyond participation into active collaboration, however, where project design, management, data analysis, discussion, and ownership were not only shared, but priviliged towards 'the researched' (see also Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 40–68). Bawaka Country based this on similar concepts to our 'swinging gate', namely situated-engagement and third-space negotiation.

Building on Rose's (1999, p. 177) 'hall of mirrors', Suchet (2002) describes 'situated-engagement' as the unsettling of monological assumptions through dialogical negotiation that opens windows in the hall of mirrors to not only look beyond, but reach out of one's own situation to connect meaningfully with others. In doing so "…it becomes possible to imagine and realise, as co-constructors of knowledges, possibilities that are not captured by the hall of mirrors" (Suchet, 2002). Leonard and Mkuyu certainly played active roles as 'co-constructors of knowledge' from the ground up. One of the key decolonising aspects of our project was having Leonard decide what the project would be about, and developing research questions around his key statement: "*I want to show the environmental things happening at Mkuyu, and that Tanzanians can own their own things*". Recognising our different directional views of this statement, we used the swinging gate as an opportunity for situated-engagement, dialoguing and co-imagining research questions and methodologies that address our individual project goals, and mutually teach us new things as we go.

Conceptually managing 'decolonisation' required meticulous situated-engagement as we struggled through deeper issues than initially intended. Finding a balance between being guided by Mkuyu-defined worldviews, and sharing research knowledges like deep-colonising was a key point of negotiation in ensuring that the project nurtured spaces for sharing, challenging, and change. In this way, our gate is also what Bhabha (1994, pp. 53–56)calls the 'third-space', where negotation occurs at the meeting point between cultural and positional difference. It recognises that postcolonial identities are not static, but continually self-navigated to establish meanings and identities relevant to current contexts. One of my biggest assumptions when we first began negotiating was that Mkuyu would have a clear cultural distinctiveness that I could label as 'Tanzanian'. This was not the case. Mkuyu has had much Western influence through their engagement with conservation and tourism. This challenged me at first, because I assumed that it meant that Mkuyu had been 'Westernised'. But Western-influence does not reduce the 'Tanzanian-ness' of Mkuyu – it remains Tanzanian-owned, striving towards self-defined Tanzanian futures. Self-defined, I learnt, means that people are not confined to static, isolated cultural identities, but engage with the world beyond on their own terms (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006). Maathai (2009, pp. 160–183) described the strengthening and

reclamation of postcolonial African cultures as an African-centered negotiation of what aspects of what cultures are useful to a given people in their current context, something that Mkuyu is continually doing. I had to dismantle my binary assumptions of Western/Tanzanian, and become open to a co-imagined project that might not comfortably fit my categorised narratives of 'Africa', or 'Tanzania'.

Howitt's (2001) re-imagining of Bhabha's third-space as a tidal zone not only supports our 'swinging gate' metaphor, but captures the creativity of negotiation. Leonard would offer a tide of arguments that would leave particular shells, or ideas, on the shore – that "Tanzanians are lazy" (Kilumile 2016, pers.comm.) when it comes to conservation, for instance. This would be followed by my tide of arguments, suggesting that perhaps Tanzanian 'laziness', or apathy, arose from colonial legacies that told them their environmental ideas and values were wrong, primitive, or backwards compared to those of the West. Another tide would come in repsonse, adding new bits and removing others, until eventually a unique arrangement of 'shells' would appear to create an ecosystem of negotiated ideas that start to tell a co-imagined story. Our swinging gate also created a negotiated ecosystem of ideas, decolonising 'the mind' (Wa Thiong'o, 1986) by highlighting the different paths leading to the gate, and the value of inside expertise as well as outside perspectives.

By using our swinging gate metaphor as a form of situated-engagement and third-space negotiation, we co-imagined a project space where "…self-reliance and equitable sharing are celebrated" (Jacobs and Mulvihill, 1995). There are limitations on how far our sharing can go, though. Although Leonard is recognised as a co-researcher, he is not a co-author of this thesis, despite much of his perspective and input going into it. Academic constraints which expect a single-authored thesis, and a lack of time to challenge these or spend time sitting together and co-writing the thesis, perpetuated deep-colonising research by failing to fully recognise Leonard's contribution, consequently privileging academic power. Ideally, I would have liked to be able to co-author the thesis with Leonard, so that his contribution to, and co-ownership of, the project would be clearly recognised[17]. Though not possible for this thesis, it raises important challenges for academic institutions in decolonising research and addressing power. Nevertheless, though power-neutrality remains elusive in postcolonial contexts (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Chilisa, 2017), we were able to begin neogtiating and engaging in dialogical sharing rather than a tug-of-war, making for a more nourishing project, and nurturing research-*safari* for all. Although this is a singled-authored thesis, I continually acknowledge this work as a collaborative effort, reflecting

---

[17] Future publications arising from this work will hopefully involve co-authoring with Leonard and possibly other key Mkuyu collaborators such as Moses and Frank.

on what we have and have not been able to achieve, and emphasising Mkuyu as project owners, decision-makers, researchers, and collaborative-participants.

Guest In The Kitchen

As the project was negotiated, our relationships changed. Relationship-building and negotiation occurred when I was in Tanzania in person, but also internationally via social media. Visits to Mkuyu in 2015 (6 weeks) and 2016 (8 weeks) leading up to the official four week project period in 2017 provided opportunities to deepen and extend relationships. Initially, I held significant power and was treated as a privileged guest at Mkuyu. I was escorted everywhere, had meals brought to me, and was always seated at a special banda[18] away from where students congregated. I was seen as an educated expert and teacher, rather than a fellow student and collaborative partner, and it was rare that anyone disagreed with my ideas. Things changed when I started spending time with Mkuyu students at the bush-kitchen (Research-*Safari* Map 3, next page), and eventually began helping them with meal preparation. Cooking and delivering meals to Mkuyu teachers acknowledged their authority and role as respected elders, while simultaneously positioning me as a student/learner with responsibilities and duties (Fig.4, next page), rather than as a privileged guest. New bonds and dynamics emerged through these simple acts, and so I draw on them as metaphors for breaking down imbalanced power-relations in favour of 'cooking' new relationships.

---

[18] A 'banda' is a grass roof shelter common in Tanzania.
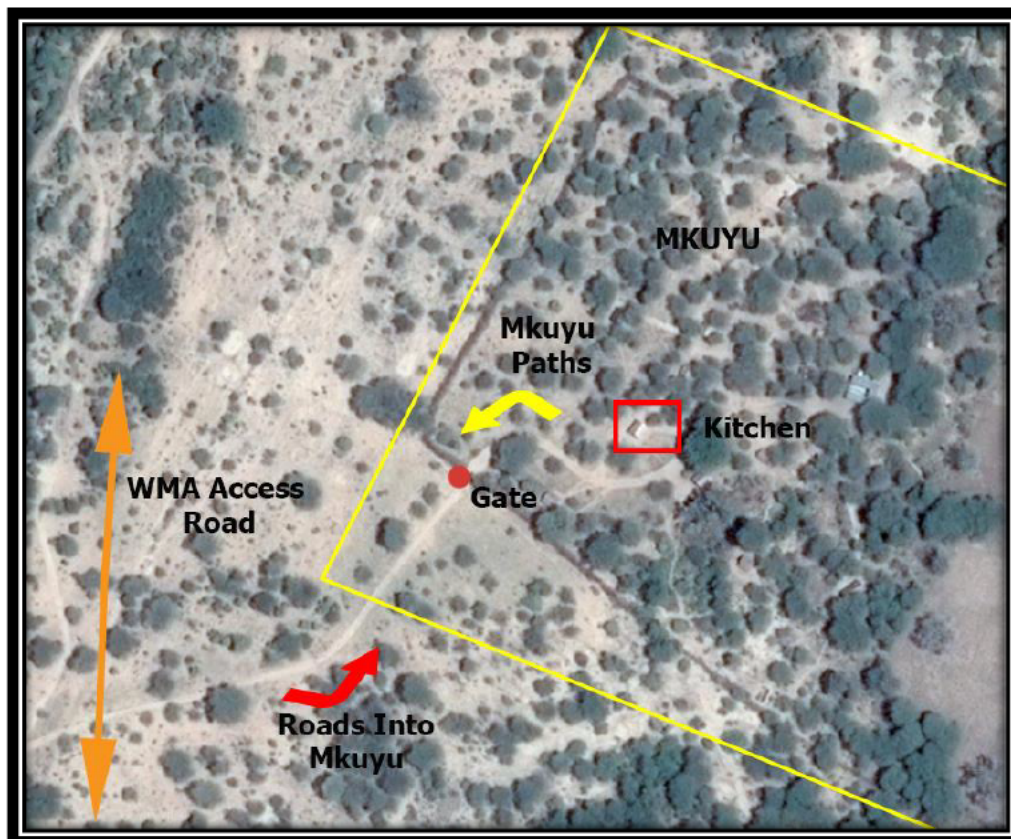
Research-Safari Map 3 – Mkuyu (in yellow boundary) showing roads, gate (dot), and bush-kitchen (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

Figure 4 – Mkuyu bush-kitchen. Photo by Getruda (depicted), who asked a peer to take the photo on her behalf, as she wanted to show that being part of cooking duties is an important aspect of Mkuyu to her.

Addressing Power; 'Cooking' New Relationships

Howitt and Stevens (2005, p. 57) describe truly collaborative research as a "…break from imposed, colonial research based on…different relationships" between collaborators. They suggest that decolonising relationships "can generate an interactive, cross-cultural synthesis of knowledge and skills…" through which genuinely mutual projects can be conducted, but that this can only happen by redressing assymetrical power relationships (Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 57–58). They warn, however, that such decolonising, collaborative relationships are not as easy as they might at first seem:

> Local and non-local researchers conceive and design the research together, including making the key decisions on defining research goals and questions, where and how to seek funding, affiliation, and authorization, who should be on the research team, what methodology should be used, how cultural research protocols should be honoured, how the day-to-day conduct of fieldwork should be handled, what kinds of analyses should be attempted, and how research findings should be shared and used. This requires non-indigenous researchers to give up 'control' over a project and for all involved to contribute their time and efforts in order to work together towards shared goals…I would advise not to underestimate the time, care, emotional commitment, self-reflection, learning, and stress it can entail on everyone's part (Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 57–58).

Mkuyu took a central role in deciding what this thesis would be about from inception onwards. Leonard and I discussed early possibilities and ideas, co-imagining potential projects together, before taking these ideas to both Mkuyu teachers and students, and university supervisors, for further consultation. Important requirements on both sides needed to be negotiated, none of which would have been possible without engaging completely and openly in new, sometimes uncertain, relationships with each other. Having so much of my Masters thesis decided by others was challenging for me, but no moreso than for Mkuyu to entrust their knowledges and perspectives to me to write down and disseminate in a language different to their own. Collaboration required enormous trust and communication from both sides of the swinging gate to ensure that mutual benefits outweigh the potential risks of involvement. Addressing power in this way requires relinquishing much of the control that I am comfortable with, without jeopardising my academic thesis requirements. Finding this balance is an emotive part of our research-*safari* as we continually cook trust and sharing into our relationships, recognising that this is not 'my' project alone, but 'our' project together. Every decision was made in close consultation with Mkuyu, either in-person or via dedicated Facebook and Whatsapp groups[19]. We discuss the project in terms of 'our' and 'we', acknowledging Mkuyu's joint ownership and decision-making via Leonard's co-researcher role, the co-research contribution of other teachers,

---

[19] Discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

and the roles of students as collaborative-participants[20]. Coursework aspects of project planning such as conference scripts, video presentations, and feedback summaries were provided to Mkuyu for comment and discussion. As each thesis chapter was completed, a follow-up conference Whatsapp call with Leonard and Mkuyu teachers was held to provide a summary and opportunity for discussion and feedback. Our research-*safari* was one of joint decision-making at every turn, fostering greater trust and mutual respect.

Our relationships also became deeply personal. Coming from a more objective science background, it took time for me to become comfortable with nurturing the interpersonal relationships and emotional engagements encouraged by feminist and Indigenous geographies (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Suchet-Pearson *et al.*, 2013). However, doing so significantly enhanced collaboration by building friendship and familiarity that helps to address power relationships by opening empathetic engagement and communication. From sharing languages, stories, camp chores, and bird-walks, to each other's family and personal lives, we have been together. Leading up to, during, and beyond the project, we experienced tragedy and hardships together: from sharing in the deaths of relatives, including my own, to facing a devastating flood, cholera, and the frustrations of jobless, struggling students. We saw joy, anger, and tears in response to aspects of each others lives. From such personal, emotional experiences, our relationships became more than professional, and we speak of each other as family often, using familial titles like '*baba'* (father), '*amu*' (uncle), '*mama*' (mother), '*kaka*' (brother), and '*dada*' (sister) regularly. Personal relationships with Mkuyu demonstrate the importance of giving time and openness to cross-cultural engagements, as these relationships do much to ease the effects of assymmetrical power-relations[21].

Conclusion: "Ten Years In Two"

Have we successfully 'cooked' new relationships? Yes and no. Experiencing the change in how we interact together was an unexpected surprise over the past two years. It is noticeable, particularly when new guests visit Mkuyu and I see the metaphorical gates close again, reminding me of when I was in the guest banda instead of the student-teacher areas that I now more commonly occupy. When I asked Leonard about this, he said, "you have been with Mkuyu only two years, but we know you better, we have a close relationship with you compared to others who have lived permanent in

---

[20] Discussed in further detail in chapters 3-4.
[21] Part of the relationship-building with Mkuyu must be attributed to the more-than-humaness of the school, particularly when considering assymetrical power relations between humans and non-humans. Though there is not space to address this here, the presence of animals, plants, elements, etc provided the foundations upon which relationships with Mkuyu were built, facilitating much sharing and getting to know each other through mutual love for 'Mkuyu' as a more-than-human place.

Tanzania maybe five, ten, twenty years. For you, ten years in two. Why different? Because you don't ever really go home, you see Mkuyu with eyes and heart open." I take Leonards words to mean that we have successfully made steps towards decolonising our relationships, and project. But more can be done, including challenging and addressing institutional power and constraints, such as thesis co-authorship.

Some things are strong: we debate and disagree on things with a sense of freedom to speak our own minds; we are concerned for each others' health and safety; we make stories and jokes together; we share our worries and hopes with affection and responsibility towards one another. Other things remain imbalanced. Sometimes, I sense that Mkuyu leaders agree with my ideas because they feel obligated to, or feel that my association with them may end if they do not. When I asked Leonard about our collaborative future, he expressed concern that I would leave, saying "don't grow tired of us, Mama." My Western university-affiliation will always represent a signficant, and difficult to balance, source of power in our relationships. Not only do I have access to resources that Mkuyu do not, I am also seen as an 'expert' because of my education. Much of what I say is taken as fact, something I need to be ever-mindful of when expressing ideas. Whenever possible, I try to take on a student role at Mkuyu, where my knowledge is demonstrated to be partial. Relationships with students rapidly transformed by having them teach me on bird-walks and in the bush-kitchen. Language is a continual power-struggle. When I consider how much of our project is conducted in English due to my limited Kiswahili, and how much is then only partially understood through translation, it becomes clear that much still occurs on my terms, based on my ability to explain and interpret translated information. Even so, language has also been a counter-balance of power. Mkuyu frequently discuss things in Kiswahili, omitting me from conversation. In doing so, they reclaim some power by deciding which parts of their discussion will be either translated or kept private.

Project decolonisation means continually negotiating power-relations by being critically reflective of situated-engagements (Rose, 1999, pp. 184–185; Suchet, 2002). Like Verran's (2001, p. 38) "ambiguous struggling through", this has not been a perfect 'decolonised' project, but rather an imperfect 'decolonising' one. Awareness of our different roads towards a swinging gate of negotiation help us to dismantle power-loaded assumptions in favour of 'cooking' new relationships that open the gate wide on both sides instead of just one. These foundations help in resisting colonial legacies and power, and continually guide our research-*safari*.

3. "Around The Table, Together" – Collaborative-Participatory Methods

"I feel like I have been a leader in this project. It's something that is me, too."

- Frank

The next stop of our research-*safari* is Mkuyu's office banda[22] (Research-*Safari* Map 4). Arising from our frequent use of this space for project planning (Fig.5, next page), sitting around the office table with Mkuyu reflects the collaborative project-planning and decision-making processes discussed in this chapter. Specifically, the chapter describes the way this project re-frames participatory action research as collaborative-participatory action research (CPAR) and discusses how this contributes to a more decolonising approach.
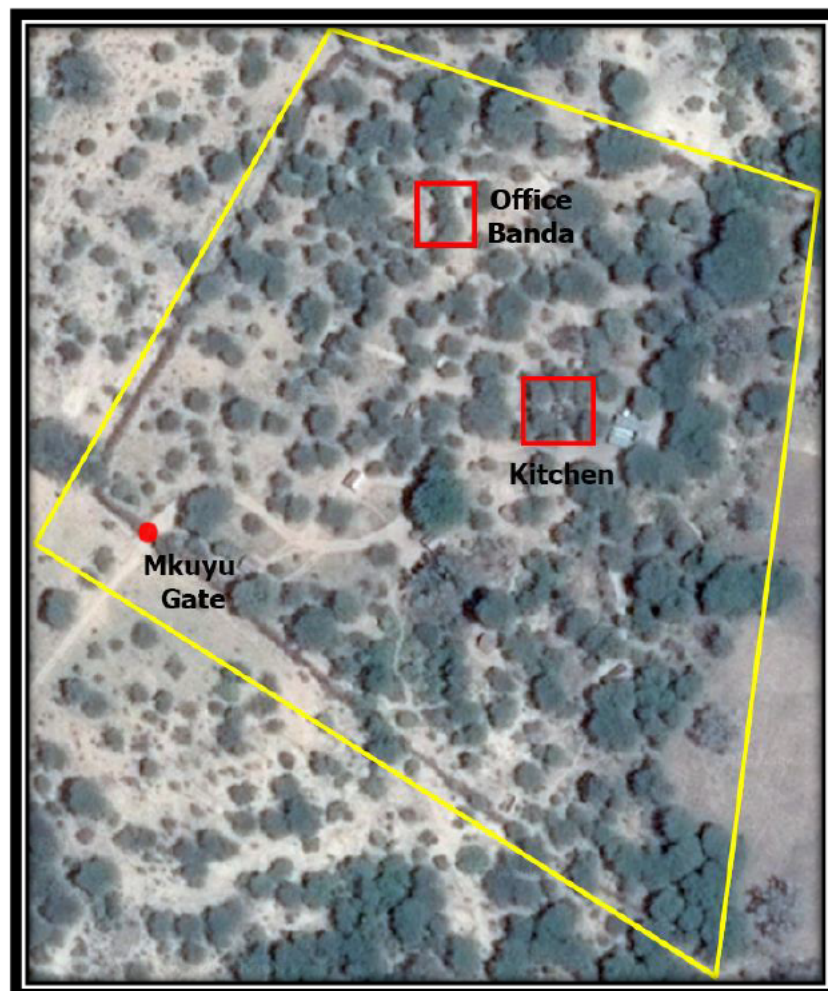
Research-Safari Map 4 – Mkuyu (in yellow boundary) showing office banda (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

---

[22] A banda is a grass roof shelter common in Tanzania.

Figure 5 – Frank (above, bottom-right) and Moses (bottom-left) working at office banda. Photo by Fausta.

Collaborative-Participatory Action Research

A methodology often utilised in postcolonial research, participatory action research (PAR) involves researchers working with participants to enact change on particular issues (Breitbart, 2010). However, PAR has been criticised for under-theorising power in (post)colonial contexts and inadvertently perpetuating top-down marginalisation through 'participation' based on Eurocentric project ownership and approaches (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Pain and Francis, 2003; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). Such monological participation restricts the relationship-building essential to addressing assymetrical power-relations (Howitt and Stevens, 2005), and frequently limits participant-involvement to isolated project phases rather than the entire research process (Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 56–58; Kindon, Rachel Pain and Kesby, 2007, pp. 15–16). Consequently, researcher power

takes precedence, reproducing deep-colonising legacies rather than resisting them (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006). In Mkuyu's postcolonial context, such criticisms required significant consideration in our work together, and in speaking to similar unrecognised power-dynamics in conservation projects (Neumann, 1997; Goldman, 2003; Igoe and Croucher, 2007; Norton-Griffiths, 2010).

By relocating PAR within decolonising methodologies (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Smith, 2012), this project attempts what I term collaborative-participatory action research (CPAR), where power is continually negotiated and challenged through shared decision-making with all involved centred as 'collaborative-participants'. Table 2 (next page) details CPAR contribution and how they build on PAR in the context of decolonising motivations. 'Participation' does not capture the co-research relationships that were nurtured throughout this project, particularly in terms of Mkuyu's active contribution to research design and project-planning. However, not all roles were collaborative at all times – including my own. While collaborative co-research was ongoing with Mkuyu teachers, student roles were mostly participatory until the fieldwork phase. At this stage, student roles became increasingly collaborative, while my researcher role became more participatory as I took part in student-directed activities[23]. Such nuanced, shifting 'participatory' and 'collaborative' roles throughout the project reflected, and challenged, complex power-dynamics in our co-research relationships.

---

[23] Detailed further in next chapter.

PAR Strengths/Core Aims	PAR Criticisms	CPAR Contribution
Challenges researcher/researched binaries by working with participants to make decisions (Kindon, Rachel Pain and Kesby, 2007, p. 1; Breitbart, 2010).	Is 'participation' enough in (post)colonial contexts? Does it address power and trust as factors influencing what is/n't said (Howitt and Stevens, 2005)?	Challenges power through relationship-building and collaborative-participant project ownership (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006).
Draws on participant capabilities to undertake research and enact social change (Kindon, Rachel Pain and Kesby, 2007, pp. 1–3).	Conflicting interests/goals can reproduce power-imbalances and impose top-down 'participation' (Pain and Francis, 2003; Cornwall and Brock, 2005).	Collaboration/negotiation rather than just participation; multiple needs addressed through dialogue and situated-engagement (Rose, 1999, pp. 175–187; Suchet, 2002).
Participant empowerment and direct benefits through involvement (Breitbart, 2010).	Is 'Involvement' enough? Who owns postcolonial research/data/projects/outputs (Smith, 2012, p. 10)? Over-generous use of 'participatory' that is still deep-colonising (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cornwall and Brock, 2005; Howitt and Stevens, 2005).	Clear co-researcher roles involving joint decision-making.

Table 2 – Comparison of PAR and CPAR.

A CPAR methodological approach raised two key questions that guided decision-making with Mkuyu collaborative-participants:

- o How do project methods directly benefit Mkuyu, particularly through ownership?
- o How does/do not project methods address uneven power relationships?

The following sections of this chapter discuss how social media, photo-elicitation, and poetic inquiry/performance research methods contributed to these CPAR questions.

Social media

A major challenge to collaboration was how to maintain regular contact internationally. Based primarily in Australia, Whatsapp and Facebook groups were my primary method of communicating with Mkuyu. Digital communication via social media in developing countries is a rapidly emerging research area (Kassam, 2013; Bidwell, 2016; Dini and Saebo, 2016; Sobaih *et al.*, 2016). Few of these

studies, however, consider how social media addresses cross-cultural power-relations, an important contribution of the CPAR approach to this project. Table 3 outlines the strengths and pitfalls of social media use for this project.

Strengths	Challenges/Pitfalls
International communication enabled.	Dependent on unreliable network coverage.
Real-time content-making via media-sharing. Visual media provides low-literacy modes of interaction.	Text-based communication = problematic with low-literacy. Data costs for media-sharing.
Group chats = collaboration; transparency. Language barrier addressed by peer assisted translation.	Not all Mkuyu collaborative-participants had internet-capable phones.
Low-cost international calling.	Costs still problematic for low-income collaborative-participants. Language barrier = misunderstandings tended to occur most often via phone call.

Table 3 – Social media strengths and pitfalls encountered in this project.

When evaluated in relation to the two guiding questions around direct benefits and power, social media meets the aims of the CPAR methodology as outlined in Table 4, and discussed further below.

Mkuyu Benefits?	- Building social media as a tool/skill. - Public acknowledgement/record of Mkuyu's project ownership.
Power?	- Nurtures trust and leadership roles via absence and 'connected presences'. - Audio-visual alternative to address some language/literacy barriers. - Mkuyu able to initiate communication. - Mkuyu decision-making around sharing project work. - Facilitation of Mkuyu involvement in international networking, academic processes, and project-planning.

Table 4 – CPAR aspects of social media.

In this project, distance actually nurtured trust; while social media assisted in the negotiation of power. O'Hara et al. (2014) discuss Simmel's (1908) *faithfulness* – "trust in the continuity of friendship despite the hardship of separation…" - through social media, where physical proximity and moral connections are bridged through digital spaces. Licoppe and Smoreda (see also Licoppe, 2004; 2005) refer to digital sites of encounter as 'connected presences' that, by producing and re-negotiating interactions despite physical absence, open up possibilities for adjusting power-dynamics. Social

media not only made our international project achievable, but actually reshaped power-relations by enabling the emergence of leadership roles for Mkuyu. Through my absence, Tanzanian co-research roles became central to making things happen. If Mkuyu did not undertake project activities, they would not occur. My absence promoted responsibility, prompting Mkuyu to take initiative without my presence influencing what, how, or when things were done. Furthermore, social media placed decision-making power in Mkuyu hands by connecting them to new networks and processes. Collaborative-participants could choose what and how to digitally share project work with wider audiences, and frequently did so. This characterised the project as a collaborative effort with Mkuyu directly influencing and shaping it.

Social media maintained 'connected presences' that continually facilitated sharing and relationship affirmation (Licoppe, 2004; Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005). Farman (2012) discusses social media content-making, where stories are made and shared from where the storyteller is. Mkuyu and I shared personal news, emergencies, presentations, and language via social media, often in real-time, nurturing a sense of *tupo pamoja*[24] despite physical distance (Fig.6). Such sharing nurtured common ground as we realised similarities in day-to-day life experiences that help open windows in our hall of mirrors (Rose, 1999, pp. 176–177; Suchet, 2002). While this was an essential part of our engagements, it is important to recognise that social media was a necessary alternative to face-to-face contact, but is unlikely to have been as successful without accompanying in-person visits to Mkuyu.
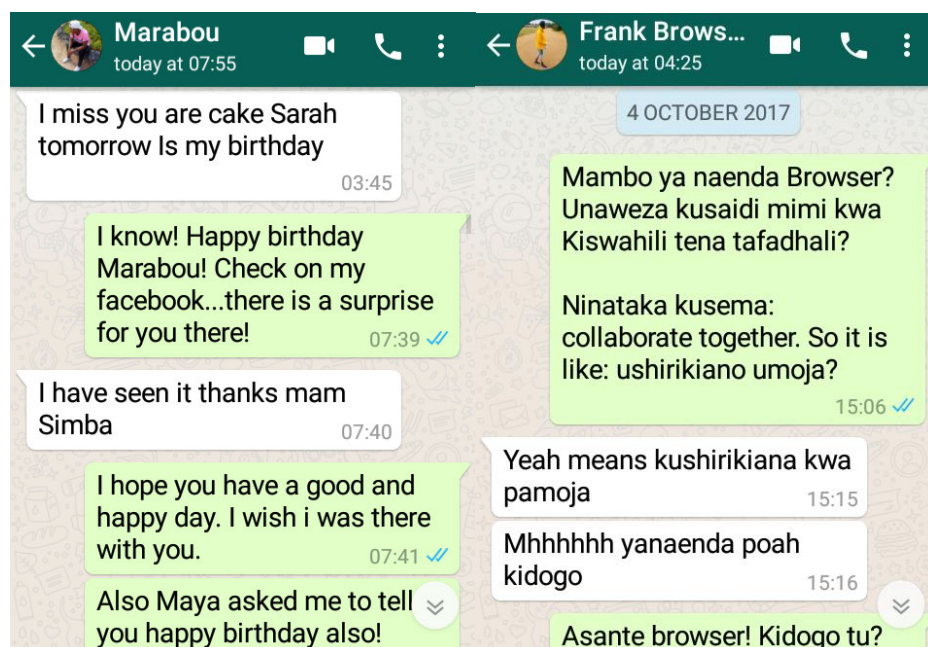
Figure 6 – International social media sharing with Abell 'Marabou' (left) and Frank 'Browser' (right)[25].

---

[24] Kiswahili translation: tupo pamoja means 'we are together'.
[25] Kiswahili translation: Sara – "How's it going Browser? Can you help me with Kiswahili again please? I want to say: collaborate together. So it is like: 'ushirikiano umoja'?" Frank – "Yeah means 'kushirikiano kwa pamoja'. Mhhhh I'm good, a little." Sara – "Thanks Browser, only a little?"

Media-sharing also helped bridge some socio-economic barriers. Text-based communication frequently gave way to calls or demonstrative media because many Mkuyu collaborative-participants found English easier to speak than to write. Low Whatsapp data charges made regular international calls and media-sharing possible, and meant that Mkuyu did not have to wait for me to contact them in order to discuss the project, but could initiate communication themselves. Even so, low socio-economic status continued to disadvantage some students who could not afford internet-capable phones or data charges, despite extensive sharing amongst collaborative-participants[26].

Photo-Elicitation

In using social media, discussions around photographic methods emerged organically as collaborative-participants became eager to share media online. Leonard and Mkuyu students identified using cameras as a skill that they would like to gain through the project, given the signficance of photography in tourism. Students observe tourists taking photos, but rarely – if ever – have opportunities to take their own. Further, students are frequently asked to take photos of tourists, but often do not know how to operate cameras or the array of photographic smart-devices that are not accessible to many Tanzanians. Students indicated that gaining photography experience would build confidence, and potentially improve their employability. Table 5 outlines the strengths and pitfalls of photo-elicitation methods.

Strengths	Challenges/Pitfalls
Participant-determined data.	Content may diverge from project goals/requirements and researcher expectations.
Interactive, engaging method.	Technical issues in remote locations: fragility of cameras, battery-life[27]. Personal/cultural privacy[28].

Table 5 – Photo-elicitation strengths and pitfalls encountered in this project.

---

[26] Students engaging on social media actively shared information with their fellow students. Some students even helped others create Facebook accounts, and shared their own phones so that those accounts could be accessed and used.
[27] Detailed in the next chapter.
[28] Detailed in the next chapter.

When evaluated in relation to the two guiding questions around direct benefits and power, photo-elicitation meets the aims of the CPAR methodology as outlined in Table 6, and discussed further below.

Mkuyu Benefits?	▪ Photography = skills for tourism employment. ▪ Photographic data = Mkuyu-owned material tool/resource.
Power?	▪ Mkuyu decision-making: photographic methods chosen; data definition/production/ownership. ▪ Student-led group interpretation = re-shapes power roles.

Table 6 – CPAR aspects of photo-elicitation.

Photo-elicitation gives participants decision-making power about what constitutes data, and inserts their self-generated images into research interviews (Harper, 2002; Rose, 2016, pp. 314–318), creating sites of response and interpretation that enrich dialogue (Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson, 2016; Alam, Mcgregor and Houston, 2017) and provide insights that may not be revealed by interviews alone (Maclean and Woodward, 2013). Such interview enrichment, and positioning collaborative-participants as experts in their own knowledge-production (Maclean and Woodward, 2013; Rose, 2016, p. 316), is useful in postcolonial contexts where power-relations can make interviews intimidating (Mullings, 1999; Howitt and Stevens, 2005). Early on, I found that Mkuyu students frequently responded with 'scripts' that reflected their expectations of what I, as a Westerner, wanted to hear, rather than their own thoughts. This was an obvious, frustrating symptom of deep-colonising that I wanted to challenge.

Student-led group photograph interpretion sessions (Fig.7, next page) provided a fun, interactive method (Prosser and Burke, 2008) that helped to decolonise interviews by drawing on Tanzanian ways of sharing (Nyakunga 2016, pers.comm.), and re-positioned me in a participatory role as students took ownership of their images, facilitating sharing on their own terms[29]. Group sessions emulating African 'talking circle' approaches rather than Western interviewing, nurture trust, openness, and confidence that "encourage the sharing of ideas, respect for each other...[and] togetherness" (Chilisa, 2017). Photographic ownership encourages pride and eagerness to share (Maclean and Woodward, 2013), prompting spontaneous, unplanned dialogues that disrupt 'scripts', replacing them with affective responses and collaborative interpretation[30] (Prosser and Burke, 2008; Rose, 2016, p. 315). A CPAR approach to photo-elicitation thus challenges power by re-negotiating research roles and data-

---

[29] For example, each individual chose what/how they would share, and which language they would conduct their session in. Discussed in detail in the next chapter.
[30] Detailed in next chapter, and presented in chapters 5-6.

ownership (Butler-Kisber, 2010, pp. 123–130), and through situated-availability (Rose, 1999, pp. 184–185) towards self-defined and self-produced collaborative-participant knowledges.

Figure 7 – Group photo-elicitation sessions using photo-viewing devices. Photo by Juma.

Despite this, power remained a considerable issue. My presence, and 'insider' group dynamics (Mullings, 1999), was a potential source of intimidation – particularly for marginalised female and low-education students who may not feel confident contributing. Though Leonard and I tried to actively engage these students[31], clear contribution imbalances persisted.

---

[31] Detailed in next chapter.

Poetic Inquiry and Performance

Sharing voice-recorded songs and language via social media inspired CPAR project methods – specifically the use of poetic inquiry and performance. On one occasion, a student altered lyrics to make them contextually specific to Mkuyu so that the song held more meaning. Considering this, I revisited poetry that I had written during Mkuyu visits. One particular 'call-and-response' poem had been constructed with Leonard after he revealed that he enjoyed writing his own hip-hop lyrics. I wondered if poems and songs might have a role to play in our project, given that performance-based methods have a number of strengths and pitfalls (Table 7) relevant to our CPAR approach. I suggested the idea to Leonard, who then discussed it further with Mkuyu teachers. They agreed that poetry and performance had many strengths that could benefit our project.

Strengths	Challenges/Pitfalls
Participant-determined data analysis.	Content may diverge from project goals/requirements and researcher expectations.
Collaborative: combines researcher and participant voices/perspectives.	Language barriers: meanings and expressions can be lost in translation.
Interactive, engaging method with practical use beyond the project.	May exclude 'non-creative' participants.

Table 7 – Poetic inquiry and performance strengths and pitfalls encountered in this project.

When evaluated in relation to the two guiding questions around direct benefits and power, poetic inquiry and performance meets the aims of the CPAR methodology as outlined in Table 8, and discussed further below.

Mkuyu Benefits?	- Poems/Songs = Mkuyu-owned material tool/resource. - Performance = skill building/sharing for Mkuyu's community engagement work.
Power?	- Mkuyu decision-making: chose self-composed poetry/songs in addition to transcript poems. - Mkuyu-directed data analysis. - De-centres researcher ways of knowing/doing by privileging Tanzanian languages and expression.

Table 8 – CPAR aspects of poetic inquiry and performance.

Poetic inquiry interprets data by shaping transcripts into poems using participants' own words and expressions (Glesne, 1997; Richardson, 2002; Butler-Kisber, 2010, pp. 82–91). Like photo-elicitation,

poetry is utilised "…to counteract the hegemony inherent in more traditional texts, to evoke emotional responses that bring the readers closer to the work, and to permit silenced voices/stories to be heard" (Butler-Kisber, 2002). Though supportive of me constructing their transcripts into poems (Glesne, 1997), Mkuyu collaborative-participants wanted to create their own works as well. This meant Mkuyu undertaking data-analysis on their self-generated photo data, with my contribution being primarily one of particpatory facilitation[32]. Furthermore, conducting poetic analyses in Kiswahili would generate original works that Mkuyu could use beyond the project in their community engagement activities. This CPAR approach to poetic inquiry decentered researcher power in favour of privileging Mkuyu decision-making, data-interpretation, and modes of expression.

'Poetry' is sung in Tanzania, and can include song lyrics since both utilise rhythmic verse and have social commentary roles (Casco, 2006). Collaborative-participants suggested, therefore, that our works be performed, describing 'flow' – the delivery of verse in Tanzanian song, particularly hip-hop – as an important aspect of lyrical composition. According to Stanley, Juma, and Bahati, 'flow' goes beyond words to include rhythms, rhymes, voice, body movements, emotive expressions, and audience involvement. It was not enough to simply write poems or lyrics, they needed to be performed in order to express full meanings. Performance also addressed the potential for exclusion of collaborative-participants not creatively-inclined. Anyone not wanting to perform was invited to contribute as an audience-member by providing feedback. Consequently, performance became important to understanding the content, form, and impact (Richardson, 2000; Alexander, 2005, p. 428) of Mkuyu's poetic works through group sharing and response as key aspects of collaboration (Alexander, 2005, p. 430; Butler-Kisber, 2010, pp. 145–146). Importantly, this meant that poetic inquiry moved beyond Mkuyu-directed data analysis to also be a performance-based tool for Mkuyu's community engagement work after the project.

Despite a CPAR approach to poetic inquiry and performance challenging power in multiple ways, there were limitations. In privileging Mkuyu-directed data analysis and language, the potential for findings to be misrepresented or lost in translation remained. Though working closely with translators helped to negotiate this, it is important to recognise the persistence of these challenges, and the difficulties in addressing them within the scope of a time-limited project.

---

[32] In the interest of sharing and participating together, I still made poems from interview transcripts and shared them with Mkuyu. Detailed further in next chapter.

Conclusion: "Something That Is Me, Too"

This thesis seeks to re-position PAR within decolonising methodologies that re-negotiate decision-making power. A key contribution of this thesis is the CPAR approach, which sought to re-frame research as something co-determined and co-created by collaborative-participants as we literally and metaphorically sat around the table together.

While CPAR limitations are recognised, Rose (1999, pp. 184–185) reminds us that deep-colonising is a persistent force that continually needs to be attuned towards, not closed-off as something finished. Given time and budget limitations, it was beyond the scope of this project to address CPAR's limitations further. Despite this, CPAR achieved much. Mkuyu research-assistant Frank identified the project as "…something that is me, too", acknowledging his contribution and ownership. That the project is identified as a collage of everyone involved suggests that the CPAR approach made significant contributions to re-negotiating power and decolonising our work together. In the following chapter, how methods were deployed using the CPAR approach are detailed.

4. "Ask The Students" – Practicing Collaborative-Participatory Action Research

"I can't say for them what is best to do, it's better to ask the students themselves."

- Leonard

The next stops on our research-*safari* (Research-*Safari* Map 5) are the classroom bandas (Fig.8), where the project collaboratively designed with Leonard and Mkuyu teachers was undertaken, and further developed, by student collaborative-participants[33]. This chapter details how our project was implemented using the CPAR approach. In particular, the shift from participatory to collaborative student roles is emphasised as we navigated multiple layers of power, and attempted to extend decision-making to reach beyond Mkuyu teachers and myself alone.
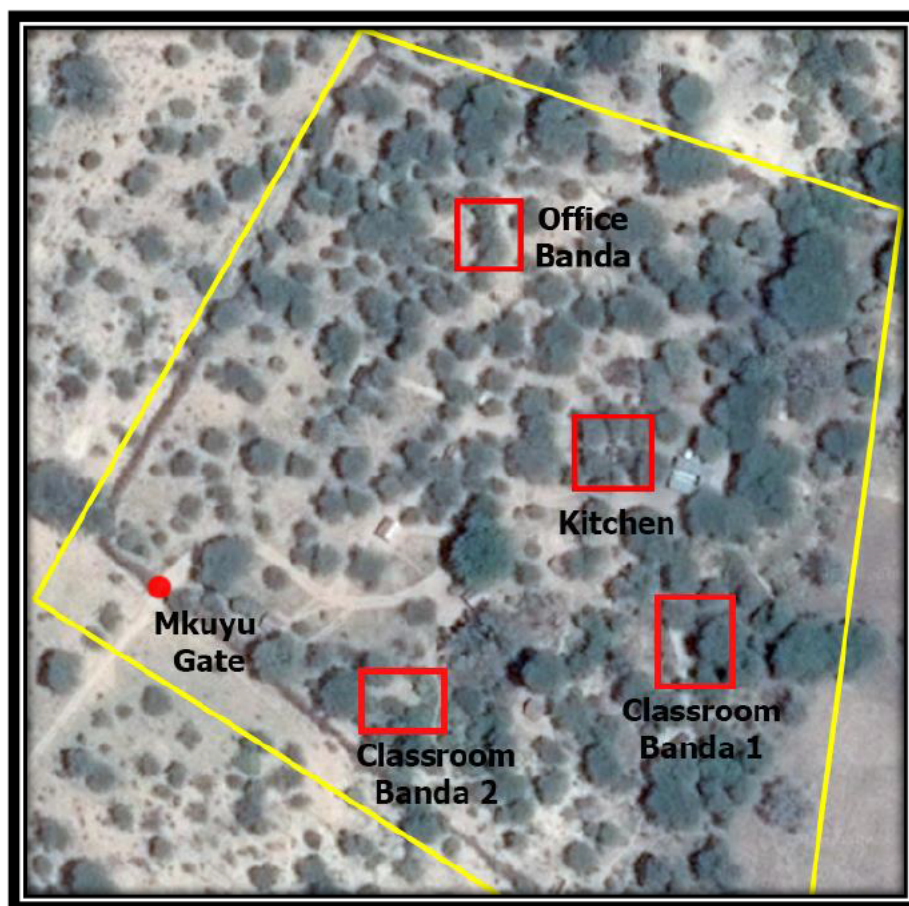
Research-Safari Map 5 - Mkuyu (within yellow boundary) showing classroom bandas (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

---

[33] See chapter 1, table 1 for list of teachers and students involved in the project. Although Leonard and Moses took voluntary photos, they did not undertake photo-elicitation activities.

Figure 8 – Classroom bandas by Deogratius (above) and Maxmilian (middle, below).

Fieldwork Schedule

Fieldwork activities were undertaken with Mkuyu 3-28 August 2017 (Fig.9). The schedule was negotiated on August 3 with student collaborative-participants, and confirmed with Leonard on the same day. This schedule was displayed on the store-room door at Mkuyu in English and Kiswahili for everyone to access.

DATE	ACTIVITY	WITH	FACILITATOR
Aug 3	Workshop: Welcome/Intro's. Review consent forms, etc. Plan/decisions: students who will be involved.	Mkuyu Students.	Frank + Sara.
Aug 4	Workshop: Group agreements. Camera operation + ethics. Make camera schedule.	Mkuyu Students.	Frank + Sara.
Aug 5	Photos: Group 1; no sessions yet.	Students.	N/A.
Aug 6	Photos: Group 2; AM Session: Group 1 PM Session: Group 1.	Students. Students.	Frank + Group 1. Group 1 + Students.
Aug 7	Photos: Group 3 Sessions: Group 2	Students.	AM Sessions with Frank + Group #. PM Sessions with Group # + Students.
Aug 8	Group 4 Group 3		
Aug 9	Group 5 Group 4		
Aug 10	Group 6 Group 5		
Aug 11	Group 7 Group 6		
Aug 12	Group 8 Group 7		
Aug 13	Group 9 Group 8		
Aug 14	Group 9.		
Aug 15	Grace Day! In case we fall behind.		N/A.
Aug 16	Poetry/Performance Workshop: Coding photo data Plan: How will we do poems/songs + performances?	Students.	Frank + Sara.
Aug 17-23	Creating Performances.	Students	N/A.
Aug 24-25	PERFORMANCE DAY!!	Everyone.	Frank.
Aug 26	Action-Plan Workshop	Everyone.	Frank + Sara + Leonard.
Aug 27	Evaluation: Thank students, share what I have learnt/intend to write about, etc. Opportunity for questions/feedback.	AM: Students. PM: Teachers	Frank + Sara. N/A.
Aug 28	Review/Report what we did.	Leonard, Moses, Frank, Sara.	N/A.

Figure 9 – Fieldwork schedule (English version).

Collaborative-Participants and Power

Power-relations with students were multi-layered and complex. In addition to assymetrical postcolonial power-relations between myself and Mkuyu, internal power imbalances also needed to be considered. Twenty-nine students, aged 18-23, were collaborative-participants in the project along with Mkuyu teachers and I. At 25% each, both female and standard-education students were under-represented in a predominantly male, secondary-educated group (Fig.10). Only one standard-educated woman was represented, reflecting low accessibility to vocational training in Tanzania for women generally, but particularly those from low socio-economic backgrounds. Coupled with Mkuyu's entirely male teacher representation, gender-based power within Mkuyu was an important consideration.
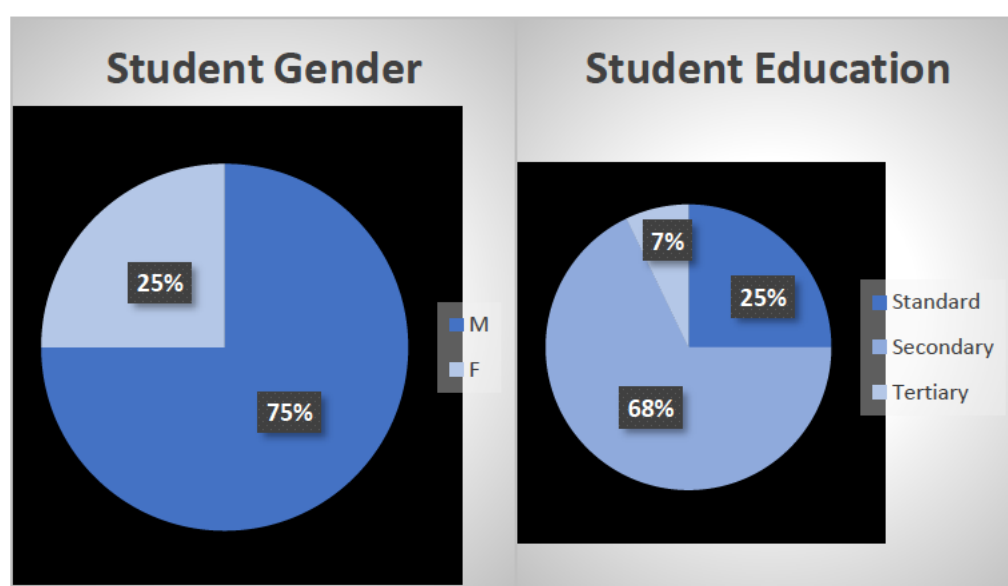
Figure 10 – Gender and education demographics of student collaborative-participants.

The authorative role of teachers in Tanzanian culture also created power-imbalances between Mkuyu teachers and students. Neither myself, nor Mkuyu teachers, could recruit students or be present in interview or group sessions without risking coercion. Though steps were taken to navigate this using CPAR's decolonising approach, some unexpected, unavoidable aspects – discussed further - continued to enact power-differentials that need to be recognised.

Recruitment

To navigate the influence of power on recruitment, two information workshops were held by different facilitators, and without myself or Mkuyu teachers being present. A week prior to my arrival in Tanzania, the first workshop was held by a Tanzanian conservationist with no affiliation to Mkuyu,

who introduced students to the project and their voluntary involvement, ownership, and access to information rights. Informed consent packages (Appendix 1) based on university ethics requirements (Appendix 2) and negotiations with Mkuyu teachers were provided in Kiswahili, with options to opt out or nominate a person of the students choice to discuss any questions or concerns with. The facilitator was university-educated, providing a knowledgable third-party who could provide detailed, Kiswahili explanations of research – something I, and my non-university familiar Mkuyu co-researchers, were unable to do.

The following week, a second workshop was facilitated by Frank, a past Mkuyu student[34] who was a trusted peer that students could relate to. Additionally, Frank would be acting as research-assistant, and would be the main facilitator of project activities. Frank re-visited the informed consent package with students after they had had time to read and consider it from workshop one.

Different workshop facilitators provided students with multiple options to seek information or support. However, unaddressed power issues remained:

- both facilitators were male, with potentially limited approachability for female students;
- as a known conservationist, facilitator one potentially held power over students as someone they might want to impress for future employment opportunities;
- as research-assistant, facilitator two potentially held power over students having taken on a authoratative role.

These unaddressed power relations are acknowledged, along with the recognition that power is never neutral, only negotiated (Howitt and Stevens, 2005; Kesby, Kindon and Pain, 2007, pp. 22–23). Recruitment workshops attempted to negotiate power by providing participants with multiple avenues for engaging their own decision-making power. Students took advantage of these avenues in different ways: one student approached Leonard to discuss concerns around the relevance of project participation to his career goals; two female students chose to bring their questions to me specifically because I am a woman; a fourth student chose to contact the third-party facilitator with questions; and an overwhelming number of students selected Frank as their nominated preferred contact. While this was encouraging, I was aware that there were potentially students who were uncomfortable with all options provided. Power would have been better negotiated by having at least one female Tanzanian representative who was completely neutral to Mkuyu. Unfortunately, this was not possible in the scope of the project.

---

[34] At the time, Frank had finished formally studying at Mkuyu. However, he – like many Mkuyu students – voluntarily chose to stay on at the school. These students have the same responsibilities as new students with no additional privileges.

Student Selection and Diplomacy

In the week prior to project commencement, student numbers swelled unexpectedly to more than twice the number planned for. This presented a challenge – the allocated time and resources could not accommodate the number of students. Though extremely uncomfortable with excluding anyone from involvement in a collaborative, decolonising project, Leonard and I found ourselves with little choice. In deciding how to manage this, Leonard, Moses, Frank, and I considered our project goals carefully. Given that our investigation relied on student experiences at Mkuyu, we collaboratively agreed that data-production should primarily be carried out by students who had been at Mkuyu for over one month. This decision left us with a large, but manageable number of twenty-nine collaborative-participants[35]. However, determined to curb exclusion as much as possible, students were asked for their ideas about ways to include everyone[36]. After much discussion, students agreed on three courses of action:

1. Although only collaborative-participant students (>1 month) would undertake data production and analysis, they would voluntarily hold classes in Kiswahili to share their work with 'new students' (<1 month);
2. Performance-sharing and action planning would include all students, since these related more to Mkuyu's own work after research than to the research itself;
3. Recreational camera days to give 'new students' opportunities to produce and share photos informally.

These decisions seemed acceptable to the group, despite some lingering disappointment. Such diplomatic negotiating amongst student collaborative-participants became characteristic throughout field activities, demonstrating the 'greater good', communal perspectives that seem to guide decision-making at Mkuyu.

Group Agreements: Camera Operation, Privacy, and Safety

Photo-elicitation required training workshops. Many collaborative-participants had never used digital cameras before, and there was much to consider. A workshop was held by Frank and I to cover issues specific to using cameras, including operational training, privacy, and safety. From this workshop,

---

[35] 'Collaborative-participants' refers to the 29 Mkuyu students involved in the project. Leonard and Moses are referred to as 'co-researchers', because they collaboratively designed the project being undertaken by students, but were not directly involved due to power issues related to their authoratative role as teachers.
[36] 'Inclusion' refers to sharing information and benefits of research, but not contribution to the research itself. Ethically, students who were not provided with informed consent packages and other resources ensuring their protection and rights did not have their contributions recorded.

collaborative-participants generated group agreements for photography that were displayed in English and Kiswahili for all to access (Fig.11).
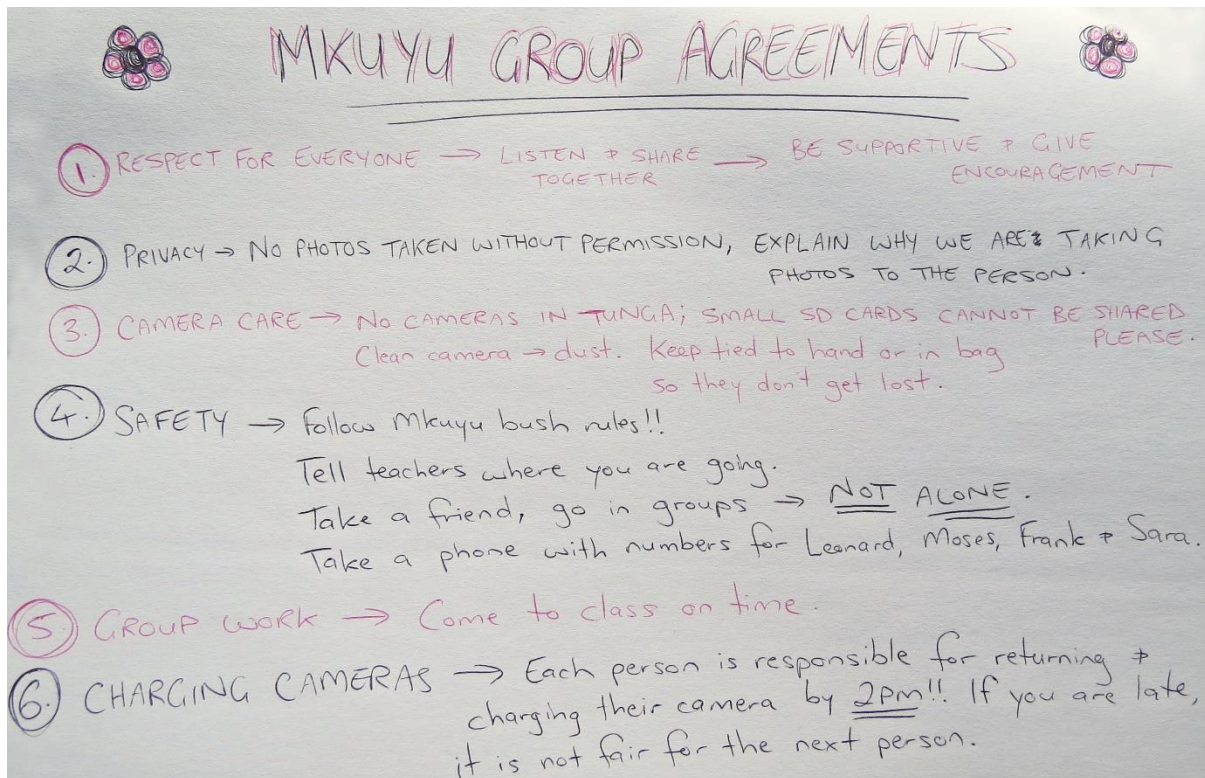
Figure 11 – Mkuyu collaborative-participant group agreements for photography (English version).

Operational training involved discussing camera care and responsibility, and demonstrating the basic functions of the four different cameras available. Particular attention was given to reviewing and deleting photographs. This gave collaborative-participants the option to screen images before submitting them, increasing their power over their own data. Some basic photography techniques were demonstrated – such as landscape and portrait photography, zooming, and how light impacts photo visibility. Mkuyu teachers had also identified cultural aspects of camera-use that might need addressing. For instance, cameras were fitted with micro-SD cards so that the images could be viewed on a tablet. Micro-SD cards are expensive and difficult to find in Tanzania, so sharing electronic accessories amongst community members is commonplace, posing a real risk of losing the cards and jeopardising the project through acts of generosity! These issues were discussed with collaborative-participants, who after much discussion agreed that there was no need to take the cameras into Tungamalenga, as the village was not considered part of Mkuyu Guiding School.

Careful consideration of privacy and safety was critically important in using photographic methods (Rose, 2016, pp. 360–366). Mkuyu is surrounded by signficant habitat that is frequented by large and predatory animals, as well as Maasai and Mun'gati communities who value their cultural privacy. At

the same time, collaborative-participants didn't want to exclude the surrounding bush or neighbouring communities, as they were considered to be important parts of 'Mkuyu'. Group agreements were made that photos of people could not be taken without their consent, and I further clarified that any photos taken of people outside of our research group would need to be de-identified, as per university ethics requirements. Collaborative-participants also decided that if they intended to take photos beyond the immediate acacia-thorn barrier of Mkuyu, they would follow school protocols for safety, inform Mkuyu teachers, and travel in groups.

Data-Production: Taking Photos

Given the volume of collaborative-participants, our negotiations focussed heavily on time-management for data-production. There was only enough time for each collaborative-participant to use a camera for one day. Collaborative-participants decided that a clear camera schedule was needed, and arranged themselves into groups of 4 per day[37] (Fig.12, next page). John, one of the students in charge of Mkuyu's solar power, estimated that cameras would need to be charging by 2pm if they were to be ready for use the next day. Given this time limitation, collaborative-participants suggested that cameras be collected the night before so that the maximum time from dawn until 2pm could be utilised for picture taking. Scheduling also included a daily timetable for group photo-interpretation sessions, with a morning session for collaborative-participants only, and an afternoon session to share images and ideas with the rest of Mkuyu (see Fig.9).

---

[37] The schedule was ammended to 3 per day after one camera broke. This only added an extra day to our photo schedule, and was managed by using one of two 'grace days' set aside for unexpected mishaps!

GROUP	COLLECT	RETURN (TO FRANKi)
Ayoub; Gadau; Juma; Stanly	4th Take Photos on 5th	5th by 2Pm * Charge + vote after.
Baraka; Enock; Ivan; Vero	5th Take Photos on 6th	6th . by 2Pm * Charge + vote after.
Bahati; Bintu; Levo; Shani	6th Take Photos on 7th	7th by 2Pm * Charge + vote after.
Gertrude; John; Max	7th Take Photos on 8th	8th by 2PM * Charge + vote after.
Deo; Ibrahim; Jacki	8th Take Photos on 9th	9th by 2PM * Charge + vote after
Grayson; Joel; Waterpump	9th Take Photos on 10th	10th by 2PM * Charge + vote after.
Anderson; Erick; Mascut; ~~Alexan~~	10th Take Photos on 11th	11th by 2PM * Charge + vote after.
Mofuger; Alex; ~~Faasta; Leah~~	11th Take Photos on 12th	12th by 2PM * Charge + vote after.
Fausta; Leahi Neema.	12th Take Photos on 13th	13th by 2PM * Charge + vote after.

2PM → Camera MUST be returned to Frank. for charging.
     Teachers + You = vote for 2 of your photos.
     You + Frank = Discuss photos for group tomorrow.

Figure 12 – Camera-use schedule (English version).

Leonard's project goal to "…show the environmental things happening at Mkuyu, and that Tanzanian's can own their own things" was simplified into a single, open-ended prompt question (Rose, 2016, pp. 321–322)to guide collaborative-participants photo-generation:

What makes Mkuyu Guiding School important to you?

This prompt question was used throughout photo-generation by all collaborative-participants, and is intentionally non-suggestive, giving no clues about what Mkuyu teachers or I might be looking for. As much as possible, we wanted collaborative-participants to be free to come up with their own ideas rather than being influenced by us. No other prompts were provided. Initially, collaborative-participants were confused by the openness of the question, and wanted more direct instruction about what to photograph. Resisiting giving direct ideas, Frank suggested a group walk around Mkuyu to consider the prompt question. This walk was extremely helpful in inspiring collaborative-participants, and included Mkuyu as place in defining data (Wright *et al.*, 2012) as moments and encounters triggered ideas. It was moving to see how quickly the group moved from uncertainty to creativity as we engaged with the bush-school itself.

Having negotiated how data-production would happen, collaborative-participants managed themselves according to a clear process. Each evening, a scheduled group of collaborative-participants collected cameras. They then had from dawn until 2pm to take photographs in response to the prompt question. Anticipating the large volume of photos likely to be generated by the group, collaborative-participants were asked to review and select ten pictures to submit to Frank, who would transfer and file the images onto the tablet. Collaborative-participants were then responsible for connecting their camera to the solar for charging in preparation for the next person, and meeting with Frank and Mkuyu teachers to prepare their photos for sharing.

Choosing Photographs

With twenty-nine student collaborative-participants each submitting ten photographs, we quickly found ourselves with more images than time to discuss them. Initially, I tried asking each photographer to select their two favourite images, but realised that we frequently ended up with overlapping subject matter and themes that were not conducive to lively group interpretation sessions. Leonard instead suggested a vote on each collaborative-participants photographs to select two. Leonard, Frank, and the collaborative-participant photographer would view the images and discreetly write down two choices on bits of paper, which were then placed in a bowl. Votes were then counted by me to determine which two photos would be chosen. In the rare instance where two clear images did not emerge, we deferred to the choices of the photographer.

This process had the added benefit of instigating unplanned discussion of photographic data amongst Mkuyu teachers. Voting became a fun activity where we would share our choices after the results had been found, discussing why we did or did not like particular images. This helped to identify potential questions that Frank and I could pose to collaborative-participants during group interpretation sessions on behalf of Mkuyu teachers.

'Showing and Telling Mkuyu': Group Photo-Interpretation Sessions

Upon choosing two photos, Frank would conduct an informal, one-to-one semi-structured interview with the collaborative-participant photographer. Interviews had only one question: why did you decide to take this photo? These interviews were not used as data-analysis, but rather preparation between Frank and the collaborative-participant to identify what aspects of their image they would like to share in the group interpretation sessions.

Group interpretation session were held at the classroom banda each morning, and were facilitated by the collaborative-participants group who had taken photos the day before. These sessions were essentially focus groups adapted around Mkuyu's 'talking-classes', where students sit together in a circle and, rather than having a designated teacher, discuss a particular topic together. Using this familiar format helped to put collaborative-participants at ease, and facilitated a respectful environment for sharing based on Mkuyu's usual learning-teaching approach. Each collaborative-participant would begin by taking the tablet around the group to show their photograph, and then delivering a brief explanation of why they took it. The circle would then be open for discussion.

During the sessions, Mkuyu teachers were not present, and I would have a very minimal role as a participant only, allowing the groups to be student-directed. Frank acted minimally as a facilitator when collaborative-participants required support. The aim was for collaborative-participants to speak for themselves, and exercise their power to decide what their data meant. Rather than conducting an analysis of my own, collaborative-participants engaged in a discussion-based analysis, making notes of the key ideas and themes that emerged from each session and coding their own data. At the completion of the photo-elicitation component of the project, these themes and codes were compiled by collaborative-participants during a group workshop in preparation for the performance-based analysis stage of the project (Fig.13, next page).

Figure 13 – Mkuyu's compiled data codes.

'Being Mkuyu': Performance-Based Analysis

Collaborative-participants were asked to choose 1-3 codes from the compilation, and were given one week to compose poetry or lyrics that expressed what stood out for them as important from the photo data and discussions around those codes. Collaborative-participants could choose to do this either solo or in a group. Though Mkuyu teachers and I had planned for poetic inquiry as our performance method, some collaborative-participants wanted to attempt other forms of expression – including story-telling and visual arts. In keeping with supporting collaborative-participant power and decision-making in the project, Mkuyu teachers and I agreed that these works should also be included.

Following the week of preparation, a performance day was held at the classroom banda for all Mkuyu teachers and students. While not all collaborative-participants chose to perform, audience participation by all present lent an energy to the performance-based data analysis. Certain lines in songs or poems provoked particularly strong responses from the audience, and these were carefully noted for use in the findings chapter of this thesis. The performance day included my sharing of two poems that I had written from transcripts of the group photo-interpretation sessions, which Frank translated into Kiswahili for me to share in the language of collaborative-participants. This was well received, and prompted positive feedback during project evaluation.

Following the performances, collaborative-participants worked closely with Frank and I to translate their Kiswahili works into English versions that could be shared beyond Tanzania. While all translation work during the project was undertaken carefully and thoroughly, we were particularly meticulous with the performance pieces in terms of maintaining the expressivity and meaning of collaborative-participants' original works as performance-based data analysis.

'Sharing Mkuyu': Action-Planning and Dissemination Workshop

A final workshop facilitated by Frank and I was held with all Mkuyu teachers and students to consider why we had undertaken the project together, and what could be done with the creative data produced. Direct benefits for participants beyond projects is a significant aspect of participatory action research (Kindon, R Pain and Kesby, 2007, p. 11), and clear ownership and decision-making power around data produced is an integral part of decolonising research (Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 57–58; Smith, 2012, p. 10).

Ideas for how Mkuyu might use their photographic and performance data were discussed and compiled, and included community performances and exhibitions (Fig.14, next page). We also negotiated my use of Mkuyu's data in the thesis and subsequent academic publications, how collaborative-participants could be included in dissemination outside of Tanzania, and how material data – such as photo prints and performance videos – would be provided to Mkuyu were also discussed. Continued use of social media emerged as the best way to address these things, and continue our collaborative research relationships. A new, private Facebook group was established specifically for Mkuyu co-researchers and collaborative-participants as the key space of negotiation and decision-making around Mkuyu's data. Recognising the limitations of social media for some marginalised students, Frank agreed to be an ongoing representative that Mkuyu collaborative-participants could contact to contribute, or seek updates.
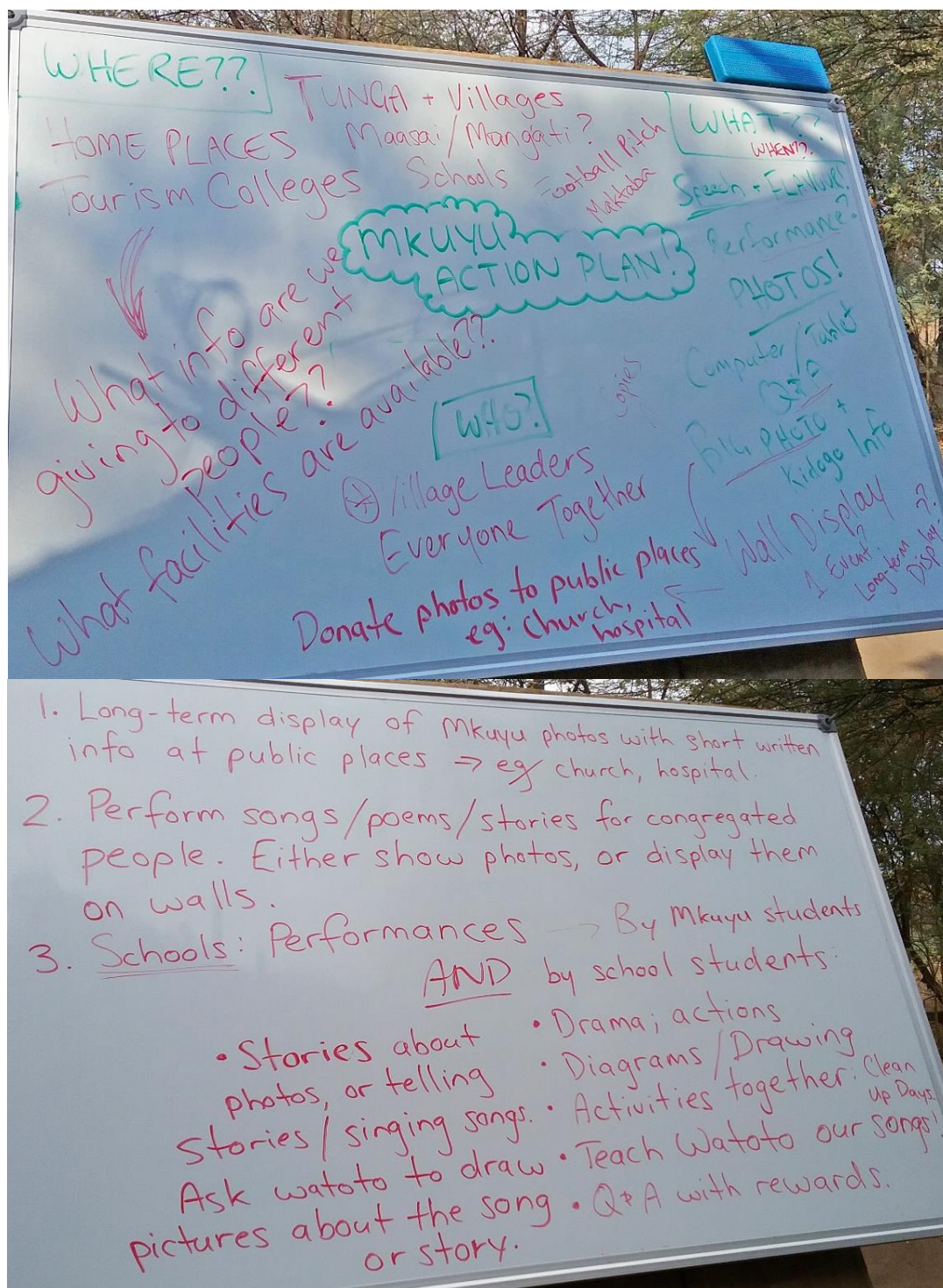
Figure 14 – Mkuyu's compiled action-planning.

Evaluation

The final field-based stage of the project was an evaluation workshop with collaborative particpants.

During this workshop, I shared what I had learnt from working with Mkuyu, and what aspects I planned

to write about in the thesis. Collaborative-participants were encouraged to ask questions or provide

feedback – either to me, Frank, or anonymously using provided pieces of paper. A similar evaluation process was also held seperately with Leonard, Moses, and Frank.

From the evaluation workshop, the main emerging Mkuyu decision was that co-researchers and collaborative-participants wanted to share their performances as a priority, something they have since taken action to achieve[38]. Collaborative-participants, and Leonard, expressed great pride in Mkuyu's performances, and felt that these conveyed their perspectives most powerfully. In the following chapters, these performances and perspectives are shared in detail.

---

[38] One month after completing the field aspects of the project, one group of collaborative-participants performed their song as part of a conservation awareness day in Tungamalenga village. In addition to performing their project song, they also composed a second original song specific to the cause.

5. "Environmental Things Happening" – Project Findings I

"I want to show the environmental things happening at Mkuyu..."

- Leonard

Our research-*safari* (Research-*Safari* Map 6) moves beyond the Mkuyu classroom now to include spaces of learning around the school. The purpose of the next two chapters is to present an alternative to deep-colonial narratives of environmental conservation as a Western, rather than African, interest. This chapter focuses on the rich ecological knowledges, perspectives, and connections being nurtured at Mkuyu, and the sense of responsibility, future-thinking, and environmental action emerging from the school as a counter-narrative. Drawing on original student performances as self-analysed data, as well as transcript poems[39], this chapter demonstrates how Mkuyu collaborative-participants activate these knowledges through education and community engagement.
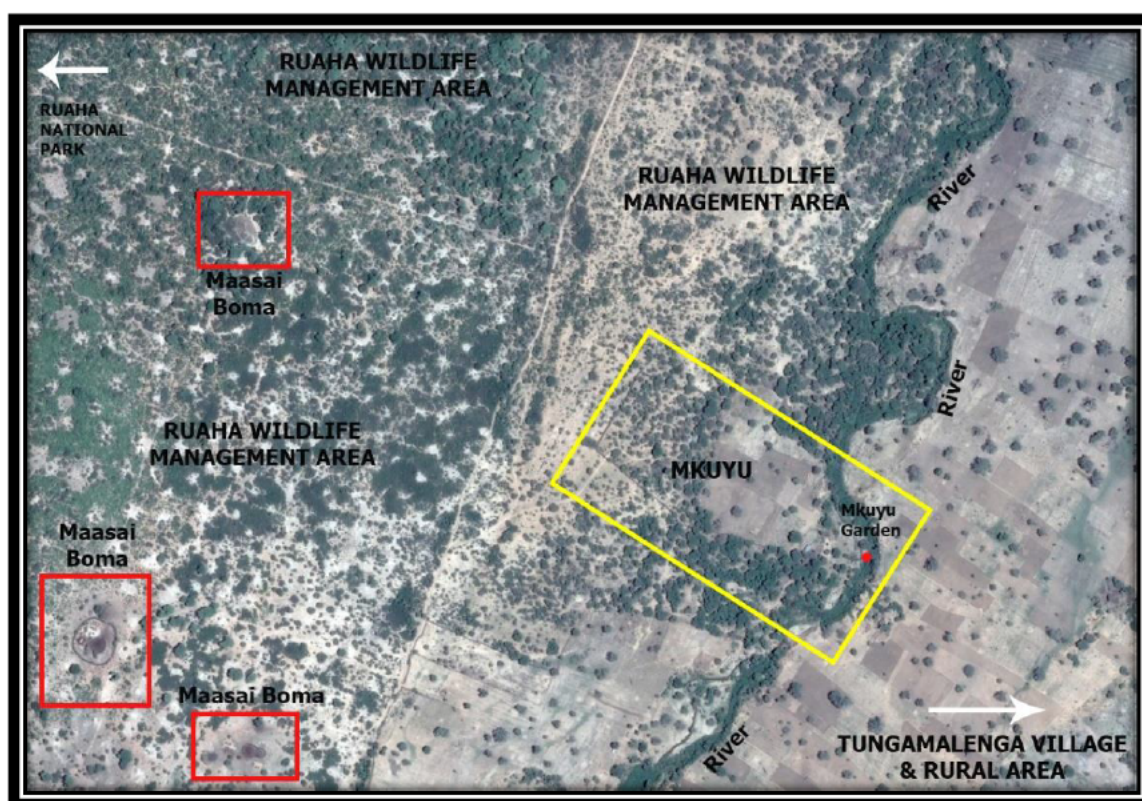
Research-Safari Map 6 – Mkuyu within Ruaha wildlife management area, and alongside human communities (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

[39] Refer to previous chapters for descriptions of these methods (ch4) and how they were used (ch5). Throughout this chapter, figure captions will note whether poems/lyrics were constructed by collaborative-participants alone, or with the researcher from transcripts.

Umoja: Ecosystem Connections and Agencies

Mkuyu understandings of 'ecosystems' are often expressed as *umoja*, a Kiswahili word meaning unity and togetherness. Collaborative-participants show a broad awareness of many complex entanglements and connectivities between human and non-human worlds. These human-inclusive ecosystem connections are expressed in terms that convey a strong sense of *umoja* that challenge notions of human and non-human matters as separate, and emphasise Mkuyu's sense of belonging through and with the landscape they share with non-human others (Bell, 2017).

Such connectivity was expressed in 'Elephant Tree' by Jelema-Ayoub (Fig.15, next page) who, instead of a performance, chose to take the performance day audience on an interactive 'walking-*safari*' to an acacia tree broken by elephants. He reflected on the significance of this ecological relationship alongside an intact acacia, which he referred to frequently as "my fellow", acknowledging it as an active, intentional being with whom Mkuyu shares place. While his intention was to show the role of plants and animals as teachers, Jelema-Ayoub's words also drew out the connecting threads of learning between the trees, elephants, and Mkuyu students:

Animals are teachers:
Through their behaviour,
And being here with them,
We can know something about the ecosystem.
I saw this acacia tree over there,
From it, I learnt about the elephant.

(see Fig.15 for full poem, next page).

ELEPHANT TREE (TEMBO MTI)

Animals are teachers:
Through their behaviour,
And being here with them,
We can know something about the ecosystem.
I saw this acacia tree over there,
From it, I learnt about the elephant.
When tembo meets with the acacia,
And knocks the tree like this,
Even the small dik dik
Can get the chance to eat from it
When normally it can't reach.
Nature balances itself:
The elephants do destruction,
But you can't say 'bad impacts'.
We are on a walking safari,
We've come nearby to look here
At this knocked over acacia tree,
And what do we see?
Different things all around!
Dung of many antelope species,
Kudu track here…
Even now, I had an insect on my hand,
He was coming from the tree.
Termites will feed on the dry wood.
See the spider webs in the bend of the acacia,
There is life here.
We need to have a look at the whole thing,
Not just that the tree is fallen.

Through their actions,
Elephants make food and homes for others.
Some animals like open country,,
So here, elephant makes space
For those creatures to live in their ways.
Tembo teaches even me:
After being broken by elephants,that tree will dry,
I can go there and take it as firewood –
Better than to chop a new tree!
We heard them cutting a tree yesterday,
And we wondered –
Why not just go and get this fallen acacia
Given by the elephants?

Tembo is not a destroyer of trees, no,
They may break ten, but plant thousands!
Their simple digestive system
Means seeds remain in the dung…
They defecate, spread and fertilise seeds,
They germinte like that, the way you see there.
So yes, they broke the tree,
But probably they planted them before!
Elephants harvest what they planted,
And plant for the next year too.
It's hard to grow the local trees, very hard:
But the wild animals, they are doing it!
They use their bodies to germinate:
Some plants will not germinate until seeds pass
Through the digestive system of animals!
It's connected – destructing, making it up again,
All life is important in the ecosystem.

Figure 15 – 'Elephant Tree' by Jelema-Ayoub. Poem constructed by Sara and Jelema-Ayoub using walking-safari transcript. Photos by Jelema-Ayoub (above) and Sara (below).

This resonates with growing recognition of non-human agency within academic discliplines, where the world is seen as 'more-than-human' (Rose *et al.*, 2012; Bell, 2017). Plumwood (2002b, pp. 1–12)described this as a decentering of human exceptionalism in favour of a resituated view where humans are ecological beings subject to ecological processes as much as non-humans are active agents in shaping those ecological processes, and ultimately the spaces and places we all share. Jelema-Ayoub's poem expresses this powerfully by actively voicing (Plumwood, 2009) plants and animals as teachers with agency who are shaping the landscape for multiple lives and sharing their knowledges through their activities. Though elephant tree-felling is considered by some locals and tourists to be a destructive feeding behaviour, the various antelopes and invertebrates whose lives are enabled by the fallen tree tell a different story. Jelema-Ayoub helped make them visible by "…*being here with them*" (Fig.15). Mkuyu not only bears witness (Rose, 2012; Bell, Instone and Mee, 2017) to non-human agencies as contributors to the physical creation and meaning-making of shared places of belonging (Cloke and Perkins, 2005; Bell, 2017), but actively participate in it through their learning.

Jelema-Ayoub's active-voice strikingly describes tree-felling as part of a complex 'harvesting' system through which elephants ensure a continuation of lives. He portrays ecosystem connections as embodied knowledge that animals enact through cycles of destruction and re-creation:

> *They defecate, spread and fertilise seeds,*
> *...yes, they broke the tree,*
> *But probably they planted them before!*
> *Elephants harvest what they planted,*
> *And plant for the next year too.*
> *It's hard to grow the local trees, very hard:*
> *But the wild animals, they are doing it!*
> *They use their bodies to germinate:*
> *Some plants will not germinate until seeds pass*
> *Through the digestive system of animals!*
> *It's connected – destructing, making it up again,…*

(see Fig.15 for full poem, next page).

Maxmilian comments on this, stating poignantly that, "*it's sad that the elephants know to replant what they use, but we humans are cutting trees without replanting*". Such acknowledgement speaks to two more-than-human ideas. Firstly, that human seperation from our ecological reality has resulted in behaviour more destructive than that comitted by elephants. Secondly, that in our journey towards sustainable, ecological futures, non-humans may have powerful lessons to share by example.

Sharing themes of animals as teachers and active agents who enact embodied knowledges, John builds on these messages by linking pollinators closely to human benefits in his drawings 'Butterflies' (Fig.16, next page). His focus is on the role of pollination services to human agriculture:

Without insect pollinators, we cannot get food,
So we have a very close relationship.
It's connected together:
By having plants with flowers,
Pollination will happen;
Then birds are eating the fruits
And spreading the seeds;
Then others – even ourselves -
We're having food, plants, oxygen,
So much.

(see Fig.16 for full poem, next page).

Interestingly, while conservation in Africa tends to focus heavily on flagship, usually mammalian species that are familiar and loved from Eurocentric perspectives (Williams, Burgess and Rahbek, 2000), overlooked non-humans such as insects and plants were more common in Mkuyu's data, suggesting deep understandings of the critical ecosystem services that small organisms tend to perform:

In ecosystem, you're supposed to see
From small to big animals:
If one disappears, you will see changes.

(see Fig.16 for full poem, next page).

BUTTERFLIES (VIPEPEO)

Kipepeo reaches up to the flower,
It is helping to pollinate the plant.
If you look, it is so beautiful.
Butterfly is a teacher,
They teach us how they do pollination
And why it is important to conserve them.
Butterflies make a cycle
Between humans and animals
Through their pollination activities.
Without insect pollinators, we cannot get food,
So we have a very close relationship.
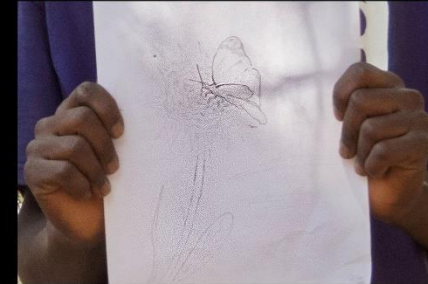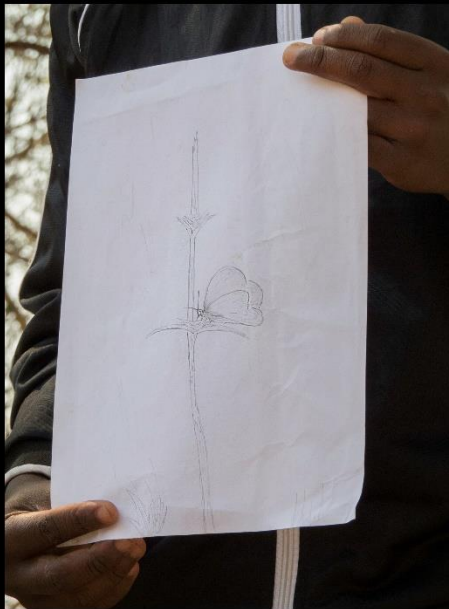
It's connected together:
By having plants with flowers,
Pollination will happen;
Then birds are eating the fruits
And spreading the seeds;
Then others – even ourselves -
We're having food, plants, oxygen,
So much!
In ecosystem, you're supposed to see
From small to big animals:
If one disappears, you will see changes.

Before, Bahati didn't know
The importance of butterflies,
So he was killing many.
Now, he knows their importance,
We feel so sad to hear of butterflies killed!
They are a source of life,
Without them we can't manage to live,
But also, they are a beautiful creature -
We don't want to see them die.

Figure 16 – 'Butterflies' by John. Poem constructed by Sara and John using presentation transcript. Photos by Moses (left, right), Sara (centre-top), and John (centre-bottom).

Given that Mkuyu is a *safari* guide school, where you would expect students to focus on 'the Big 5'[40] and other internationally attractive species, this is significant. It demonstrates an awareness of larger scale ecosystem webs, and how they impact broader Tanzanian livelihoods – such as subsistence agriculture – beyond Mkuyu's immediate context. Although it is the large, iconic animals that are most likely to benefit Mkuyu students through tourism, their appreciation of less iconic plants and non-mammalian animals, as well as key ecosystem services like pollination and oxygen cycles, indicates environmental understandings that are both holistic and altruistic towards multiple others.

Despite this, iconic tourism species were not forgotten for their important contribution to human worlds. Wild Animals', written and read by Baraka (Fig.17), highlights these animals as a defining aspect of Mkuyu's collective identity as a *safari* guide school.

Figure 17 – 'Wild Animals' by Baraka. Poem constructed by Sara and Baraka directly from performance transcript. Photos by Baraka (left, right) and Sara (centre).

Baraka describes the importance of ecosystems to wildlife, wildlife to tourism, and tourism to Tanzanian socio-economic development:

---

[40] The 'Big 5' is a *safari* term that originated with colonial hunting and has since been adapted into tourism. It refers to the five most sought-after large African mammals: lion, buffalo, leopard, rhinoceros, and elephant.

Most of our communities
Benefit from the animals,
Foreign currency from tourists
Coming to see them
Is very helpful towards
Our roads, hospitals, schools…
Wild animals give people jobs
In tourism…
They are the backbone of our country.
The animals have a right to live,
Just like humans.
It's better to let them be free.

(see Fig.17 for full poem).

Connections between animals, ecosystems, and human lives are powerfully understood and appreciated at Mkuyu. *Umoja*, togetherness, between humans and the environment is often expressed through the statement, '*tupo pamoja*', or, 'we are together'. This ethic is powerfully reminiscent of other African ethical traditions that provide cultural frameworks for human-environment engagements, such as 'Ubuntu' and 'Ukama'. Found throughout southern Africa, Ubuntu is translated loosely as 'I am, because we are', and ultimately embodies ideas of connectivity and co-becoming between individuals and broader communities (Le Grange, 2012a; Mawere, 2012; Kayira, 2015; Chibvongodze, 2016). Similarly, the Shona concept of Ukama expresses relationships between all things, transcending time, space, species, and matter (Murove, 2004; 2012a, 2012b). Both Ubuntu and Ukama have been suggested as having powerful, culturally-empowered applications to African conservation (Murove, 2004; 2012a, 2012b; Mawere, 2012; Kayira, 2015; Chibvongodze, 2016; Chilisa, 2017).

Likewise, Mkuyu's expression of human-environmental relationships as *umoja* conveys a connectivity between the natural environment and Mkuyu Guiding School; and the co-creation of more-than-human identities and shared places of belonging (Bawaka Country *et al.*, 2015; Bell, 2017). Students shape their identities as *safari* guides and environmentalists through encounters with the non-humans that share Mkuyu as place. As students take part in these encounters, establishing ecological and economic understandings of human-environment connectivities, non-human lives take on relational identities as teachers and tourism partners. In other words, 'Mkuyu' becomes a *safari* guide school through the more-than-human relationships that emerge through togetherness.

Going deeper into *umoja*, the poem 'Water and River' written and performed by Alex, Shani, Getrude, Anderson, and Erick (Fig.18, next page) recognises life and survival as being connected to, enabled,

and nourished by the continuation of ecosystems. The critical importance of water sources to human life is expressed powerfully:

You cannot care for your life without truly valuing water,
Without value of water, we will die.

…we must remember to protect water sources,
Or we will be dry and burn like firewood…

(see Fig.18 for full poem, next page).

The poem raises the importance of water to food production, industries like brick-making that support poorer communities, hydro-electricity production, and daily activities like cooking and hygiene. In a dry country where water is precious, it is not surprising that it is central to much Tanzanian environmental thinking. The poem extends this thinking to the role of water in supporting non-human lives that in turn contribute to healthy ecosystem function, and the education of Mkuyu students:

There will be no animals or plants without water,
All will disappear, there will be no one left,…

…Insects and plants, water is their happiness,…

(see Fig.18 for full poem, next page).

WATER & RIVER (MAJI NA MTO)

[Handwritten Swahili song in the left column — nine verses, each ending with the refrain "Tutazikwa kaburini, tusipothamini Maji."]

Greetings audience, friends understand,
Water is something worthwhile, together we'll understand,
It is easy to have food, but water is scarce,
Without value of water, we will die.

Truly water is alive, we can listen to it together,
All will live if we appreciate water,
You cannot care for your life without truly valuing water,
Without value of water, we will die.

Many people are dying by not valuing water,
Water cannot be disturbed, for we all need water,
The forest cannot continue if there is no water,
Without value of water, we will die.

There will be no animals or plants without water,
All will disappear, there will be no one left,
Only the government are safe because they have the water,
Without value of water, we will die.

Industries use water to make our goods,
Without water there is no city, only trouble and misfortune,
Our cities are water, without water there is only grief,
Without value of water, we will die.

Dodoma is suffering, there is no water in their taps,
There is no life for them, they did not value water,
But people from here and abroad, together we appreciate,
Without value of water, we will die.

Without earth as a water source, there is no rain,
Our agriculture needs water night and day,
Without rain, there will be no food resources,
Without value of water, we will die.

Insects and plants, water is their happiness,
We fear the sun, for it can make us to be hungry,
Our life is rainfall too, crops are our happiness,
Without value of water, we will die.

We are proud to have electricity from Kidato,
And Akasombo too, electricity is not a childish thing,
We are all happy for the Kidato hydro-electric dam,
Without value of water, we will die.

All together, we must remember to protect water sources,
Or we will be dry and burn like firewood, in towns and villages alike,
We escape the sun by protecting our water sources,
Without value of water, we will die.

Figure 18 – 'Water & River' by Getrude, Alex, Anderson, Erick, and Shani (left to right, bottom image showing the 'friendly fishtrap' they made). Photos by Sara.

'Mkuyu-Hippo' is an excellent demonstration of the Mkuyu-wildlife-water relationships frequently expressed during photovoice sessions. The close proximity of the river means that animals pass directly through Mkuyu, providing invaluable learning opportunities. Since the 2016-2017 dry season, a hippotamus has resided on the riverbank beside the school garden. Named 'Mkuyu-Hippo' by students, he has become part of their lives and is viewed with love and appreciation:

He is around the garden. We have the sweet potato, he likes it much! When Mkuyu-Hippo comes to eat, it can help us to know him. We are happy to see him.

– Ivan.

My family doesn't have much money, they cannot send me to the park to experience animals. So I feel affection for Mkuyu-Hippo. He is giving me something that is amazing.

– Alex.

We share things between us whenever we watch Mkuyu-Hippo or notice something about him. So we are learning because of the hippo being here. He has a good life. We don't disturb him, because we love him. Yesterday night, he came very close to us because he feels safe, and we were very excited.

– Levocatus.

The way that Mkuyu-Hippo is spoken about conveys a strong sense of friendship that is more than novelty. When asked if they considered Mkuyu-Hippo their pet, students responded with disagreement:

He is not our property, he stays because he wants to. He is more like our brother.

- Juma.

The river is home, we share it with him.

- Ibrahim.

That non-humans are considered part of Mkuyu, and referred to in active terms like 'brother', 'teacher', and 'friend', is no small sentiment. To most collaborative-participants, Mkuyu is considered home and family, and being part of that designation is an additional layer of connection that links Mkuyu and ecosystems together in *umoja*. Interpersonal connections were expressed in the rap 'Mkuyu Family', written and performed by Mofuga (Fig.19, next page).

MKUYU FAMILY

Ooh Mama,
Mama Baba,
M – G – S,
Ooh Dada,
Dada Kaka,
M – G – S
    UBETI 01
MGS hapa tupo huru,
MGS Elimu kwa vitendo,
MGS Twaishi kwa upendo,
MGS Nidhamu kwetu nyenzo,
MGS Moses pale tembo
MGS Bubah pale Mbungo
MGS – Sara sambaza upendo
MGS – wote kufika lengo

    UBETI – 02
Shule ya mkuyu,
Mengi Majukumu,
Wanyama na wadudu,
Vyote vyatukusu,
Ndege na mimea,
Sito puuzia,
Mengi nayajua,
Karibu karibia
Nilifika mtupu
Sijui hata kudu
Sasa nipo Full
Najua hata Duduz

Yote nashukuru
Sifa kwa walimu
Yote uajukumu
Kufanya iitwe mkuyu
Inshort time
Nimekula kozi
Ujuzi wa kutosha
Mkuyu sita ondoka
Sifa kwa mkuyu

Oh Mother, Mother, Father:
Mkuyu Guiding School.
Oh Sister, Sister, Brother:
Mkuyu Guiding School.

Mkuyu: here, we are free.
Mkuyu: practical knowledge.
Mkuyu: we live for peace.
Mkuyu: discipline is our pillar.
Mkuyu: elephant with Moses.
Mkuyu: wasps with Bubaah.
Mkuyu: Sara spreads love.
Mkuyu: to achieve our goals.

Mkuyu Guiding School:
We have many responsibilities.
Animals and insects,
All are important.
Birds and animals,
Never take them for granted,
There are many that I know:
"Welcome and be free."
I came not knowing,
I didn't even know the kudu,
Now I am full –
I know even the insects.

I thank all
And appreciate the teachers,
For all are responsible
For making this to be Mkuyu.
In a short time
I've consumed these studies
And a lot of experience.
I'll never leave Mkuyu behind,
For I appreciate Mkuyu.

Figure 19 – 'Mkuyu Family' written by Mofuga. This performance elicited an amazingly supportive response from Mkuyu students (top left). Photos by Sara.

The school as place and people is understood in familial terms:

> *Oh Mother, Mother, Father:*
> *Mkuyu Guiding School.*
> *Oh Sister, Sister, Brother:*
> *Mkuyu Guiding School.*

(see Fig.19 for full poem).

Familial Mkuyu-ecosystem connections are reminiscent of Plumwood's (2008) 'shadow places' as locations of human-environmental engagement that contribute to the daily, often overlooked, nourishment of ones life, as well as Niedje's (1989, p. 166) idea of places that 'grow us'. For most students, Mkuyu is their first encounter with many of the non-humans that they wish to build their identities and livelihoods around as *safari* guides. The immersive, sometimes challenging, experience of living and learning in a remote bush school not only shape, but deepen those identities to include familiarity, love, and appreciation towards non-humans:

> *Birds and animals,*
> *Never take them for granted,*
> *There are many that I know:*
> *"Welcome and be free".*
> *I came not knowing,*
> *I didn't even know the kudu,*
> *Now I am full,*
> *I know even the insects.*

(see Fig.19 for full poem).

Initially, such perspectives emerge from a realisation that non-humans – particularly animals – 'grow' students into knowledgable, experienced guides. But like a seedling transforming into a plant, they also grow into a powerful awareness of the ways in which animals, plants, water, soil, air, and every ecosystem component comes together to nourish human life. Mkuyu, as an immersive, experiential place, challenges notions of human seperateness from the environment, fostering more-than-human environmental ethics and perspectives amongst its contribution to an upcoming generation of *safari* guides, environmental educators, and activisits in Tanzania.

Through lived experience of ecosystem connections and *umoja*, Mkuyu's environmental views are far broader than conservation alone. Humans are understood as ecological beings dependent on healthy ecosystems at individual, community, and national levels. But it is more than just awareness, Mkuyu's knowledges are also enacted.

Activating Knowledges

Mkuyu is characterised by a dedication and drive to share learning and participate in conservation. Environmental knowledges at Mkuyu are activated and enacted through community engagement, sharing ideas, and self-conceptualised local conservation projects. Students come initially seeking to further their own education and employability, but quickly become involved in voluntary acts of environmentalism. Before looking at the ways in which Mkuyu activate their environmental knowledges, it is important to understand what motivates them towards this action. Building on their experiential knowledges of ecosystem connections, Juma, Bahati, Deogratius, Stanley, Enock, and Ibrahim suggest in their original hip-hop song, 'The Environment' (Fig.20, next page), that a moral responsibility towards the environment arises from those reciprocal relationships:

The environment is important, guys,
We protect it, and it protects us.
If we protect the environment,
Everything will be cool.

(see Fig.20 for full poem, next page).

Reciprocity of protection and wellbeing, here, is very powerful. The rap links ecological connections to many Tanzanian social issues, particularly disease and poverty, demonstrating a keen awareness of how it all fits together. The connections between human wellbeing and environmental health are interpreted as a matter of urgent moral responsibility:

It's our responsibility,
Us as humans,
To act early,…

…I'm trying to think
Of no morality,
Many will feel guilt
For not thinking further ahead.
Now is the time to talk about it,…

(see Fig.20 for full poem, next page).

MAZINGIRA (THE ENVIRONMENT)

Mazingira ni muhimu jamani tuyatunze nayo yatutunze
Tukitunza mazingira jamani mambo yote yatakuwa shwari
Deo

Mazingira ni Muhimu,
Ni letu jukumu,
Sisi wanadamu,
Kuweza kujihimu,
Kutoa elimu ya kutunza mazingira,
Mazingira ni muhimu jamani tuyatunze nayo yatutunze
Tukitunza mazingira jamani mambo yote yatakuwa shwari
Nillan Boy

Tukitunza mazingira,
wanyama wataishi,
Kwenye yao hali,
Bila kujali hatari,

Uchafuzi wa mazingira,
Kweli unakola,
watu wengi wamepotea,
Wametuacha tunalia,
Dunia yadidimia,
Kwa magonjwa ya mlipuko,
Daaah!!!
Kweli Inauma!!
Mazingira ni muhimu jamani tuyatunze nayo yatutunze
Kiga Man

Tutunze Mazingira,
Tupate afya bora,
Tuweni na subira,
Tuondoeni ucera,
Tuishi bila utata,
Miti tusipo ikata,
Huduma zote tutapata,
na mvua tutaipata,

Najaribu fikiri,
pasipo na maadili,
Vingi tutakili,
Tusipo fikiri mbali,

The environment is important guys,
We protect it, it protects us.
If we protect the environment,
Everything will be cool.

The environment is important,
It's our responsibility,
Us as humans,
To act early,
To educate how to protect environment.

If we protect the environment
The animals will survive
In their situations
Without fear of danger.
Environmental pollution
Is really happening:
Many people have died,
They have left us crying
For the destruction of the world
Through eruption of disease.
Daah! True pain!

To save the environment
And have good health
We have to calm down,
Remove the gang life
And live without trouble.
If we don't cut down trees
We will have all our basic needs,
And rain will come.

I'm trying to think
Of no morality,
Many will feel guilt
For not thinking further ahead.
Now is the time to talk about it,
Education must go far,
Then all will benefit
Without any trouble.

Figure 20 – 'The Environment' written by Deogratius, Ibrahim, Enock, Bahati, Stanley, and Juma (left to right, bottom image). Photos by Sara.

The urgency to act on moral responsibility towards the environment is not just a passing warning in this song, but something taken very seriously at Mkuyu. The authors of this rap, for instance, are Christian participants in a nightly prayer circle held at Mkuyu. During the prayer circle, students ask that God awaken the people of the world to realise the importance of the environment, and act according to our responsibilities as stewards of His creation. Mkuyu's Islamic students express similar values in their prayers, as do students who observe traditional spiritual beliefs[41]. From Tanzanian perspectives, faith plays a significant role in how environmental responsibility takes shape, and nurtures a common sense of stewardship that is remarkably powerful:

> *This earth is a work of art by God. Now, you do not vandalise the art being sold at the market, or displayed somewhere, no. So why should we destroy the art of God Himself?*

> \- Moses.

> *My Christian fellows are singing over there, and I am coming here with my Muslim fellows to pray. We have different ways, but praying for the same things. For the destruction of the earth to stop, for all to come together and take care of our given responsibilities instead of fighting.*

> \- Bintu.

> *Rastafari believe Zion is paradise. But you don't need to go somewhere to find paradise, because it's here, everywhere. The environment is God's paradise garden, when we see it and feel love in our hearts for it, and for each other, Zion is there.*

> \- Stanley.

Crowe (2013) suggests that environmental education incorporating spirituality (eco-spirituality) links learners more cohesively to their meaning systems, a view supported by successful spiritually-oriented conservation projects in Zimbabwe and Ghana (Daneel, 2011; Sibanda, 2012; Darko, I, 2014). Mkuyu's strong spiritual well of environmental responsibility further supports this idea, providing Tanzanian insights into the potential role of eco-spirituality in African conservation. Imposing a purely science-based view that rejects religious beliefs is unlikely to have long-term success, because it lacks relevance to the multiple ways of knowing held by culturally-diverse Tanzanians. Re-claiming Indigenous, and re-imagining colonial, Tanzanian spiritual ideas in terms of environmental responsibility and stewardship, however, may be more fruitful and relevant by supporting Tanzanian-determined conservation ethics.

---

[41] Traditional beliefs include indigenous spiritualities, and 'Afroc-centric' versions of Christianity, such as Rastafari.

Moving beyond stewardship, Mkuyu also expresses reciprocity as familial responsibility. In 'Nature Poem' by Veronica, Fausta, Neema, and Jackline (Fig.21, next page), environmental responsibility emerges from a sense of loyalty:

If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

(see Fig.21 for full poem, next page).

Here, the use of 'have' means to 'have someone's back'. Using this particular terminology, rather than words like 'protect' or 'conserve', gives an impression of friendship and loyalty towards the environment (Shearman, 2005; Bingham, 2006) that goes further than a 'should' sentiment into a 'want-need' one. Mkuyu *wants* to 'have the environment's back' because they recognise it as a friend on whom they depend. The converse implication of this expression is that failing to act loyally and responsibility towards the environment will threaten that friendship, with consequences for human life. Such sentiments of friendship are engaged by Bingham (2006), who discusses notions of 'being-with' in relation to the growing ecological awareness of "collective matters of concern" that cannot be ignored. 'Being-with' suggests that existence is always co-existence, where 'we' always precedes 'I' identities (Bingham, 2006). This is remarkably similar to Mkuyu's understanding of ecosystem connections as *umoja* (togetherness), and other African ethical philosophies of co-becoming (Murove, 2004; Le Grange, 2012b; Mawere, 2012) like Ubuntu (I am, because we are). Bingham (2006) suggests that friendship arises from experiences of being-with the environment that demonstrate co-existence as condition, not choice; an observation that very much describes Mkuyu's experiential context as a bush school. This experience, combined with their eco-spiritual moral responsibilities, provides a firm basis for the friendship-based intrinsic environmental values (Shearman, 2005) that influence students during their time at Mkuyu.

'Nature Poem' (Fig.22) translates these environmental values and responsibilities into direct action. Active knowledge-sharing – particularly with those with less access to the same education opportunities – is seen as part of Mkuyu's responsibility towards, and resistance against, environmental degradation:

We need to keep reminding and make education strong,
For we are aware and have much to share,…

…We will benefit from the truth by sharing education,…

…today we make a stand,…

(see Fig.21 for full poem, next page).

NATURE POEM (SHAIRI LA MAZINGIRA)

Shairi utamaduni, kwa kila Mtanzania
Hasa kwa wanautali, kwa kweli Lakubaliwa
Kwa Iliyo twawaombeni, Mtusikilize hima
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Kata miti panda miti, tuboreshe mazingira,
Mazingira tuthabiti, tusije leta Madhara
Jamani tutunze miti, ili pate safi hewa
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Tvepushe uchafuzi, mazingira kusafisha,
Tvzidi ufafanuzi, elimu kyiboresha
kwani tunaoujuzi, mambo mengi kuvumisha
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Mazingira kuwasafi, magonjwa hatutapata
Viumbe vitafaidi, hatutaleta utata
Jamani tujitahidi, faida tutaipata
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

kweli tutafaidika, elimu kutapakata
Sote tutanufaika, kipato tutaongeza
kwani tutajumuika, uchafu kutokomeza
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama

Ndugu tunachowasihi, mila zetu tudumishe
Jifunze kwa ufasihi, kupunguze mishe mishe.
Twatoa yeto fasihi, sote tujiunganishe
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Twawashukuru walimu, kwa elimu walotupa
kwani kunaumuhimu, kwa mambo waliyotupa
elimu yetu idumu, vizazi vije ipata.
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Tamati tumefikia, mengitume yaeleza
Yote twashukuru mola, kwa yake mapenzimema
kutulinda nazo hila, hatu teo kusimama
Tuyatunze mazingira, tuishi kwa usalama.

Poems are the culture of Tanzanians,
Especially for elders, who accept them as truth,
So we beg you to listen with care,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

Cut down trees, then replant trees to repair nature,
Environmentally friendly, we will never harm,
People, Let's protect the trees to keep the air fresh,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

To escape pollution, clean the environment,
We need to keep reminding and make education strong,
For we are aware and have much to share,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

With environmental cleaning, there will be no disease,
All creatures will benefit and we will not be in conflict,
By working hard, we will find the benefits,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

We will benefit from the truth by sharing education,
All will benefit, income will increase,
We'll all get involved and waste will disappear,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

Friends, we appeal to you, let us keep our traditions,
Learn carefully, don't let your mind wander,
To speak (say-give) our own literature and gather together,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

We thank our teachers for the knowledge they give,
Because there is importance in the things they pass down,
To keep our knowledge for the future generations,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

We've come to the end, and explained many things,
All of us thank God for his true love,
To guard us against deception, today we make a stand,
If we have the environment, we will live peacefully.

Figure 21 – 'Nature Poem' by Veronica, Neema, Fausta, and Jackline (left to right, top image). Photos by Sara.

Many students expressed strong desires and responsibility towards sharing the education they had received at Mkuyu, demonstrated by the poem 'Make A Different Future' (Fig.22, next page).

MAKE A DIFFERENT FUTURE

I met these children around the river,
There was much waste in the water,
I thought: "these things are not good".
That waste is destroying nature.
I think much about the animals
Effected by waste materials.
One day, I saw a plastic bottle,
Inside were a lot of beetles who had died.
The beetles went to eat what was left inside
But it was difficult to come out again.
We don't want the creatures to get bad effects,
Or the children either:
What if they drink the bad water and get sick?
We picked up the waste together.

We work together with the children,
Little kids remember a lot of things!
It's easy for them to know the environment
And spread their knowledge,
So we are sharing much with them.
Children come to Mkuyu, asking:
"Teacher, what is happening here?"
They see our environment is very clean, beautiful…
They take that idea home and do the same things.
We are responsible to teach them
And be a good example.
It is a way we are passing education.
Even us, we learn from the animals' example:
They are keeping their environment clean.
Like hyena, who is hated by many,
But he cleans away carcasses and bacteria.
Hyena is doing his part, so should we.

We have to think about the upcoming generations,
Children can make a different future.
We think of Ibrahim, our fellow student here,
He came to Mkuyu first as a child.
Now, he cares for the environment too,
We are proud of him for that,
And Mkuyu's influence.
So we have to think:
When you dump that waste in the bush,
You may cause harm!
It's better to choose the dust bin.
We use Mkuyu bins to take environmental action,
To show people something good for nature.
We did a small thing with a big result:
People are using our bins to put their waste away
Instead of on the ground, in the water, or bush.
It's a way that they can conserve their places,
So we are proud of our idea.
There are many other ideas too:
People are making bandas from plastic bottles!
It's not a dream, we can do it!

Education is our power to make new ideas,
So we share our bush school knowledge.
The classroom is open, we are outside -
I can hear the birds now,
They are around us all the time.
Easy to see, to hear, to learn as it happens,
We learn deeply from the bush and animals.
I want to share this way with other people,
So they can know the importance
Of keeping the environment clean.
Mkuyu does much to conserve the environment
Through sharing our ideas.
Before, there was nothing here like Mkuyu,
Where Tanzanians are doing their own environmental actions.
Now, there is.

Figure 22 - 'Make A Different Future' by Mkuyu Guiding School. Poem constructed by Sara, Leonard, Moses and Frank using transcripts from Veronica, Erick, Gadau, Bahati, Maxmilian, Juma, Levocatus, Alex, John, Wilfred, and Joel. Photos by Leonard (top) and Erick (bottom).

In its simplest manifestation, this is achieved opportunistically through engaging with the people around them about local conservation issues. More ambitiously, the sharing of ideas is enacted through self-determined and implemented projects that bring Mkuyu's ideas into realisation:

Education is our power to make new ideas,
So we share our bush school knowledge…

…Mkuyu does much to conserve the environment
Through sharing our ideas.

(see Fig.22 for full poem).

Through active citizenship, Mkuyu redefined itself as more than just a *safari* guide school, but as intentional activists for Tanzania's environmental future. Recognising litter as a significant, but unglamorous, often overlooked problem, Leonard purchased plastic bins which students then donated to communities while volunteering to collect rubbish. The impact of this seemingly small initiative is impressive. One day, we were at the national park office where two Mkuyu bins had been donated. Not only were students proud to point the bins out, park staff came over to shake their hands and thank them for the bins, explaining how much cleaner the entrance to the park is since having them there. Positive feedback is encouraging for Mkuyu, prompting plans for future bin donations in recognition of what they achieved:

We use Mkuyu bins to take environmental action,
To show people something good for nature.
We did a small thing with a big result:
People are using our bins to put their waste away
Instead of on the ground, in the water, or bush.
It's a way that they can conserve their places,
So we are proud of our idea.

(see Fig.22 for full poem).

Mkuyu's other activism project is a monthly children's environment club. Local children come to the school for the day and participate in a range of activities with students. The club is very popular, with some children walking several kilometres barefoot to participate. For Mkuyu, engaging with children is a priority investment into a positive ecological future:

We work together with the children,
Little kids remember a lot of things!
It's easy for them to know the environment
And spread their knowledge,
So we are sharing much with them…

…They see our environment is very clean, beautiful,
They take that idea home and do the same things.
We are responsible to teach them
And be a good example,
It is a way we are passing education…

…We have to think about the upcoming generations,
Children can make a different future.

(see Fig.22 for full poem).

Mkuyu activates responsibility and knowledges through their own conduct, too. Concerned that the milk of the candelabra tree was being poured into rivers by some villagers to poison fish and guinea fowl[42] at the detriment of river life, students actively sought out information for alternative hunting methods that they could then share with communities. Having discussed the issue with a fisherman, Anderson and Alex constructed the "*friendly fish-trap*" (see photo on Fig.18), a poison-free local method of catching only large fish to ensure sustainable numbers. Later, a guinea fowl trap was disovered by the river, and though not obligated to, students dismantled it (Fig.23, next page). As they did so, Anderson suggested, "*maybe the friendly fish-trap can give ideas for a way to hunt guinea fowl without poisoning the water and other animals*". The voluntary act of removing something harmful from the environment, coupled with their willingness to engage with alternative ideas and approaches, speaks to a strong sense of intiative to act on environmental knowledges and responsibilities.

---

[42] For fish, poison is poured directly into the river. Guinea fowl traps consist of a series of criss-crossing branches that prevent access to the water, but provide drinking pools that are filled with poison. Unfortunately, these poison drinking pools also kill a number of birds, frogs, mammals, and reptiles not targeted.

Figure 23 – Guinea fowl trap (top-left, top-right) and Mkuyu students dismantling it (bottom).

Finally, Mkuyu activate their knowledges by engaging with global issues and responsibilities. The poem 'Climate Change' by Maskati (Fig.24, next page) calls for Tanzanians to take action against global environmental challenges.

CLIMATE CHANGE (MABADILIKO YA HALI HEWA)

We all enjoy good weather conditions,
If climate is good, the atmosphere will be nice,
Things will look good, and living creatures will be happy,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

Let's avoid a global crisis,
I am afraid of the troubles facing the world,
We'll have difficulty living on this earth,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

Let's not be like the developed nations, don't produce things that way,
They make things that benefit only themselves,
To destroy peace, these people are reckless,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

This will cost us, we will lose money,
We need to be kind and care for the environment,
Let us not embrace madness, keep the environment,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

If we do pollution, the atmosphere will change,
We will become like refugees, with no place to rest,
Without rainfall there is grief, we will need to pray at our sacred places,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

The creatures of the sky will lose their homes,
We should not give ourselves to the grave for environmental destruction,
Our lives will be dead by destroying the environment,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

Stop pollution by using other ways,
If not for this pollution! It will betray us in life!
Don't ignore the foolishness, or the whole world will cry in despair,
Let's protect the environment so the climate is good.

Hali ya hewa halii, wote twafurahiaa,
Kama itakuwanzwiji anga itapendezoa,
Itaonekana nzurii, viumbe kufurahisa,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Tusije kupata shida, Ya magonjwa duniani,
Mi naogopa shida, kuwai hapa duniani,
Tukaja pata shida, ya kuishi duniani,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Tusiwe kama Ugaibuni, kuzalisha vitu sivyo,
Wangiwa tu kuhuni, kwa mambo yao siyo,
Kwa kuharibu Amani, kwa hawa watu ni ovyo,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Isije kutugharimu, kwa pesa kuzipoteza,
Tunge hawa wakarimu, Mazingira kuyatunza,
Tusifanye hazimu, Mazingira kuya tunza,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Tukifanya Uchafuzi, Anga hubadilika,
Tuckawa ka wakimbizi, Tukakosa pa kupumzika,
Mvua kunyesha simanzi, kuzipata kwa kutombikika,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Viumbe hutko angani, Wakakosa malazi,
Tusijitie kaburini, kwa haya yitu machafuzi,
Maisha yetu Natatani, kwa kufanya Machafuzi,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi.

Tuacheni Uchafuzi, njaa nyingine Tumieni,
Sio kwa hu Uchafuzi, yataguima Maishani,
Msione Upuuzi, Ntalia sana duniani,
Mazingira tuyatunze, Hali ya hewa iwe safi

Figure 24 – 'Climate Change' by Maskati. Photos by Sara.

He powerfully captures the severity of issues like climate change for Tanzania, and the world:

> *Let's avoid a global crisis,*
> *I am afraid of the troubles facing the world,*
> *We'll have difficulty living on this earth,…*

> *…We should not give ourselves to the grave for our environmental destruction,…*

> *…If not for this pollution! It will betray us in life!*
> *Don't ignore the foolishness, or the whole world will cry in despair,…*

(see Fig.24 for full poem).

The poem also captures the frustrations many at Mkuyu feel when they consider that climate change largely originated from the activities of the developed world. By critically engaging with their frustrations and questions, Mkuyu actively choose to take part in global discourses and exercise their right to have a say in how Tanzania's development proceeds:

> *Let's not be like the developed nations, don't produce things that way,*
> *They make things that benefit only themselves,*
> *To destroy peace, these people are reckless,*

(see Fig.24 for full poem).

Involvement in global issues is important for Mkuyu, particularly as youth living in both a developing country, and an increasingly, but unevenly, globalised world (Kayira, 2015; Chibvongodze, 2016). For Mkuyu, globalisation is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, globalisation allows them greater access to knowledge, information, and international communication than previous generations, an advantage for Tanzanians who cannot afford to pursue education. Through access to global information, more Tanzanians have the opportunity to inform themselves, and enact their own decision-making rather than relying on governments and organisations:

> *Some people are against mobile phones, but for young people like us it has been a*
> *good thing. We have information and connections that help us grow our minds*
> *and be aware. We can be part of things in the world too, not just our villages.*

- Joel.

> *Globalisation helps us to know different things happening in other countries, and*
> *what we need to pay attention to for our own country.*

- Baraka.

However, collaborative-participants also recognised that limited education, development issues, and environmental degradation were all linked closely to problems associated with Eurocentric globalisation in the first place:

Globalisation is good when it makes countries share ideas and solve problems. It is good to communicate through social media from all different countries, you can learn new things together. It can be bad though, globalisation destroys the environment in big ways. Industries across countries introduce a lot of waste and environmental damage, and create conservation and health problems for other people, like us.

- Levocatus.

Despite the pros and cons of globalisation, it is an inevitable future that Mkuyu students as Tanzanian youth want a part in shaping. As global environmental issues like climate change become increasingly felt, their deep environmental awareness, knowledges, and activism will be an asset that guides them in making the most of what opportunities come their individual ways. More than *safari* guides, many Mkuyu students are likely to continue being ambassadors for the environment well into their futures, exercising their moral and familial ecological responsibilities in ways that contribute to making a different future. Though they speak often of the important role of future generations, Mkuyu demonstrates that they themselves may be the generation of which they speak.

Conclusion: "Making Stories"

This chapter is about "making stories"[43] (Abell 2016, pers.comm.) that are different to those usually told. Our project data demonstrates that Mkuyu collaborative-participants engage with their ecological context in more-than-human relationships based on understandings of ecosystem connections and agencies, and actively use their environmental knowledges to shape their communities and futures. This presents an alternative narrative to deep-colonial views of African attitudes towards the environment. The next chapter considers Mkuyu as an alternative narrative of Tanzanian conservation ownership. It considers some Mkuyu-identified deep-colonial legacies that restrict and undermine Tanzanian ownership, and how Mkuyu works towards overcoming them.

---

[43] Term used at Mkuyu to refer to conversation and discussion as a group. It illustrates the development and sharing of different ideas amongst people.

6. "Owning Our Own Things" – Project Findings II

"I want to show…that Tanzanians can own their own things."

- Leonard

"Before, there was nothing like Mkuyu where Tanzanians are doing their own environmental activities. Now, there is."

- Bahati

Our research-*safari* stops now at the acacia thorn fence and river that mark Mkuyu's boundaries, representing both ownership of what is within them, and the challenges that prevent ownership and involvement with what is beyond (Research-*Safari* Map 7). This chapter continues to address deep-colonising legacies by focusing on the difficult challenges and frustrations facing Tanzanian environmentalists wanting to implement their own projects. Drawing from transcript poems of discussions with Leonard and Moses, and student performances as self-analysed data, it argues that Mkuyu's Tanzanian ownership is important in challenging deep-colonising legacies and engendering hope and new possibilities.
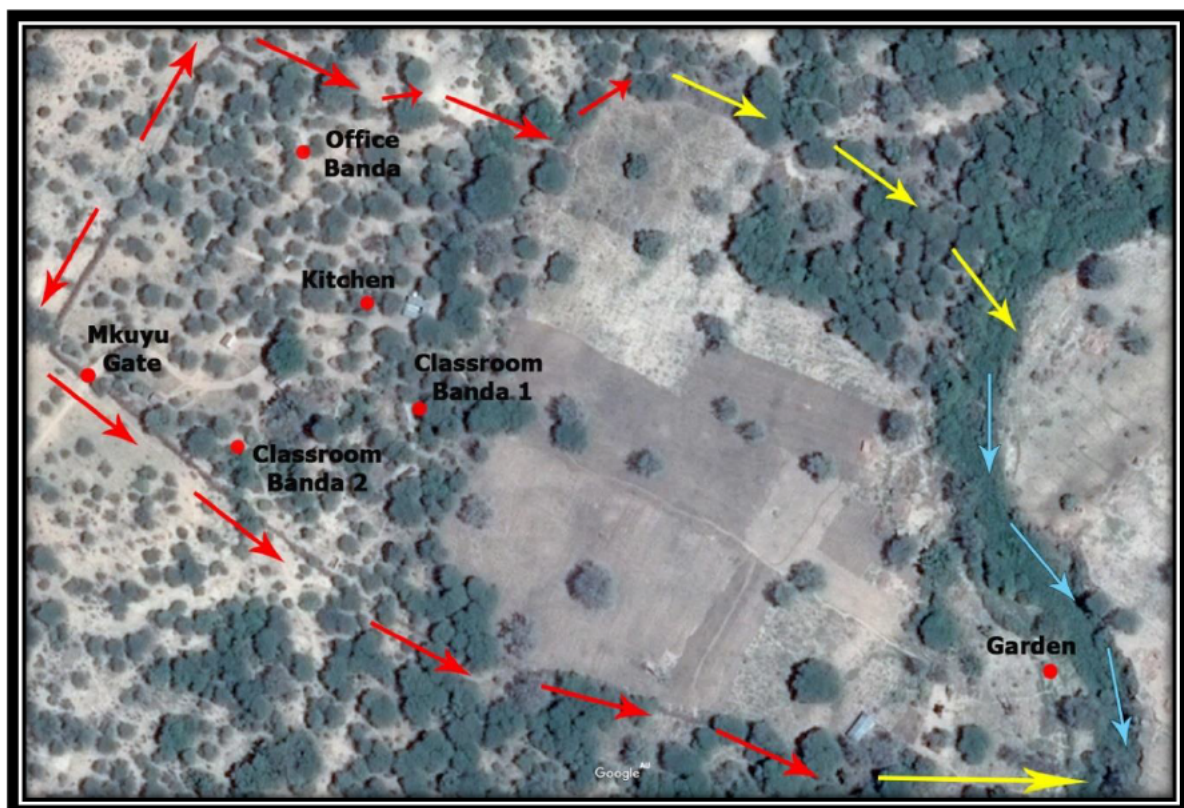
Research-Safari Map 7 – Acacia thorn fence (red); river (blue); natural landmarks (yellow) marking Mkuyu boundaries (Google Earth 2018; labels by S.Judge 2018).

Challenges For Tanzanian Ownership

Ownership of conservation decision-making is a contentious field of enquiry given the many complex, high-stakes entanglements between plural interests (Suchet, 2001; Goldman, 2003; Büscher and Whande, 2007; Maathai, 2009, p. 20). Leonard and I agreed that this chapter would not be intended as criticism of the good and much needed work of the international organisations (NGOs) and businesses working in the same space as Mkuyu[44]. Rather, our intention is to provide Tanzanian perspectives on the challenges and frustrations facing people like Leonard, Moses, and Mkuyu students who want to be more involved not only as participants, but as active collaborators and decision-makers in their own environmental futures. As decribed by Leonard and Moses in the poem 'Sitting Around The Table, Together' (Fig.25, next page), we approach this in the spirit of *tupo pamoja* – 'we are together' – by understanding that:

> *The NGOs are doing a good job…*
> *We're all in the same river*

whilst also heeding Tanzanian voices saying:

> *One day, we have to stand*
> *On our own two feet.*

(see Fig.25 for full poem, next page).

---

[44] 'Mkuyu' here refers to the school as an operation/business.

Figure 25 – 'Sitting Around The Table, Together' by Leonard and Moses. Poem constructed from transcripts by Sara, Leonard and Moses. Photos by Moses showing office table.

For Leonard and Moses, 'ownership' means both legal entitlement, and responsibility arising from identity and fellowship. Ownership is an important aspect of African conservation, given the prominent presence and influence of international organisations and business owners in environmental resource management (Büscher and Whande, 2007). Community-based approaches recognise that people are more likely to be engaged in conservation when they perceive tangible benefits to doing so, and attempt to implement this in a range of ways (Songorwa, 1999; Goldman, 2003; Carter, 2008; Beh, Bruyere and Lolosoli, 2013). However, 'benefits' can be short-lived and disjointed when they are not attached to local ownership:

> What the NGOs are doing now -
> It is very good.
> But what about when they go home?
> All benefits to not killing animals
> Go with them, the problem returns.
> But Mkuyu is our home,
> We never leave!
> If Tanzanians are doing it for ourselves,
> Then it will carry on for generations.

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

Presently, Leonard and Moses feel that many of their fellow Tanzanians only adhere to conservation activities because of the payment-based rewards offered for doing so. Intrinsic love for the environment, however, is something they feel would come with a greater sense of ownership, and consequently, responsibility:

> They're our animals, we are supposed
> To be the first to love them, not last.
> But people don't feel like
> They are our animals,
> Because we don't make the decisions.

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

But this is not a solution without significant obstacles. Deep-colonising legacies perpetuate many environmental challenges through loss of culture, social cohesion, and self-determination (Maathai, 2009, pp. 18–24). While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate all of these deep-colonising threads[45], Leonard's experiences as owner of Mkuyu provides inside perspectives of a key obstacle impeding greater Tanzanian ownership: the breakdown of cultural values like *umoja* – togetherness - as Tanzanians compete with, and undermine, each other rather than working together. In 'Something

---

[45] Wangari Maathai's 'The Challenge For Africa' thoroughly engages with many of these social and environmental issues, their colonial roots and modern perpetuations.

Good For Me' (Fig.26, next page), Leonard shares the difficulties he faced when starting Mkuyu with two friends. He describes how his long-term vision towards Mkuyu's growth and contribution to Tanzania clashed with the self-interested goals of his peers, causing disputes about how student fees were used, and ultimately resulting in the trio splitting. According to Leonard, competition, jealousy, and self-sabotage fuelled by individualistic thinking is the main cause of Tanzanian-owned project failure:

> *We stop working together*
> *To work only for each one's own self;*
> *We become jealous of each other.*
> *Why??*
> *I think from colonisation, and maybe*
> *The way the world is today:*
> *We are separate now, before we were together;*
> *Everyone wants to make a lot of money,*
> *Everyone wants to be known.*
> *Many of our values that we had before*
> *Have been changed, forgotten…like umoja:*
> *No one is working together anymore*
> *To benefit everyone, not just self…*
> *No one is taking care.*

(see Fig.26 for full poem, next page).

SOMETHING GOOD FOR ME

To run something, for the African,
Normally it's not reaching somewhere…
I've got experience with this myself.
I had two friends at the beginning,
The plan was to open Mkuyu together.
We talked together, we started.
But each is having his own interests:
Maybe money for themselves only -
Taking beer, living comfortable, new phones,
All of that kind of thing.
My interest was to make sure
Students get a job, reach the goals,
Because it's good for Tanzania that way.
And they wondered,
"Why should I care to get them jobs?
They came to study, gave their money,
I can do what I want now,
Job is their problem."
So they were forsaking me.

The problem, the way I know, in Tanzania -
There is not good co-operation;
We stop working together
To work only for each one's own self;
We become jealous of each other.
Why??
I think from colonisation, and maybe
The way the world is today:
We are separate now, before we were together;
Everyone wants to make a lot of money,
Everyone wants to be known.
Many of our values that we had before
Have been changed, forgotten…like umoja:
No one is working together anymore
To benefit everyone, not just self…
No one is taking care.

I'm not perfect, but my goals – the way I'd like,
Is for Mkuyu to do good things.
A lodge offered me much money to go there
To work as a guide for them.
I said, "No, I prefer to keep doing Mkuyu,
Even though sometimes it's hard."
You need to pass your knowledge!
I could be a guide, earn lots of money, it's okay,
But then done – you die with your knowledge.
No, you're supposed to give it to others,
Share, and the next generation continues it -
You plant the seeds.
We have chosen hard work,
We don't make much money at Mkuyu…
The teachers are not even paid:
I can't do these things by myself,
The teachers, they are helping -
So, they are supposed to be paid
For what they do.
But they stay, because we know
We are helping our people:
Some students come without paying,
Because they are suffering, no money;
They need a way to change that,
So we try to do something for them.

It's hard to own your own things,
We started with nothing, and still
We do not have much.
But why do I need these things?
Beer, big house in the city, car, new phones?
We want to make something special,
Like an ability to share ideas together,
And for students to go and work somewhere
And share that wider for Tanzania.
That's something which I think
Is good for me.

Figure 26 – 'Something Good For Me' by Leonard. Poem constructed from transcripts by Sara and Leonard. Photos by Leonard showing the importance of the students to Mkuyu (above), and his role as 'Baba Buffalo' (below) – a name given to him by students to reflect how he works hard to teach and care for them.

Shifts from community-orientation to self-interest are noted frequently by African postcolonial writers who, like Leonard, link this thinking to the multi-generational pscyhological aftermath of colonisation, and post-independence in a rapidly globalising world (Maathai, 2009, pp. 20–22; Mawere, 2012; Kayira, 2015). 'Colonisation of the mind', the belief that Euro-Western culture is better, and worthy of uncritical acceptance and emulation(Wa Thiong'o, 1986; Chilisa, Major and Khudu-Petersen, 2017), leads to lateral violence in communities. Lateral violence describes the "…undermining practices that members of oppressed groups can engage in against each other as a result of marginalisation,…colonisation and continued dispossession" (Wingard, 2010), manifesting as "…gossip, jealousy, shaming others, …sabotage and bullying" (Wingard, 2010; Clark, 2017, pp. 3–4). Arising primarily from differences in socio-economic status and education in communities, lateral violence fosters feelings of internal shame and inadequacy, while simultaneously providing superficial feelings of strength through judgement, nastiness, and blame directed at one's own contemporaries who embody perceptions of 'the problem' (Wingard, 2010; Clark and Augoustinos, 2015). In the brief fifty-seven years of Tanzanian independence, the world changed rapidly, and within a predominantly Eurocentric sphere of influence and power that values material excess, hyper-seperation from nature, and individual success (Guatarri, 2001, p. 27; Plumwood, 2002a; Le Grange, 2012b). Before having the chance to pick up their own cultural pieces and cohesively put them back together, Tanzania was thrust into a global arena that "…may not be in their, or Africa's, best interests" (Maathai, 2009, p. 22). Cultural frameworks for living and working together "*to benefit everyone*" – like *umoja* - were replaced by Eurocentric self-interest, and consequently lateral violence that sabotages common futures.

For Leonard and Moses, lateral violence fosters suspicion and distrust around Tanzanian-owned projects that present a challenge to Mkuyu's active involvement in the conservation community. They share their experiences of the power imbalance in perceptions of international NGOs compared to Tanzanian contributions:

> *To trust the African is not easy...*
> *If someone from abroad was here,*
> *You would see a lot of cars parked,*
> *People wanting to support us.*
> *But just Tanzanian? No.*
> *Mkuyu can help conservation,*
> *But few are really appreciating us*
> *Without wazungu[46] here.*
> *Even our own government!*
> *When I was starting Mkuyu,*

---

[46] Kiswahili translation: wazungu means 'European person'.

They asked: "who told you to do this?"
I said, "I'm Tanzanian, I am here…"
...No, they were suspicious,
I had to prove myself in my own country,
And still, people question our activities.
But for wazungu organisations,
They welcome them, support them.

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

While internal apathy and self-sabotage present significant trust-based challenges, it is important to understand where they come from. In doing so, opportunities to address, rather than perpetuate, them, are created through dialogue, collaborative engagement, and support (Rose, 1999; Suchet, 2002):

I'm not saying it should be all us,
We're not perfect,
Sometimes we need advice.
But we know we have to make
Our own path too, and be
Sitting around the table, together.

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

As Tanzanians increasingly take ownership of conservation and nurture values of responsibility towards their futures, they demonstrate to themselves that they can "*own their own things*" (Leonard, 2015 pers.comm.), and "…discover the value of…determining their own futures, rather than solely and passively relying on outside forces…" (Maathai, 2009, p. 22). As Maathai (Maathai, 2009, pp. 20, 23) argues:

…all Africans must change the mind-set that affects many colonized peoples
everywhere. They must believe in themselves again; that they are capable of
clearing their own path...It is they who must begin the revolution in ethics that
puts community before individualism, commitment to service before cynicism
and despair.

Mkuyu represents a powerful example of this in action. As a Tanzanian-owned business, the school stands as testimony to ownership as a facilitator of service-oriented conservation values and actions. But why is this not necessarily the case with other Tanzanian owners, such as Leonard's early collaborators? For Leonard, it comes down to influence and *umoja*:

…I had teachers who gave me a bigger picture than just me, just now; they told
me I could do it, so I believed…I want to give that to Mkuyu students, belief in
themselves to know that we Tanzanians can do conservation things too, if we are
willing to work together for all.

Inspiring *Umoja*: An Ethic Of Togetherness

Just as Leonard's views were influenced by his mentors and supporters, Mkuyu challenges deep-colonising in conservation by their example of ownership, teamwork, and altruism. Trust and power imbalances between conservation organisations, government, and aspiring Tanzanian owners; as well as lateral violence and lack of belief in capacity for ownership experienced by Tanzanians, are resisted through Mkuyu as a living example of an alternative narrative.

At the heart of this narrative is *umoja*, an ethic of togetherness for the good of all that permeates daily life at Mkuyu. In the previous chapter, *umoja* was discussed in terms of ecosystem connections and Mkuyu as family. From an ownership perspective, *umoja* reaches even further by considering the contribution of one's own work to Tanzania as a whole. In its most powerful manifestation, *umoja* is seen in Leonard, Moses, and the guest teachers who contribute enormously, and voluntarily, to Mkuyu. Leonard explains that teachers – including Moses, who lives and works permanently at the school with Leonard – do not get paid beyond their essential needs, because to be a financially inclusive, accessible school, Mkuyu foregoes much of its profit:

> *We have chosen hard work,*
> *We don't make much money at Mkuyu…*
> *The teachers are not even paid…*
> *…But they stay, because we know*
> *We are helping our people:*
> *Some students come without paying,*
> *Because they are suffering, no money;*
> *They need a way to change that,*
> *So we try to do something for them.*

(see Fig.26 for full poem).

Umoja is seen firstly in the willingness of teachers and the owner to live humbly and work with minimal payment for the benefit of struggling students; and secondly, in Leonard's holistic view to break the cycle of poorly educated, low-income youth by giving them practical vocational training free of charge. Although training at Mkuyu is typically three months long, students are welcome to stay after completion, continuing to learn until they are employed. Leonard and Moses frequently utilise Mkuyu's income to facilitate this, particularly for poorer students. This altruistic approach prioritises future-thinking and wellbeing over personal gain. Leonard's skills as a guide are well recognised and sought after, something that he stands to monetarily benefit from far more than by running Mkuyu. But individual success seems less important to him than the reward of his contribution to Tanzania via Mkuyu:

You need to pass your knowledge!
I could be a guide, earn lots of money, it's okay,
But then done – you die with your knowledge.
No, you're supposed to give it to others,
Share, and the next generation continues it -
You plant the seeds.

(see Fig.26 for full poem).

This is not to say that Tanzanians should work for minimal payment, or give up fruitful employment opportunities to undertake altruistic pursuits. To flourish in the current global context, it is important for Tanzanians to have economic security. But for Leonard, his message is that it is equally important to have *umoja*, a sense of collective responsibility towards fellow Tanzanians and the wellbeing of the nation:

…everyone can do something. Maybe you are making enough money to support yourself, okay, so you can go and maybe donate some money or materials to the business that is helping poor communities but not making much money for themselves. See? We can work for ourselves, but also help those who work for all of us. We can all start to go up. It's just sharing…we teach our children to share, but for adults? Why so hard to remember that lesson?

For Moses, *umoja* extends to the relationships between Tanzanian and international conservation project owners. His powerful photos (see Fig.25) of a typical day around office table demonstrates both diversity and equality as he would like to see it amongst environmental stakeholders. He explains that all parties need to be:

Sitting around the table, together.
Not just wazungu, not just Maasai,
But all – like at our table here, now,
We have Bena, Hehe, Kinga,
Australian, Mun'gati…all together.
No one on top, no one under the table,
All around, equal, together.
That's the best future for Tanzania…

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

Leonard and Moses acknowledge that conservation NGOs do a good job of engaging Tanzanians as employees and volunteers in their projects. However, they remain just that: *their* projects. A distinct lack of non-government Tanzanian representation in decision-making and project ownership continues to give the impression of conservation as an international interest only. For Leonard, it is not about taking over what is currently happening, but rather being part of that community in a

meaningful, decision-making capacity. Although Mkuyu's activities are praised by the local conservation community, as decision-makers they remain somewhat invisible:

> *A Tanzanian from an NGO*
> *Came to Mkuyu and said openly:*
> *"The things you are doing here*
> *Are very good to be connected to,*
> *But I don't know why*
> *People don't appreciate what things*
> *You are doing here!"*

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

Frequently, resource managers assume that those they work with require 'capacity-building', whilst overlooking the potential to engage existing, sometimes different capacities (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006; Suchet-Pearson and Howitt, 2006). Leonard appreciates the work of NGOs and wants to support it, whilst also believing strongly that Mkuyu has something unique and valuable to offer on their own terms:

> *Now, people are not harming animals*
> *Because they get something…*
> *It's not for love of the animals.*
> *That's something Mkuyu can help with!*
> *We can share our knowledge and love:*
> *"Come, walk with us, let's show you*
> *These things everyone is saying about."*
> *They have the experience not thinking*
> *They are getting something after -*
> *Just walking with friends, neighbours,*
> *Seeing for themselves in their own way.*

(see Fig.25 for full poem).

Togetherness, by bringing multiple approaches into dialogue, has the potential to guide more cohesive conservation, and bring about significant positive change. In doing so, Tanzanian ownership and decision-making around conservation at grassroots levels needs to be centred in order to contribute to decolonising changes that reconfigure power relationships. Due to the deep-colonial legacies of lateral violence, this may be a vision that is difficult for many Tanzanians and non-Tanzanian's alike to believe in right now, but it doesn't have to be. Mkuyu is a powerful example that, in Leonard's words, says, "*..we're ready!*"

Mkuyu: Making Different Futures

Perhaps most significantly, Leonard's vision of Mkuyu as a positive example of Tanzanian-ownership is realised through the students who he shares his passion and perspectives with. The poem '*Umoja*' by Ivan (Fig.27, next page) is a powerful testimony to this, addressing lateral violence amongst Tanzanians, and power imbalances between Tanzanian and international conservation stakeholders, from youth perspectives:

Youth are understanding not to be a weak link in a necklace,
Don't be lazy to show your powerlessness,

(see Fig.27 for full poem, next page).

UMOJA (TOGETHERNESS)

I am Ivan, writing without fear,
This poem I will share throughout my whole life
I am writing myself with all my knowledge,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

Youth are understanding not to be a weak link in the necklace,
Don't be lazy to show your power-lessness,
Young and old alike, our situation now is not good,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

Our communities need to work for our development,
Don't leave it to the parents, because this is our nation,
Show us big changes to build our country,
Togetherness is strength, we are power-less alone.

We must gather together like mother and child,
Our goal is to do great things,
For everyone to see, without any pain,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

Nyerere insisted on stopping discrimination,
Let's not forget or stop discussing his words,
We need to be an example to those who are lost,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

Europeans and Africans need to work together,
We must do it with confidence by having same authority,
To remove the strain between our different kinds,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

Teachers are helping to bring progress,
Brothers and sisters, take the things that will guide you,
Because getting an education enables you to reach the finish,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

The team is especially important when they have responsibilities,
To do things by the rules, even if no one is watching,
It's not difficult, and everything will go alright,
Togetherness is strength, we are power-less alone.

The community and our Mkuyu, we all see each other,
We will eat the baobab fruit without discrimination,
The baobab tree makes us know each other,
Togetherness is strength, we are power-less alone.

Figure 27 – 'Umoja' by Ivan. Photos by Sara, showing Ivan (top-right) and Levocatus (top-left), performing together.

The metaphor of the necklace as a chain-link reflects Ivan's understanding of *umoja* as key to overcoming the lateral violence of apathy and in-fighting. To "…*not be a weak link*" in an otherwise connected necklace is to come together in a spirit of *umoja*. Such metaphors are found throughout the poem, expressing togetherness as integral to achieving goals:

We must gather together like mother and child,
Our goal is to do great things,

(see Fig.27 for full poem).

The poem addresses *umoja* in conservation ownership, recognising this as a point of imbalance and tension. With collaboration and "…*same authority*" through greater Tanzanian ownership, Ivan believes that many of the difficulties currently faced in conservation could be overcome:

Europeans and Africans need to work together,
We must do it with confidence by having the same authority,
To remove the strain between our different kinds,
Togetherness is strength, we are powerless alone.

(see Fig.27 for full poem).

The students themselves are a critical part of this, as they aspire to be future owners and enacters of environmental decision-making. In the same way that Mkuyu students learn from their teachers, they too recognise their important role as future teachers:

Teachers are helping to bring progress,

(see Fig.27 for full poem).

Student Maxmilian shared his environmental journey through a fictional story[47], reflecting on how his time at Mkuyu has changed his view of the future. Maxmilian came to Mkuyu expecting a service position in tourism, but shared that he now has ideas to start his own bush school one day. Maxmilian believes that he can achieve his "*own things*", because Leonard and Mkuyu have shown him that it is possible, inspiring self-belief. As waves of students are offered alternative narratives at Mkuyu, their aspirations, beliefs, and perceptions of what it means to be a *safari* guide shift, and are shared. As Maxmilian so powerfully explains, "…*teacher Leonard is a safari guide, but he has also guided me personally; now I am a safari guide, but I too can guide others*".

---

[47] Maxmilian asked specifically that his full story not be shared in written form, as it was very personal to him and he was concerned that it might be appropriated without his consent or acknowledgement. He is happy to have his story discussed using his interview transcripts, but not the story itself, hence its exclusion as a poster.

Upon hearing Maxmilian's story, and Ivan's poem, Leonard was moved to tears. For all the hardship, challenges, frustrations, and uncertainties he endured to make Mkuyu what it is, "…*seeing the students get something deep from what we are doing here makes me feel strong to carry on, they are the hope for Tanzania's future*".

Conclusion: "Something Good For Me"

Sharing environmental knowledge, *umoja*, and the belief that "…*Tanzanian's can own their own things*" is what ownership ultimately means to Leonard, and why he strives for Mkuyu to continue to grow and inspire through the many stories that unfold there. He chooses Mkuyu and to resist deep-colonising forces, asserting a different narrative that he feels better serves him, and Tanzania:

<div align="center">

It's hard to own your own things,
We started with nothing, and still
We do not have much…
…We want to make something special,
Like an ability to share ideas together,
And for students to go and work somewhere
And share that wider for Tanzania.
That's something which I think
Is good for me.

(see Fig.26 for full poem).

</div>

7. Conclusion: "Planting Seeds Along The Way…"

"Each and every thing we do is a branch growing on our tree. We started as a seed, it grew, and now we are getting tall and seeing green leaves, tasting the sweet fruits, smelling the flowers that grow there. But the tree doesn't grow alone, no. It's planting seeds along the way too."

- Moses.

As our research-*safari* comes to an end, I return to a hand-drawn map of Mkuyu by collaborative-participants and co-researchers to offer a depiction of the school through their eyes (Research-*Safari* Map 8). By revealing alternative environmental and ownership narratives through collaboration with Mkuyu, the thesis challenges deep-colonising legacies around Tanzanian-owned and shaped environmentalism within Western conservation frameworks. By mobilising decolonising methodologies, the thesis argues that similar decolonising approaches applied to current conservation in Tanzania could guide more genuinely collaborative engagements that centre Tanzanian perspectives and decision-making. This chapter revisits the thesis questions, addresses how the thesis aims were met, and discusses what contributions have been made in the context of certain limitations.

Research-Safari Map 8 – Mkuyu Guiding School as depicted by collaborative-participants and co-researchers. This map collates all of the stops on the previous research-safari maps.

Revisiting Thesis Questions

Alongside Mkuyu as active collaborators and research-*safari* guides, the thesis utilised, and built upon, Indigenous methodologies, participatory action research, and performance-based methods to investigate two core questions:

- How can collaborative relationships contribute to decolonising research, and potentially non-academic conservation work?
- How does Mkuyu's actions and ownership challenge deep-colonising narratives of Tanzanian conservation?

The thesis was structured chapter by chapter around specific aims that addressed these questions.

Meeting The Thesis Aims

The thesis aimed to focus on relationship building as a key aspect of collaboration, and attempt ways of collaborating that actively decolonise by enabling Mkuyu co-researchers as key decision-makers. Chapter two addressed this aim by engaging with postcolonialism and Indigenous methodologies to discuss issues of power and negotiation in research and conservation projects. Drawing on engagements with Mkuyu, negotiation was presented as a 'swinging gate' between collaborators approaching from different roads, or perspectives. The gate could either be closed entirely, open on one side as monologue, or swinging between negotiators as dialogue. In choosing the swinging gate, imbalanced power-relations begin to be reconfigured in favour of 'cooking' new relationships based on sharing, reciprocity, and situated-engagement (Suchet, 2002). Through sharing cooking duties and other daily tasks, for instance, my position as a privileged guest was challenged, repositioning me as a participating member of Mkuyu with shared responsibilities. These relationships can be further 'cooked' into research and conservation work to help reduce the effects of deep-colonising power imbalances, and facilitate a greater sense of partnership and shared decision-making between collaborators.

In aiming to contribute decolonising approaches to field methods, both academically and as inspiration for community-based conservationists working in Tanzania, chapter three engaged with literature around participatory methods, and discussed how they facilitated a decolonising approach to collaboration with Mkuyu. Participatory action research was re-framed as collaborative-participatory action research (CPAR) as decolonising methodologies were applied to our use of social media, photo-elicitation, and poetic inquiry and performance-based analysis. For community-based conservationists working in Tanzania, the application of CPAR to participatory methods can help to

bring passive community participation into spaces of active collaboration that give voice to the ideas and decision-making of the people, nurturing a sense of ownership that in turns nurtures shared responsibility and engagement (Carter, 2008).

How the thesis provided opportunities for Mkuyu to learn new technologies and skills, and to create tools for their use after research had ended, was discussed in chapter four. Our CPAR use of field methods detailed how Mkuyu collaborative-participants engaged with decision-making roles around data collection, analysis, and dissemination planning to actively produce original creative works that can continue to be used by Mkuyu in their community engagement activities.

The thesis aimed to identify what supports and limits Tanzanian involvement in conservation. It did this firstly in chapter five by engaging with Mkuyu's understandings of more-than-human ecosystem connections, and the environmentalism emerging from the school in the form of community-engagement, that challenge deep-colonising narratives of Tanzanians as disinterested in environmental conservation. Secondly, in chapter six it considered Mkuyu-identified obstacles to achieving their desire for a stronger grassroots Tanzanian presence in environmental decision-making and ownership. It discussed how Mkuyu's Tanzanian-ownership resists deep-colonial legacies of lateral violence that self-sabotage and limit conservation decision-making by offering a different narrative.

Finally, this chapter evaluates collaboration with Mkuyu by reflecting on what was learnt and contributed by this thesis, how Mkuyu used their data since completing the project, and opportunities for future collaboration and international networking as part of a decolonising approach to research. The chapter provides a concluding discussion of how the thesis aims were met, its research contributions and limitations, and future opportunities for collaborative engagement.

Contributions

The main contributions of this thesis have been the development of a collaborative-participatory action research (CPAR) approach, the use of social media as a tool of facilitation for international research, and self-directed performance-based data analysis. In this section, the contribution and strengths of each will be discussed, followed by a critical reflection on their limitations in the next section.

A major contribution of the thesis is its decolonising collaborative approach. The collaborative-participatory action research (CPAR) approach furthers participatory action research by demonstrating how decolonising approaches can challenge power-imbalances. CPAR makes a

distinction between 'participatory' and 'collaborative' work. CPAR offers collaborative approaches that specifically engage active involvement in, and co-ownership of, research decision-making at all stages. This is particularly important in colonial and postcolonial contexts where assymetrical power-relations need to be continually attuned towards (Rose, 1999, pp. 184–185; Howitt and Stevens, 2005, pp. 40–65).

Co-researcher roles are an important strength of the CPAR approach. As a formally recognised primary co-researcher, Leonard had significant input into what this thesis would be about from the ground up, with all decision-making undertaken in close consultation with him, Moses, Abell, Morris, and Frank. That the thesis was built around Leonard's core statement - "*I want to show the environmental things happening at Mkuyu, and that Tanzanian's can own their own things*" – through collaborative negotiation challenges notions of 'my' work, in favour of 'our' work. Though not formally recognised as co-researchers in the same way as Leonard, the active involvement of Moses, Abell, Morris, and Frank at early planning stages placed them in co-researcher roles. As I have written this thesis, I have been reminded just how many of their ideas, perspectives, and contributions have found their way into it beyond the empirical chapters. By engaging Mkuyu's decision-making at all stages of the project, their role as 'co-constructors of knowledge' (Suchet, 2002) was nurtured in exciting ways, but also in mundane ways that perhaps needed more recognition in this thesis. Aspects of working together that tend not to make it into a thesis – like organising students to meet me in town and escort me safely to the school, checking in with government departments for our research approvals, and painstakingly clarifying language differences on both sides - have been critical, but somewhat invisible, aspects of making this thesis come together in collaborative, mutually beneficial ways. Only in undertaking the writing process have I fully realised the extent to which Mkuyu is responsible for making much of our work together possible.

The application of CPAR to specific participatory methods used with Mkuyu also contributed new perspectives to collaborative research. As a cross-cultural, international tool, social media was the grease that kept our wheels turning. Without it, academic and budget constraints would have made such a project unachievable in the time available. Being able to undertake my academic degree requirements in Australia, whilst simultaneously communicating with Mkuyu achieved two critical things: firstly, Mkuyu and I could continue to negotiate and plan our project, and build critical relationships with each other; and secondly, Mkuyu could be actively included in the work I was undertaking in Australia. Such 'connected presences' despite physical absence (Licoppe, 2004; Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005) facilitated collaboration in ways that consequently could be more than participatory, because Mkuyu was continuously 'in the loop' of communication.

Furthermore, social media gave Mkuyu decision-making power over their data in terms of public media sharing. Some students actively chose to share their photo data on Facebook and Whatsapp, privileging Mkuyu's decision-making and publicly acknowledging co-ownership of project outputs. Mkuyu's decision-making about what to not share on social media is just as significant. Performance videos have not been made public yet, because collaborative-participants actively decided that they wanted to wait until the thesis had officially recorded the existence of their works in order to prevent their ideas and creative works from being falsely claimed by others[48]. That collaborative-participants continue to be involved with this aspect of social media use shows their decision-making power over their intellectual property.

Finally, the CPAR contribution to self-directed data analysis was substantial. While photo-elicitation is well established as a participatory method that gives voice to participant-generated data (Mannay, 2016, pp. 21–23; Rose, 2016, pp. 316–317), it still relies on interpretive interviews, and ultimately researcher analysis (Rose, 2016, pp. 321–326). Little work has been done on self-directed data analysis, making collaboration with Mkuyu students on this a signficant contribution. Through our active collaborative approach, students put forward the suggestion of creating their own original performances based on photo-elicitation group sessions, rather than relying on my poetic inquiry analysis of their transcripts alone. Collaborative-participants making this decision was a demonstration of Mkuyu exercising their power as collaborators and 'co-constructors of knowledge' (Suchet, 2002), rather than participants.

Not only did Mkuyu co-construct knowledge through performance-based data analysis, they also created practical resources and tools to facilitate Mkuyu's community engagement work after research had ended. In the weeks after our fieldwork, I received a Whatsapp video from Leonard informing me that a group of collaborative-participants performed their song at a conservation awareness event run by an NGO. Not only did the students perform their project song, they actively composed and performed a second song with fellow Mkuyu students specific to the goals of the event. This is a powerful demonstration of Mkuyu utilising research skills and outputs to take action in their communities after research, a key goal of participatory action research (Breitbart, 2010), but one that is significantly furthered by our CPAR approach in that the performances and decision-making involved were entirely owned, initiated, and implemented by Mkuyu with no outside direction. Had we relied solely on my analysis of Mkuyu's data – even though poems are constructed using only Mkuyu words – it is unlikely that they would have been used in the same way, evidenced by the fact that none of

---

[48] Mkuyu collaborative-participants have consented to the provision of private links to their performance videos to the thesis examiners only. These links will become inactive once the thesis has been marked.

my poetic inquiry works were performed or shared at the event. In constructing original works, Mkuyu collaborative-participants took ownership of their data, making it something that they could identify with, and subsequently feel free and motivated to exercise their power and agency in disseminating and sharing it as they see fit.

These contributions have particularly poignant implications for community-based conservation in terms of engaging people at grassroots levels on their own terms. Community-based conservation has long operated on the understanding that for conservation to be effective it needs to engage with local communities (Songorwa, 1999; Igoe and Croucher, 2007; Taylor, 2009). While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to critically engage with community-based conservation, the research contributions emerging from collaborative work with Mkuyu have broader application to this field, and any community-based project undertaken in colonial or postcolonial contexts. Meaningful collaboration within community-based conservation could be signficantly furthered by taking a CPAR approach that actively works to reconfigure assymetrical power-relations, challenge deep-colonising legacies, and encourage active collaboration moreso than passive participation (Carter, 2008). This needs to involve greater centering and privileging of Tanzanian ownership and decision-making, and situated-engagement with ways of knowing and doing that may be different to Western conservation frameworks. Being open and available to different ideas that may challenge and change all involved holds potential for growth and the creation of new hybrid spaces that facilitate a greater sense of ownership and responsibility towards achieving conservation goals.

Many conservation organisations in Tanzania operate internationally, and are consequently constrained by distance, time and funding limitations. The CPAR approach with Mkuyu, particularly in terms of using social media to communicate and continually involve collaborators through 'connected presences' despite physical absence, represent new possibilities in a world that is becoming increasingly connected through online networks. Using social media has the potential to facilitate deeper collaboration across continents, as it did working with Mkuyu, alleviating some of the financial and time constraints of distance.

Finally, the use of self-directed data analysis for research, and as an on-going tool after research, demonstrates the value of establishing project tools on the terms of those they are intended to be used by and for. Truly collaborative work should involve the co-construction of knowledges (Suchet, 2002), particularly when those knowledges need to be used after outsider researchers, organisations, and project managers have gone home. Self-created tools, like Mkuyu's performances, break down assymetrical power over what gets said, and by whom. The sense of ownership, identity, and responsibility attached to such tools encourages greater motivation to utilise and share them. For

conservation, particularly environmental education aspects, the value of this cannot be understated when community engagement needs to occur in specific languages and/or cultural formats that make the message relevant to those it is intended for.

Limitations

Given the constraints of the Masters degree, there were limitations to how far collaboration could go. Although Leonard is recognised as a co-researcher, he is not a co-author of this thesis, despite much of his perspective and input going into it. Academic expectations of a single-authored thesis perpetuate deep-colonising research by failing to fully recognise Leonard and Mkuyu's intellectual property and the extent of their contribution, consequently privileging academic power over 'the researched' (Howitt and Stevens, 2005, p. 46; Smith, 2012, pp. 122–125, 220–225). Furthermore, the process of 'writing' a thesis privileges particular forms of expression while excluding others. Most of Leonard's contribution was verbal, because he is not confident writing in English. We tried some journalling activities with student collaborative-participants that were completely unsuccessful for similar reasons. Yet performance-based and group discussion approaches to analysis were extremely fruitful. This raises important challenges for academic institutions in decolonising research and addressing power by considering how collaborative research can better acknowledge intellectual property and contribution in student theses, and what formats a thesis might be able to take that privilege forms of expression and authorship other than writing.

Despite its facilitation of international communication and collaboration, social media was limited by access and language issues. Not all Mkuyu co-researchers and collaborative participants were in socio-economic positions to access social media technology. Although Mkuyu students nurtured a spirit of sharing amongst each other by offering use of their phones to students who did not have them, this could only go so far. Furthermore, many student social media engagements have been via private messages to me despite my attempts to facilitate group participation and discussion. Leonard and Frank suggested that this may be due to many students feeling self-conscious about their English language skills, and not wanting to comment publicly for fear of ridicule or judgement. Publicly, responses are very brief and supportive, whereas questions and suggestions tended to come privately through one-to-one messages. For the strong contribution that social media made to this thesis, I am aware that many collaborative-participants have not been able to engage in this way due to access and language barriers.

While performance analyses were conducted in Kiswahili so that they would be relevant to Tanzanian audiences, translating them into English for English-speaking audiences and this thesis came with

limitations. Many Kiswahili expressions were extremely difficult to translate into English, even with assistance from professional language teachers. It is likely that some of the original emotive expressions and meanings in the performance works was lost in translation.

While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to engage with the more-than-human aspects of Mkuyu in great depth, these relationships and awarenesses had significant presence in the project findings. Reflecting back on my time at Mkuyu, I realise that non-human presences were very much a part of the research process, particularly in terms of providing moments of meditation, inspiration, or excitement around what we were doing. Engaging with Mkuyu as a more-than-human place specifically is identified as an area for potential future research.

Although this collaborative work with Mkuyu provides strong contributions to both research and broader conservation applications, it is important to remember that Mkuyu is one example and not representative of all Tanzanians. What worked with Mkuyu may not work in all contexts, or with all people. Our work together is presented as an alternative narrative with broader application potential, not as a suggested solution to community-based conservation limitations throughout Tanzania.

Future Opportunities

Time constraints made many of the thesis limitations difficult to address. The possibility of extending this Masters research into a longer-term PhD project with Mkuyu could significantly open up channels of further addressing collaborative limitations, particularly around co-authorship. This possibility remains open.

As part of reciprocal collaboration, Leonard, Abell, and Frank will be travelling to Australia later this year to continue building relationships and engaging with potential future opportunities[49]. In coming to Australia, Mkuyu has the opportunity to establish international connections, and gain new experiences, that were not previously accessible to them, a significant benefit to their involvement in the research project. Their visit is not just about Mkuyu gaining new learning, but also an opportunity for my colleagues and students to learn from Mkuyu as I have learnt from them. In sharing their experience of collaborative research, Mkuyu have much to teach - privileging their role as active research-*safari* guides who have taught me a great deal through our work together. It is hoped that their visit will facilitate the emergence of new collaborative partnerships and opportunities.

---

[49] This trip is funded through the Department of Geography and Planning at Macquarie University, and my personal savings.

Conclusion: "*Tupo Pamoja*, We Are Together"

Collaborative relationships can contribute to decolonising research, and potentially non-academic conservation work, by challenging deep-colonising legacies and assymetrical power-relations to actively take part in situated-engagements that reveal and create alternative narratives. This thesis challenged deep-colonising legacies around Tanzanian-owned and shaped environmentalism within Western conservation frameworks by revealing alternative environmental and ownership narratives through collaboration with Mkuyu. By mobilising decolonising methodologies, the thesis argued that similar decolonising approaches applied to current conservation in Tanzania could guide more genuinely collaborative, Tanzanian-centred engagements and decision-making. Mkuyu's environmental actions and ownership challenge deep-colonising narratives of Tanzanian conservation by powerfully demonstrating a deep understanding of human-ecosystem connections and inspiring the possibility of resisting legacies of lateral violence for the mutual benefit of all.

Throughout this research-*safari*, we have been together. Relationships based on ethics of togetherness facilitated respectful collaboration, even though sometimes our ideas and perspectives were different. Such collaborative relationships can guide decolonising approaches to research and conservation in postcolonial contexts by opening windows in our hall of mirrors, making us available to ways of seeing, knowing, and doing that are different to our own. Only through challenging our own reflected monologues by reaching through to engage in situated dialogues can we actively undertake decolonising approaches to mutually beneficial research and conservation. As Leonard so often reminds me, "*tupo pamoja, we are together – from start to end, we are making this safari together*".

References

Adams, J. S. and McShane, T. O. (1996) *The myth of wild Africa: conservation without illusion*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Alam, A., Mcgregor, A. and Houston, D. (2017) 'Photo-response: approaching participatory photography as a more-than-human research method', *Area*. doi: 10.1111/area.12368.

Alexander, B. K. (2005) 'Performance ethnography: the reenacting and inciting of culture', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. 3rd edn. California: Sage Thousand Oaks, pp. 411–441.

Bawaka Country, Wright, S., Suchet-Pearson, S., Lloyd, K., Burarrwanga, L., Ganambarr, R., Ganambarr-Stubbs, M., Ganambarr, B., Maymuru, D. and Sweeney, J. (2015) 'Co-becoming Bawaka: towards a relational understanding of place/space', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(4), pp. 455–475. doi: 10.1177/0309132515589437.

Beh, A., Bruyere, B. L. and Lolosoli, S. (2013) 'Legitimizing local perspectives in conservation through community-based research: a photovoice study in Samburu, Kenya', *Society & Natural Resources*, 26(12), pp. 1390–1406. doi: 10.1080/08941920.2013.805858.

Bell, S. J. (2017) 'Co-becoming with angophora: performing more-than-human belongings in Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 23, pp. 1–25. doi: 10.1080/14649365.2017.1375551.

Bell, S. J., Instone, L. and Mee, K. J. (2017) 'Engaged witnessing: researching with the more-than-human', *Area*. doi: 10.1111/area.12346.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994) *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bidwell, N. J. (2016) 'Moving the centre to design social media in rural Africa', *AI and Society*. Springer London, 31(1), pp. 51–77. doi: 10.1007/s00146-014-0564-5.

Bingham, N. (2006) 'Bees, butterflies, and bacteria: biotechnology and the politics of nonhuman friendship', *Environment and Planning A*, 38(3), pp. 483–498. doi: 10.1068/a38436.

Breitbart, M. (2010) 'Participatory research methods', in Clifford, N., French, S., and Valentine, G. (eds) *Key methods in geography*. Second. Sage, pp. 141–156.

Büscher, B. and Whande, W. (2007) 'Whims of the winds of time? Emerging trends in biodiversity conservation and protected area management', *Conservation and Society*, 5(1), pp. 22–43.

Butler-Kisber, L. (2002) 'Artful portrayals in qualitative research: the road to found poetry and beyond', *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, XLVIII(3), pp. 229–239.

Butler-Kisber, L. (2010) *Qualitative inquiry: thematic, narrative and arts-informed perspsectives*. London: Sage Publications.

Carter, J. L. (2008) 'Thinking outside the framework: equitable research partnerships for environmental research in Australia', *The Geographical Journal*, 174(1), pp. 63–75.

Carter, J. L. (2010) 'Protocols, particularities, and problematising Indigenous "engagement" in community-based environmental management in settled Australia', *The Geogra*, 176(3), pp. 199–213. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4959.2010.00355.x.

Casco, J. A. S. (2006) 'The language of the young people rap, urban culture and protest in Tanzania', *Cooperation and Conflict*, 41(2), pp. 229–248. doi: 10.1177/0021909606063879.

Cejas, M. (2007) 'Tourism "back in time": performing "the essence of safari" in Africa', *Intercultural*

Communication Studies, 16(3), pp. 121–134.

Chibvongodze, D. T. (2016) 'Ubuntu is not only about the human! An analysis of the role of African philosophy and ethics in environment management', *Journal of Human Ecology*, 53(2), pp. 157–166.

Chilisa, B. (2012) *Indigenous research methodologies*. Los Angeles - Washington DC, United States: Sage Publications.

Chilisa, B. (2017) 'Decolonising transdisciplinary research approaches: an African perspective for enhancing knowledge integration in sustainability science', *Sustainability Science*, 12(5), pp. 813–827. doi: 10.1007/s11625-017-0461-1.

Chilisa, B., Major, T. E. and Khudu-Petersen, K. (2017) 'Community engagement with a postcolonial, African-based relational paradigm', *Qualitative Research*, 17(3), pp. 326–339. doi: 10.1177/1468794117696176.

Clark, Y. (2017) *Lateral violence within the Aboriginal community in Adelaide, South Australia: from dilemmas to strategies*. University of Adelaide.

Clark, Y. and Augoustinos, M. (2015) 'What's in a name? Lateral violence within the Aboriginal community in Adelaide, South Australia', *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 27(2), pp. 19–34.

Cloete, E. L. (2011) 'Going to the bush: language, power and the conserved environment in southern Africa', *Environmental Education Research*, 17(1), pp. 35–51. doi: 10.1080/13504621003625248.

Cloke, P. and Perkins, H. C. (2005) 'Cetacean performance and tourism in Kaikoura, New Zealand', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, pp. 903–924.

Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (2001) *Participation: the new tyranny?* London: ZED Books.

Cornwall, A. and Brock, K. (2005) 'What do buzzwords do for development policy? A critical look at "participation", "empowerment" and "poverty reduction"', *Third World Quarterly*, 26(7), pp. 1043–1060. doi: 10.1080/01436590500235603.

Crowe, J. L. (2013) 'Transforming environmental attitudes and behaviours through eco-spirituality and religion', *International Electronic Journal of Environmental Education*, 3(1), pp. 75–88.

Daneel, M. L. (2011) 'Christian mission and earth-care: an African case study', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 35(3), pp. 130–136.

Darko, I, N. (2014) *Environmental stewardship and indigenous African philosophies: implications for schooling, and health education in Africa: a case of Ghana*. University of Toronto.

Dini, A. A. and Saebo, O. (2016) 'The current state of social media research for eParticipation in developing countries: a literature review', in *2016 49th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS)*, pp. 2698–2707. doi: 10.1109/HICSS.2016.339.

Dowling, R., Lloyd, K. and Suchet-Pearson, S. (2016) 'Qualitative methods 1: enriching the interview', *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(5), pp. 679–686. doi: 10.1177/0309132515596880.

Farman, J. (2012) *Mobile interface theory: embodied space and locative media*. New York: Routledge.

Frost, R. (1993) 'The road not taken', in *The road not taken, and other poems*. Massachusetts, United States: Courier Corporation, p. 1.

Glesne, C. (1997) 'That rare feeling: re-presenting research through poetic transcription', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3(2), pp. 202–221.

Goldman, M. (2003) 'Partitioned nature, privileged knowledge: community-based conservation in

Tanzania', *Development and Change*, 34(5), pp. 833–862. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2003.00331.x.

Le Grange, L. (2012a) 'Ubuntu, Ukama , environment and moral education', *Journal of Moral Education*, 41(3), pp. 329–340. doi: 10.1080/03057240.2012.691631.

Le Grange, L. (2012b) 'Ubuntu, Ukama and the healing of nature, self and society', *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(sup2), pp. 56–67. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2011.00795.x.

Guatarri, F. (2001) *The Three Ecologies*. Translated by I. Pindar and P. Sutton. London: Athlone Press.

Harper, D. (2002) 'Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation', *Visual Studies*, 17(1), pp. 13–26. doi: 10.1080/14725860220137345.

Howitt, R. (2001) 'Frontiers, borders, edges: liminal challenges to the hegemony of exclusion', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 39(2), pp. 233–245. doi: 10.1111/1467-8470.00142.

Howitt, R. and Stevens, S. (2005) 'Cross-cultural research: ethics, methods, and relationships', in Hay, I. (ed.) *Qualitative research methods in human geography*. 2nd edn. Oxford, UK; Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, pp. 40–68.

Howitt, R. and Suchet-Pearson, S. (2006) 'Rethinking the building blocks: ontological pluralism and the idea of "management"', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography*, 88(33), pp. 323–335. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0459.2006.00225.x.

Igoe, J. and Croucher, B. (2007) 'Conservation, commerce, and communities: the story of community-based wildlife management areas in Tanzania's northern tourist circuit', *Conservation and Society*, 5(4), p. 534.

Irigaray, L. (2000) *To be two*. Translated by M. . Rhodes, M.M Cocito-Monoc. London: Athlone Press.

Jacobs, P. and Mulvihill, P. (1995) 'Ancient lands: new perspectives towards multi-cultural literacy in landscape management', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 32(1), pp. 7–17.

Judge, S. M. (2017) 'Languages of sensing: bringing neurodiversity into more-than-human geography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. doi: 10.1177/0263775817748944.

Kassam, A. (2013) 'Changing society using new technologies: youth participation in the social media revolution and its implications for the development of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa', *Education and Information Technologies*, 18(2), pp. 253–263. doi: 10.1007/s10639-012-9229-5.

Kayira, J. (2015) '(Re)creating spaces for uMunthu: postcolonial theory and environmental education in southern Africa', *Environmental Education Research*, 21(1), pp. 106–128.

Kesby, M., Kindon, S. and Pain, R. (2007) 'Participation as a form of power: retheorising empowerment and spatialising participatory action research', in *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation and place*. London: Routledge, pp. 19–25.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007) 'Participatory action research: origins, approaches and methods', in *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation and place*. London: Routledge, pp. 9–18.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007) *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation and place*. Edited by S. Kindon, R. Pain, and M. Kesby. London: Routledge.

Leach, M. and Mearns, R. (1996) 'Environmental change and policy: challenging received wisdom in Africa', in Leach, M. and Mearns, R. (eds) *The lie of the land: challenging received wisdom on the African environment*. Oxford, UK: James Currey, pp. 1–33.

Levine, A. and Wandesforde-Smith, G. (2004) 'Wildlife, markets, states, and communities in Africa: looking beyond the invisible hand', *Journal of Wildlife Law and Policy*, 7, pp. 135–142.

Licoppe, C. (2004) '"Connected" presence: the emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22(1), pp. 135–156. doi: 10.1068/d323t.

Licoppe, C. and Smoreda, Z. (2005) 'Are social networks technologically embedded? How networks are changing today with changes in communication technology', *Social Networks*, 27(4), pp. 317–335. doi: 10.1016/j.socnet.2004.11.001.

Lorraine, T. (1999) *Irigaray and Deleuze: experiments in visceral philosophy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Maathai, W. (2009) *The challenge for Africa*. London: Random House.

Maclean, K. and Woodward, E. (2013) 'Photovoice evaluated: an appropriate visual methodology for Aboriginal water resource research', *Geographical Research*, 51(1), pp. 94–105. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-5871.2012.00782.x.

Mannay, D. (2016) *Visual, narrative and creative research methods: application, reflection and ethics*. London & New York: Routledge.

Mawere, M. (2012) '"Buried and forgotten but not dead": reflections on "Ubuntu" in environmental conservation in southeastern Zimbabwe', *Global Journal of Human Social Science*, 12(10), pp. 1–10.

Mawere, M. (2014) *Environmental conservation through Ubuntu and other emerging perspectives*. Cameroon: Langaa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group.

Mullings, B. (1999) 'Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting', *Geoforum*, 30, pp. 337–3350.

Murove, M. F. (2004) 'African commitments to ecological conservation: the Shona concepts of Ukama and Ubuntu', *Mankind Quarterly*, 45(2), pp. 195–215.

Neidjie, B. (1989) *Story about feeling*. Broome: Magabala Books.

Neumann, R. P. (1997) 'Primitive ideas: protected area buffer zones and the politics of land in Africa', *Development and Change*, 28(3), pp. 559–582. doi: 10.1111/1467-7660.00054.

Neumann, R. P. (1998) *Imposing wilderness: struggles over livelihood and nature preservation in Africa*. Berkley and Los Angeles CA: University of California Press.

Nneji, B. (2010) 'Eco-responsibility : the cogency for environmental ethics in Africa', *Essays in Philosophy*, 11(1), pp. 31–43.

Norton-Griffiths, M. (2010) 'The growing involvement of foreign NGOs in setting policy agendas and political decision-making in Africa', *Economic Affairs*, 30(3), pp. 29–34. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0270.2010.02018.x.

Ntuli, P. P. (2002) 'Indigenous knowledge systems and the African renaissance', in Odora Hoppers, C. A. (ed.) *Indigenous knowledge and the integration of knowledge systems: towards a philosophy of articulation*. South Africa: New Africa Books, pp. 53–66.

O'Hara, K. P., Massimi, M., Harper, R., Rubens, S. and Morris, J. (2014) 'Everyday dwelling with WhatsApp', in *Proceedings of the 17th ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work & social computing*. Baltimore, pp. 1131–1143. doi: 10.1145/2531602.2531679.

Ojomo, P. (2011) 'Environmental ethics: an African understanding', *African Journal of Environmental*

Science and Technology, 5(8), pp. 572–578. Available at: http://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajest/article/view/72050.

Pain, R. and Francis, P. (2003) 'Reflections on participatory research', *Area*, 35(1), pp. 46–54. doi: 10.1111/1475-4762.00109.

Plumwood, V. (2002a) 'Decolonising relationships with nature', *PAN: Philosophy Activism Nature*, (2), pp. 7–30.

Plumwood, V. (2002b) *Environmental culture: the ecological crisis of reason*. London & New York: Routledge.

Plumwood, V. (2008) 'Shadow places and the politics of dwelling', *Australian Humanities Review*, (44), pp. 139–150.

Plumwood, V. (2009) 'Nature in the active voice', *Australian Humanities Review*, (46), pp. 113–129.

Prosser, J. and Burke, C. (2008) 'Image-based educational research: childlike perspectives', in Knowles, J. G. and Cole, A. L. (eds) *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research*. California: Sage Publications, pp. 407–419.

Richardson, L. (2000) 'Evaluating ethnography', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(2), pp. 253–255.

Richardson, L. (2002) 'Poetic representation of interviews', in Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein J. A (eds) *Handbook of interview research: context and method*. California: Sage Thousand Oaks, pp. 887–891.

Ritchie, S. M. and Rigano, D. L. (2007) 'Solidarity through collaborative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(2), pp. 129–150. doi: 10.1080/09518390601159610.

Rose, D. B. (1999) 'Indigenous ecologies and an ethic of connection', in Low, N. (ed.) *Global ethics and environment*. London: Routledge, pp. 175–187.

Rose, D. B. (2012) 'Multispecies Knots of Ethical Time', *Environmental Philosophy*, 9(1), pp. 127–140.

Rose, D. B., van Dooren, T., Chrulew, M., Cooke, S., Kearnes, M. and O'Gorman, E. (2012) 'Thinking through the environment, unsettling the humanities', *Environmental Humanities*, 1(1), pp. 1–5. doi: 10.1215/22011919-3609940.

Rose, G. (2016) *Visual methodologies: an introduction to researching with visual materials*. 4th edn. London: Sage Publications.

Shearman, R. (2005) 'Can we be 'friends of the earth '?', *Environmental Values*, 14(4), pp. 503–512.

Sibanda, F. (2012) 'The impact of rastafari ecological ethic in Zimbabwe: a contemporary discourse.', *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 5(3), pp. 59–76.

Simmel, G. (1908) *Sociology: investigations on the forms of sociation*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

Smith, L. T. (2012) *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. 2nd edn. ZED Books.

Sobaih, A. E. E., Moustafa, M. A., Ghandforoush, P. and Khan, M. (2016) 'To use or not to use? Social media in higher education in developing countries', *Computers in Human Behavior*, 58, pp. 296–305. doi: 10.1016/j.chb.2016.01.002.

Songorwa, A. N. (1999) 'Community-based wildlife management (CWM) in Tanzania: are the communities interested?', *World Development*, 27(12), pp. 2061–2079. doi: 10.1016/S0305-750X(99)00103-5.

Staples, A. J. (2006) 'Safari adventure: forgotten cinematic journeys in Africa', *Film History: An*

International Journal, 18(4), pp. 392–411. doi: 10.2979/FIL.2006.18.4.392.

Steinhart, E. I. (2006) *Black poachers, white hunters*. London & Suffolk: James Currey Ltd.

Suchet-Pearson, S. and Howitt, R. (2006) 'On teaching and learning resource and environmental management: reframing capacity building in multicultural settings', *Australian Geographer*, 37(1), pp. 117–128.

Suchet-Pearson, S., Wright, S., Lloyd, K., Burarrwanga, L. and Hodge, P. (2013) 'Footprints across the beach: beyond researcher-centered methodologies', in Johnson, J. . and Larsen, S. . (eds) *A deeper sense of place: stories and journeys of collaboration in indigenous research*. Oregon: Oregon State University Press, pp. 21–40.

Suchet, S. (2001) 'Challenging "wildlife management": lessons for Australia from Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.pdf', in Baker, R., Davies, J., and Young, E. (eds) *Working on Country: contemporary indigenous management of Australia's lands and coastal regions*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp. 123–136.

Suchet, S. (2002) '"Totally Wild"? Colonising discourses, indigenous knowledges and managing wildlife', *Australian Geographer*, 33(2), pp. 141–157. doi: 10.1080/00049180220150972.

Taylor, R. (2009) 'Community based natural resource management in Zimbabwe: the experience of CAMPFIRE', *Biodiversity and Conservation*, 18(10), pp. 2563–2583.

Verran, H. (2001) *Science and an African logic*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (1986) *Decolonizing the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey Ltd.

Williams, P. H., Burgess, N. D. and Rahbek, C. (2000) 'Flagship species, ecological complementarity and conserving the diversity of mammals and birds in sub-Saharan Africa', *Animals Conservation Forum*, 3(3), pp. 249–260.

Wingard, B. (2010) 'A Conversation with lateral violence', *The International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*, 1, pp. 13–17.

Wright, S., Lloyd, K., Suchet-Pearson, S., Burarrwanga, L., Tofa, M. and Bawaka Country (2012) 'Telling stories in, through and with Country: engaging with Indigenous and more-than-human methodologies at Bawaka, NE Australia', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 29(1), pp. 39–60. doi: 10.1080/08873631.2012.646890.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Informed Consent Package (English Version)

Department of Geography & Planning
Faculty of Arts
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY   NSW   2109
AUSTRALIA
Phone: +61 2 9850 1816

MACQUARIE University
SYDNEY·AUSTRALIA

Chief Investigator / Supervisor:	**Researcher / Investigator:**	**Researcher / Investigator:**
Associate Professor Sandra Suchet-Pearson Department of Geography & Planning Phone: +61 2 9850 8393 Fax: +61 2 9850 6052 Email: sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au	Sara Judge Department of Geography & Planning Email: sara.judge@students.mq.edu.au	Leonard Kilumile Mkuyu Guiding School Phone: +255 758 656 791

Participant Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: Environmental values at Mkuyu Guiding School, Tanzania.

You are invited to participate in a collaborative research project between Mkuyu Guiding School and Sara Judge about environment, perspectives and values. The purpose of the study is to learn what makes Mkuyu Guiding School important to the teachers and the students. Activities will be conducted during August/September, 2017.

The study is being conducted by Sara Judge to meet the requirements for the degree of Master of Research under the supervision of Associate Professor Sandra Suchet-Pearson of the Department of Geography and Planning at Macquarie University, Australia. The research is being conducted in collaboration with Leonard Kilumile (founder/teacher) and Mkuyu Guiding School, who will be recognised as project partners, be involved in decision making about how information is used, and be acknowledged for their contribution.

If you decide to participate, some of the activities you may choose include:

- Providing written comments (in Swahili or English) in journal about your experiences at Mkuyu Guiding School;
- Leading/participating in group discussions about your experiences at Mkuyu Guiding School (some of these discussions may be video recorded for the purpose of translation);
- Taking photographs of what is important to you about Mkuyu Guiding School;

- Providing anonymous feedback about whether or not participating in the project has been a positive experience and something that yourself and Mkuyu Guiding School have benefitted from.

During these activities, you may be asked about how you think Mkuyu Guiding School contributes to the conservation and health of environment and communities; connect you to your relationships with the environment; teaches you about your ethical responsibilities; and helps you to think about future generations. Some people may find this information too personal to share, and you will **not** be required to share anything **unless you want to**.

These activities are optional, there is no requirement for you to participate in them if you do not want to. Your choice to participate or not will have no bearing whatsoever on your participation in the Mkuyu Guiding School program. Mkuyu teachers will not know about your decision to participate or not until after you have finished your program. You may choose to participate in all activities, or just some. If you participate in an activity and do not want to continue, you may stop at any time. All participation is entirely **your** decision. There will be no penalty or consequence if you choose not to participate.

Information collected will be used to write an academic thesis, and potentially will be published in professional journals and/or as a book. This means that the information provided during the project may be available to the public. For this reason, you will also **not** be required to provide your name if you do not want to, and you may choose to contribute to the project anonymously or by using a made-up name of your choice. You also do **not** have to share any information that you do not want to.

Any information or personal details gathered during the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results, unless they specifically wish to be acknowledged. At the end of this letter, you will be provided with options for how you would like to be identified. If at any time during the project you want to change this, you are welcome to do so.

At the end of the project, a summary of all results will be provided to Mkuyu Guiding School participants, and you will be able to provide comments and feedback if you choose to do so.

REMEMBER: Participation in this study is entirely voluntary.

If you have any questions about this, please feel free to discuss in-person or by phone with Leonard or Lameck Mkuburo (next page), or contact Sara directly on the email address provided in this letter.

If you wish to participate, please sign the next **two** pages to indicate that you have read and understood this letter before beginning any activities. Thank you very much, and I look forward to working together with you!

WOULD YOU LIKE TO PARTICIPATE? (Only Sara will see your answer):

☐ I do not want to participate in this project at all.

☐ I have questions about participating and I would like to talk to someone privately about this. The person I would like to talk to is: _____

☐ I would like to participate in this project.

HOW I WOULD LIKE TO BE IDENTIFIED:

☐ I do not want to be identified at all (anonymous).

☐ I would like to be identified by an alias/pseudonym name. The name I would like to be known as is: _____.

☐ I would like to be identified by my real name.

☐ Photographs and recordings of me can be used by Sara Judge in academic publications or presentations.

☐ I do not want any photos or recordings of me used publically.

I, (*please write your name here*): _____

have read and understand the information above, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: SARA JUDGE

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome. **If you would prefer to speak to someone locally, please contact Leonard Kilumile on +255 758 656 791 or Lameck Mkuburo on +255 765 888 850.**

(PARTICIPANT'S COPY)

Appendix 2 – Macquarie University Ethics Approval

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/
ABN 90 952 801 237

MACQUARIE
University
SYDNEY·AUSTRALIA

5 May 2017

Dear Associate Professor Suchet-Pearson,

Reference No: 5201700405

Title: *The emergence of place, identity and meaning through a Tanzanian approach to environmentalism.*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that <u>ethical and scientific approval</u> has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karolyn White
Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.