

**Assessment of CBNRM Best Practices
In Tanzania**

Final Report

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Executive Summary

In January-February 2002, an interdisciplinary team of seven CBNRM specialists associated with the USAID SO2 partnership and supporting organizations carried out an assessment of CBNRM “best practices” in Tanzania. The team visited and reviewed documented case study reports for dozens of CBNRM pilot activities aimed at supporting the community-based management of coastal zones, forests, wildlife, soil and water resources and pastoral areas. Sub-groups of the assessment team then carried out site visits and conducted local level interviews in 11 districts, including Rufiji, Morogoro, Singida, Iringa, Mbozi, Monduli and Serengeti as well as Tanga and several other coastal localities. The preliminary findings from the field visits were presented and discussed at the SO2 partnership retreat in February, 2002, and a draft report was prepared, reviewed and finalized.

The fieldwork carried out in early 2002 took advantage of more than two years of policy reviews, fieldwork and related analysis supported by the EPIQ/Tanzania team and SO2 partners in concert with the Sustainable Development Office of USAID’s Africa Bureau. This included the preparation of an issues paper on CBNRM in Tanzania, and well-researched case studies on several community based conservation activities in Tanzania. In preparation for the CBNRM assessment field studies, records in the NRM Tracker database were analyzed and augmented, and relevant literature assembled for the assessment team. A scope of work for the assessment was drafted and discussed by the SO2 CBC Management Regime Working Group, and this working group assisted in developing the criteria for the selection of sites to be visited. The working group was particularly interested in guiding the assessment team to visit sites that met the following criteria:

- Reported to have stimulated or contributed to positive outcomes related to the three target areas (environment, economic, governance) and therefore likely to be good examples or illustrations of “best practices”
- Activities with proven experience, over at least several years
- Activities that have been supported by a range of donors and development assistance mechanisms; the assessment was not designed to only examine the experience of USAID-funded activities

The most recent phase of the assessment was jointly funded by USAID/Tanzania and USAID/Africa Bureau, Sustainable Development Office, in order capitalize on lessons learned from “successful” CBNRM experiences in Tanzania and to contribute those findings to an Africa-wide compilation and analysis of best practices for revitalizing rural Africa, that was presented to the World Summit on Sustainable Development. The Tanzania CBNRM assessment was intended therefore to examine ongoing activities that have worked well and have been successful in stimulating favorable changes in environmental conditions, increased socio-economic benefits, improved governance or otherwise contributing to positive changes in behavior and well-being at the community level. The assessment was not designed to be a

comprehensive evaluation of any given project, nor was it intended to be an in-depth review of Community Based Conservation activities or other CBNRM programs in Tanzania.

Over the past decade, a number of donor agencies and organizations have worked with the Tanzanian government and local communities to launch a series of pilot projects in “community based conservation” and related CBNRM activities. In Tanzania, as elsewhere, CBNRM is perceived to offer a more promising way to manage natural resources than continued reliance on protection by centralized government technical services. CBNRM is often designed and promoted as a partnership between local communities and government. Under the more fully evolved CBNRM approaches, local communities manage their own resources with advice and assistance from government.

CBNRM is fundamentally based on the devolution of responsibilities, rights and authority from central government to local communities and the bodies they designate for management. The transition from centralized NRM to CBNRM can be measured by the level of local control over socio-economic benefits and revenue flows from NRM. At its most advanced, CBNRM refers to community control over resources, implemented with technical and conflict resolution support from national government agencies and district level administration. CBNRM at that point is integrated into the overall land-use and income generation strategies used by rural communities.

Several milestones must be crossed to create the full enabling environment for better natural resources management. The first milestone is crossed when there is sufficient national *political will* to move toward CBNRM by enacting enabling policies, legislation, and regulations to support the devolution of power, and the policy, legal and institutional framework for supporting CBNRM. A second milestone requires establishing clear, simple and transparent procedures for mutual accountability between local, district/provincial and national levels.

There is potentially a strong and positive linkage between CBNRM and poverty alleviation, which has recently emerged as a stated priority of the central government. However, lacking a clearer transfer of rights and authority and increased incentives for CBNRM, the scale of activities and economic contributions to local communities from CBNRM are still relatively modest.

In a recent commentary, the “father” of community-based conservation in Southern Africa, Marshall Murphree, characterized the broad picture of CBC in Africa as “one where successes stand as islands in a sea of initiatives where performance rarely matches promise and is sometimes abysmal”. This report highlights the positive experiences from several “islands” amid the many initiatives in Tanzania.

CBC is not new in Tanzania, as there are a number of localized initiatives with more than a decade of experience. However, in many respects CBC is still at an early stage in Tanzania, and far from realizing its full potential to contribute to the country’s economic development and resource conservation objectives.

As will be apparent from the cases documented in this assessment, the experiences gained in a growing number of pilot activities can be scaled up and more widely replicated. However, such an expansion will require the Government of Tanzania and its partners to address a number of

constraints and to move forward more vigorously to devolve political and economic power, and to implement provisions in new policies that are consistent with CBNRM. In the process, CBNRM can provide a mechanism to support democratic reforms and an expansion of natural resource-based enterprises as a foundation for revitalizing rural development, while simultaneously reducing environmental degradation and contributing to the achievement of biodiversity conservation goals.

The assessment began by deliberating searching out some of the better known examples of “successful” CBNRM initiatives. The fact that the cases reviewed in this assessment are largely driven by projects and have not yet been spontaneously and widely replicated indicates that a favorable “enabling environment” for CBNRM has not yet been well established in Tanzania. The report includes a number insights about the “conditions for success” that appear to be necessary to trigger successful CBNRM initiatives.

As the record shows from a number of CBNRM activities that have been supported over the past 10-15 years in Tanzania and other African countries with valuable wildlife and forest resources, these activities are not likely to be sustainable unless there is democratic reform and devolution of power to accompany the application of technical “best practices” and lessons learned.

Although the starting point for many CBNRM activities has been an emphasis on increased community participation in the protection and conservation or “stewardship” of natural resources, this assessment has revealed that community-based management is not likely to succeed if NRM planning and field activities are not well integrated into activities that strengthen local level governance and generate tangible social, economic and financial benefits. In many areas, wildlife populations can be the source of considerable hardship for local communities, who may suffer crop damages and livestock losses without compensation, and even the loss of human lives. A number of pilot activities are being supported, however, to demonstrate how local communities can benefit to a greater degree from wildlife and other natural resources.

In the short term, expanded efforts to promote greater information sharing about the emerging and proven “best practices” for CBNRM in Tanzania provide a relatively efficient and effective means to stimulate and support the expansion of CBNRM activities, including

- The use of literacy training, bookkeeping, community organization, PRA, formulation of by-laws, legalization of CBO’s, participatory local development planning and natural resource-based enterprise development as effective entry points for CBNRM
- Continued focus on meeting the needs for training and capacity building in key areas
- Increase collaboration and support by central and district government technical services for land use planning, NRM planning, adaptation and assistance with participatory natural resource monitoring techniques, oversight of equitable benefit distribution plans, and assistance with marketing, access to credit, enterprise development and joint ventures.

There are numerous signs that local communities were willing to act in the face of threats to their natural resources from destructive fishing practices, over-fishing, uncontrolled bush fires, hunting, poaching, indiscriminate fuelwood harvesting, timber cutting, erosion, and conversion of rangeland and forestland to other uses (mainly agriculture, commercial farming by outsiders). To be effective, local efforts aimed at resource protection, monitoring and improved management need to be followed up and supported by local authorities responsible for law enforcement and natural resource management. And local investments in resource protection and restoration can be strengthened by a progressive transfer of rights and authority for increased local control over the use of the resource. Experience from Tanzania as well as other countries suggests that communities need to be ensured of

- legal recognition and empowerment of community-based organizations with a mandate, responsibility and powers to implement CBNRM activities
- support and collaboration from government agencies responsible for allocation of quotas and devolution of CBNRM rights and powers
- assistance and support with the identification and demarcation of areas reserved for CBNRM activities
- legitimization and legal recognition of land use plans produced through participatory planning exercises and in collaboration with local authorities
- clarification and transfer of authority to levy and collect fines and other revenues from NRM activities
- clarification and transfer of authority to decide upon resource access and to issue permits for use and harvesting of resources within designated CBNRM areas
- clarification and transfer of authority to decide upon and monitor distribution of benefits
- technical support in NRM planning, inventory, monitoring, promotion of sustainable use practices
- technical and financial support for the development of natural resource based enterprises and accessing new markets for their higher-valued products
- investments at the local level in resource protection, restoration and more intensive management are linked to income-generation, jobs, and a greater flow of products and services to the community

Recommendations

It is not the intent of this report to recommend the specific details of a CBNRM strategy and national program for Tanzania. There are a number of working groups, task forces and other initiatives that are well positioned to support the stakeholder consultation process and other

activities that could be organized to develop and launch such a program. At this time, we would suggest the following next steps:

1. Circulate the assessment report to all key stakeholders, in order to obtain additional complementary information and commentary on the assessment findings.
2. Prepare “user friendly” summaries of the assessment report and commentaries and disseminate to community leaders and key decision makers
3. Use the assessment results in awareness raising and training activities organized to promote and support CBNRM.
4. Promote networking, information sharing as well as continued assessments and “stocktaking” exercises to expand and update lessons learned and best practices
5. Support more community to community exchanges and other activities designed to build capacity among community-based organizations
6. Develop and adopt a common vision for achieving CBNRM and identify priorities for corresponding support programs and assistance activities, including establishment of a mechanism to monitor and report on progress in achieving key benchmarks and the necessary conditions necessary for the “take off” and widespread replication and expansion of CBNRM
7. Accelerate efforts to harmonize and strengthen the legal and regulatory framework for CBNRM across all NRM subsectors.
8. Apply the insights gained from program monitoring and evaluation, improved information management and “collective learning” among CBNRM stakeholders in Tanzania to make needed adjustment in policies and program priorities.
9. Support mechanisms for local level networking and the emergence of federations of CBOs to build a stronger constituency and more effective voice for governance reforms that support CBNRM.

Introduction

Many organizations and governments have supported environmental and natural resource programs in Africa for a number of years. In USAID, the environment / natural resource team of the Africa Bureau, Office of Sustainable Development (AFR/SD) in Washington, D.C. has had the mandate to add value to field programs by identifying, organizing and disseminating information about “best practices” and lessons learned about natural resource management (NRM) in Africa. The E/NR team aims to help promote the use and adoption of approaches to NRM that are effective, efficient and equitable in promoting resource conservation and broad-based sustainable economic growth.

As part of that effort and in collaboration with USAID/Tanzania and a number of other field missions and partners, AFR/SD prepared a synthesis of the lessons learned from environmental program investments, with particular attention to community based natural resource management (CBNRM) activities in representative African countries. The initial product of this synthesis is a discussion paper entitled “Nature, Wealth and Power: Emerging Best Practice for Revitalizing Rural Africa”.¹ This NWP synthesis was timely for a number of reasons external and internal to USAID. On the international front, the World Summit on Sustainable Development was scheduled in August 2002, to take stock of the progress since the Rio Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. There are a number of related Africa-wide initiatives, including the NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development), which are seeking to transform and revitalize development approaches in Africa, and which could potentially benefit from the application of lessons learned from past program investments.

As the cases identified in the Tanzania assessment and elsewhere demonstrate, CBNRM has the potential to both contribute to rural economic development and promote democratic institutions through increased public participation in decisions about managing valuable resources at the local level. An additional motivation for this synthesis is that the mandate for analyzing and dissemination of CBNRM best practices within USAID is now shifting from the Africa regional bureau to a new central bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade (EGAT). It is hoped that the compilation of a state-of-the-art report will not only serve to improve the effectiveness of development strategies and strengthen field level programs, but also contribute to packaging the institutional memory gained from decades of AFR/SD support to Mission programs, and thereby help facilitate the transfer of knowledge to the new entity within USAID.

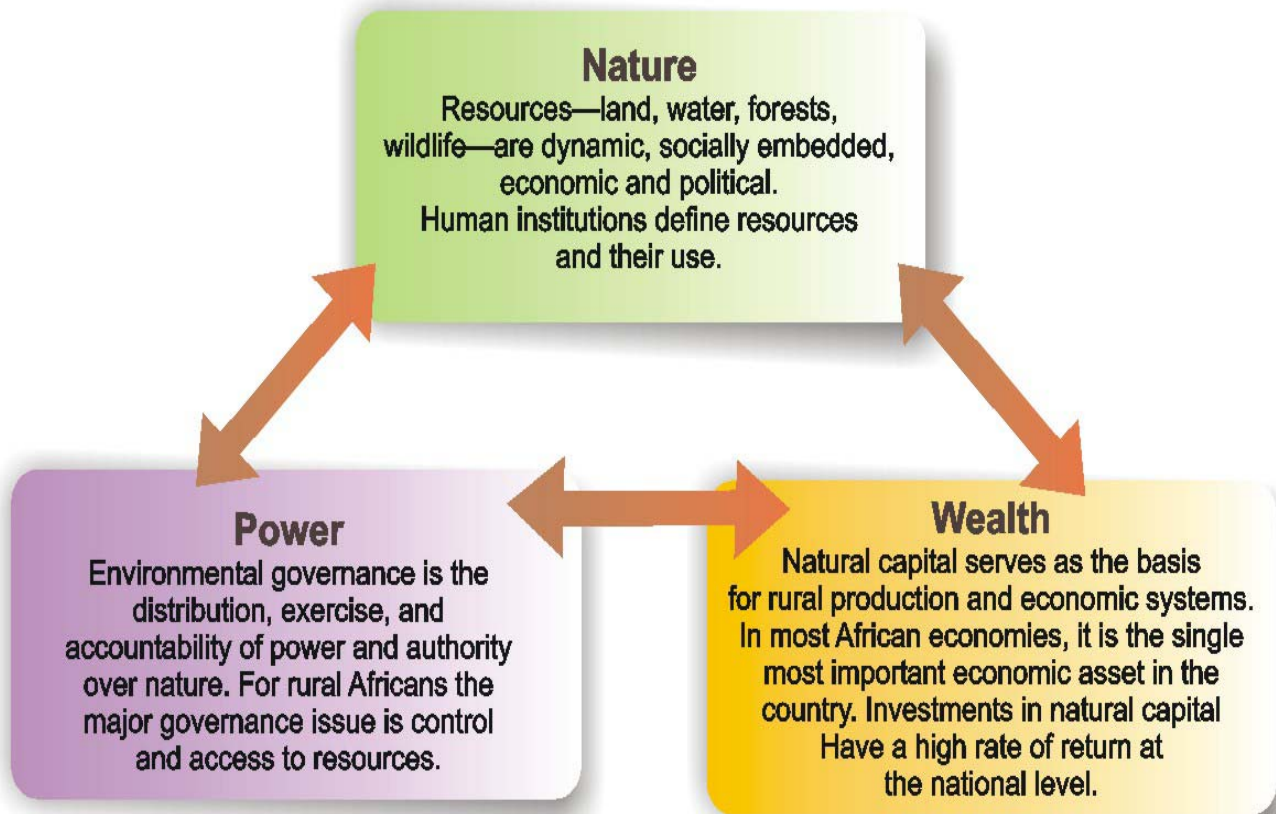
The NWP synthesis report was conceived to reflect field experiences from around Africa. The Tanzania assessment was designed therefore as part of this broader effort to review CBNRM experiences in selected countries in West Africa (including Guinea, the Gambia, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Benin and Ghana) as well as Uganda, Madagascar, Namibia and Botswana. Previous reviews have been undertaken by a number of organizations. USAID’s prior work has

¹ *Nature, Wealth and Power* was initially distributed in August, 2002, and is available in English and in French, on line at www.framework.org. It was prepared by USAID/AFR/SD in collaboration with the Center for International Forestry Research, Winrock International, World Resources Institute and International Resources Group.

either been sub-region or country specific.² The NWP synthesis is the first time that USAID has attempted a comprehensive pan-African review of natural resource management programs.

Insights gained from previous reviews have revealed the need to recognize the dynamic nature of resources, the critical role of the “drivers” or factors that strongly influence sustainable resource management, the continuing challenges to be considered, and other major issues to be addressed in order to “scale up” and widely promote the adoption of CBNRM practices. This work has identified three major categories where lessons have been learned and which appear to be key to the sustainable use and improved management of natural resources. These categories are environmental management, socio-economic benefits and improved governance. Together, these three aspects form a simple and evolving working framework around which to dialogue about CBNRM. (see Figure 1)

Figure 1. Nature – Wealth – Power: Definitions and Linkages



² See for example, “Investing in Tomorrow’s Forests: Toward an Action Agenda for Revitalizing Forestry in West Africa, prepared by USAID in collaboration with the Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS) and International Resources Group, in August, 2002. see English and French versions on line at www.frameweb.org

Objectives and Scope of the CBNRM Assessment in Tanzania

In January 2002, USAID/Tanzania, with the agreement of the Wildlife Department as head of the Community-Based Conservation Management Regime Working Group, accepted a proposal from AID/Washington's Africa Bureau Office of Sustainable Development to carry out an assessment of CBNRM best practices in Tanzania as part of the broader USAID review of lessons learned from CBNRM in Africa. The Wildlife Department also recommended that specific lessons from Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) should best be done in a "stocktaking" exercise in 2004, after the expected WMA regulations have been finalized and approved and more experience has been gained from legally established WMAs. In the interim, the assessment team was asked to look broadly across sectors for general patterns that might prove helpful to the Wildlife Department and CBNRM partners as they move towards implementation of the provisions of the new Wildlife Policy regarding WMAs. (see text box on the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania)

During the SO2 program partnership retreat in January 2001, it had been pointed out valuable insights could be gained from looking at "best practices" and "lessons learned" from CBNRM experiences in the field. Accordingly, the CBNRM assessment aimed to examine ongoing activities that have worked well and have been successful in stimulating favorable changes in environmental conditions, increased socio-economic benefits, improved governance or otherwise contributing to positive changes in behavior and well-being at the community level. The assessment was not designed to be a comprehensive evaluation of any given project, nor was it intended to be an in-depth review of all Community Based Conservation activities or other CBNRM programs in Tanzania.

Two major objectives of the assessment in Tanzania (and in other countries where similar activities have been carried out) are:

- To contribute to increased broad-based economic growth through increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of CBNRM programs, and
- To identify, analyze, capitalize and systematize successful CBNRM experiences, approaches and lessons learned.

Preparation for the Assessment Process

The field studies carried out in January, 2002 took advantage of a number of previous efforts that had been organized to review and document CBC experiences in Tanzania. For example, between 1998-2000, the EPIQ/Tanzania team facilitated a policy study tour to Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana to examine CBNRM experiences in Southern Africa, and prepared a number of case studies, briefs and summary reports on "lessons learned from CBC in Tanzania".³ For the past 15 years, GTZ has worked with the Government of Tanzania and local partners to support wildlife management and community development, and they published a set

³ See for example, Summary Report by George Jambiya, "Community Based Conservation Experience in Tanzania-an Assessment of Lessons Learned", EPIQ/Tanzania, August, 2000.

of discussion papers on Experiences with Community Based Wildlife Conservation in Tanzania in 2001.⁴ In January, 2001, a review of the literature on CBNRM experiences in Tanzania led to the preparation of a CBNRM “issues paper”.⁵ Since that time, efforts have been underway to share documentation about assessments in West Africa and elsewhere via the AFR/SD supported

Key Provisions of the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania

The Wildlife Policy of 1998 notes the new objective “to transfer the management of WMA to local communities thus taking care of corridors, migration routes and buffer zones and ensure that the local communities obtain substantial tangible benefits from wildlife conservation” (p. 10), and help to protect wildlife against illegal use by “devolving responsibility for containing illegal use of wildlife in WMAs to rural communities” (p. 12), and to ensure that wildlife conservation competes with other forms of land use by “encouraging rural communities to establish WMA in such areas of critical wildlife habitat with the aim of ensuring that wildlife can compete with other forms of land use that may jeopardize wildlife populations and movements” (p. 16). Furthermore that a strategy to encourage rural communities to value wildlife is “to facilitate the establishment of CBC programmes in WMAs by helping the rural communities to have secure ownership / long term use rights of their land and enabling them to use the wildlife and natural resources on that land” (p. 19-20).

The policy also provides that “the local communities living adjacent to Protected Areas or in areas with viable populations of wildlife have a role in managing and benefiting from wildlife on their own lands, by creating WMAs” (p. 33) and “the government will facilitate the establishment of a new category of protected area known as WMA, where local people will have full mandate of managing and benefiting from their conservation efforts, through community based conservation programmes” (p. 34).

Although the new Wildlife Policy of Tanzania was adopted in 1998, the necessary legislative reforms, regulations and guidelines that the government feels are required to legally establish and officially operationalize WMAs have not yet been fully promulgated. However, a number of “pilot” WMAs have in fact been operating to some degree for several years.

activities of FRAME and NRM Tracker (see www.frameweb.org and www.nrmtracker.org) and through associated outreach workshops.

In the latter half of 2001, a consultative process was organized to develop the assessment scope of work (SOW), compile background documentation, organize the assessment team and identify sites for field visits. This preparatory process culminated in a review of the revised SOW and updated plans for the CBNRM assessment field visits by the CBC Management Regime

⁴ See Tanzania Wildlife Discussion Paper no. 29, edited by R. D. Baldus and L. Siege, with the Wildlife Division and the GTZ Wildlife Programme in Tanzania.

⁵ See report by Fred Sowers, consultant to IRG under the EPIQ/AFR-SD task order, entitled: “Tanzania Stocktaking of Community-Based Conservation and Natural Resources Management: CBC/NRM Issues Paper”, January 2001.

Working Group (MRWG) during its meeting in Bagamoyo in January 2002.⁶ (See Annex A for the full Scope of Work of the Assessment).

Organization of the Assessment Team and Field Work

In the week following the CBC MRWG meeting, the CBNRM assessment field team was mobilized to carry out the proposed fieldwork. The assessment team was coordinated by Asukile Kajuni of USAID/Tanzania and Hussein Sosovele of WWF/Tanzania. Janis Alcorn, IRG/EPIQ consultant, provided technical support to the team. The overall composition of the assessment team and participation in the fieldwork was as follows:

Team Member	Title/Expertise	Institution	Sites Visited
Asukile Kajuni	Co-coordinator, Wildlife Management	USAID/Tanzania	TanzaKesho (Mbozi), BOMIPA, (Tungamalenga); Cullman & Hurt, Manyara Trustland
Hussein Sosovele	Co-coordinator, Economist	WWF/Tanzania	Familiar with TanzaKesho and other sites from previous visits
Audax Mujuni	Policy Program Assistant	WWF/Tanzania	Mgori and Jukumu
Janis Alcorn	Social scientist and CBNRM specialist	IRG-EPIQ/AFR-SD consultant	Ngarambe, Mgori, TanzaKesho, MBOMIPA (Tungamalenga)
Robin Martino	Biodiversity Conservation specialist	USAID/Washington	Jukumu, Robanda, Ololosokwan
Richard Volk	Integrated Coastal Management specialist	USAID/Washington	Tanga, Pangani coastal districts
Dan Evans	Agricultural economist	USAID/REDSO	Robanda, Manyara Trustland, Cullman and Hurt, Ololosokwan

The fieldwork for the assessment was organized to capture experiences in CBNRM across a range of natural resource management sub-sectors, including: Coastal Zone Management, Community Forestry / Biodiversity, Wildlife / Community-based Tourism, Pastoral / Rangeland Management, Land Use and Community based Development. The assessment was also designed to provide broad geographic coverage across a number of representative districts.

⁶ See Trip Report on Planning for the CBC/NRM Stocktaking and attachments, prepared by Kara Page, IRG, for AFR/SD and USAID/Tanzania, December, 2001.

In selecting the sites to be visited, the CBC MRWG and the team used the following additional criteria:

- Reported to have stimulated or contributed to positive outcomes related to the three target areas (environment, economic, governance) and therefore likely to be good examples or illustrations of “best practices”
- Activities with proven experience, over at least several years
- Activities that have been supported by a range of donors and development assistance mechanisms; the assessment was not designed to only examine the experience of USAID-funded activities

The following CBNRM sites and activities were visited during the assessment:

Village / Site	District	Supporting Project	Funding Agency
Tanga and adjacent coastal districts	Tanga, Muheza, Pangani Districts	Tanga Coastal Zone Conservation and Development Programme	IUCN, Irish Aid
Ngarambe Village, bordering Selous Game Reserve (SGR)	Rufiji	Selous Eastern Sector Conservation and Management Project	WWF/UK, WWF Switzerland
Dhuthumi and buffer zone near SGR	Morogoro	JUKUMU (federation of 19 villages) Pilot Wildlife Management Area – Selous Conservation Programme	GTZ
Mgori Forest: Ngimu, Unyampana Ndumghanghanga	Singida	Land Management Programme – LAMP	SIDA
Tungamalenga	Iringa	Sustainable Use of Wild Resources in Idodi and Pawaga – MBOMIPA	DFID
Mbozi Mission Ukwile, Chipaka	Mbozi	TanzaKesho (Capacity 21)	UNDP, Mbozi District Council
Imairet Primary School	Monduli	Cullman and Hurt Community Wildlife Project	Private Hunting Company/Outfitter
Robanda, west of Serengeti National Park	Serengeti	Robanda Community – Private Tour Operator Partnership	Private tour operators
Manyara Trustland Esilalei, Oltukai	Monduli	Tanzania Land Conservation Trust – Manyara Trustland	USAID - AWF

The SO2 partnership was also encouraged to identify opportunities for strengthening information sharing among SO2 partners and other CBNRM stakeholders, in order to build upon the momentum of this initial assessment and to foster continuing analysis and learning from lessons learned in CBNRM. Several ideas generated from this discussion are included in the final section of the report.

Context for CBNRM Experiences in Tanzania

Over the past decade, a number of donor agencies and organizations have worked with the Tanzanian government and local communities to launch a series of pilot projects in “community based conservation” and related CBNRM activities. In Tanzania, as elsewhere, CBNRM is perceived to offer a more promising way to manage natural resources than continued reliance on protection by centralized government technical services.

Both within and outside the context of community based natural resource management, the goal of NRM is to develop and apply cost effective management systems that control access and use of natural resources, so as to provide for their optimal and sustainable levels of utilization and positive returns on investments in management. Such management systems should be technically and socially sound so as to ensure that the productivity of these resources is stable or increases over time. A productive resource base and favorable economic incentives are prerequisites for long term success in meeting socio-economic needs. Democratic, participatory, accountable and transparent systems of governance and benefit distribution are increasingly being recognized as an integral part of effective NRM systems.

These resilient, local management systems also need to have positive cross-scale links to district and national government that bring information from the analysis of larger-scale processes (ecological & political) and help to reinforce systems for oversight and mutual accountability. Experience from around the world suggests that the ideal system ultimately turns authority for decision-making and management over to communities with clear governance structures and access to technical advice from wildlife and forestry departments (as, for example, in Oaxaca, Mexico, where communities control their own forests which they have logged commercially and sustainably for over a decade).

CBNRM is often designed and promoted as a partnership between local communities and government. Under the more fully evolved CBNRM approaches, local communities manage their own resources with advice and assistance from government. The approach capitalizes on the fact that local people living with the wildlife and forests are well situated to use local knowledge to respond to changes in resource productivity (due to variable rainfall, land use pressures or other factors) and other feedback from the ecosystem in which they live and from which they extract benefits. They can organize themselves into institutions in accordance with their traditions, commonly held interests, and available information about the condition of the resource base. Regional scale ecological processes (such as wildlife movements, fluctuations in fisheries and upstream/downstream watershed changes) and national public interests can be integrated into local decision-making through good communication and technical advice, as well

as through policy frameworks that identify the responsibilities and rights of all partners and stakeholders.

CBNRM is fundamentally based on the devolution of responsibilities, rights and authority from central government to local communities and the bodies they designate for management. The transition from centralized NRM to CBNRM can be measured by the level of local control over socio-economic benefits and revenue flows from NRM. Globally, the term CBNRM is applied to a wide range of situations along a transitional axis from full state control toward full community control, where local people make management decisions and benefit from the resources. In centralized states, CBNRM is often used to describe situations where local people are mobilized as labor for government programs under state control—particularly in situations where the resource has high monetary value. Toward the middle of the CBNRM transitional axis, decision-making authority remains with central government, but NRM service and administration functions are decentralized from central government to regional and district level government and co-management provides some benefits to local people.

At its most advanced, CBNRM refers to community control over resources, implemented with technical and conflict resolution support from national government agencies and district level administration. CBNRM at that point is integrated into the overall land-use and income generation strategies used by rural communities. Just as rural families don't wait for the government to tell them when or what to plant but instead make decisions that take into account information from technical extension agents, under full CBNRM, rural communities are likewise free to evaluate local ecological conditions and decide how to manage the harvest of their fish, wildlife, and forests with technical advice from government agencies. This ideal image of CBNRM is articulated in UNDP's Capacity 21 Tanza Keshu vision for Tanzania in 2025.

Moving from traditional state-based management to full CBNRM takes time. Government dependence on current revenue distribution schemes and existing management regimes are difficult to transform overnight. The transition requires shifting from centralized planning and management in ways that shed old habits and create a new central government role, as technical assistance provider and watchdog for public good. The old emphasis on looking after the well-being of the State, through enforcement, compliance and regulation gives way to a new emphasis of improving the well-being of local communities, through local empowerment, oversight, monitoring and consultation. In this new role, government needs to be accountable to citizens and demand good performance from district and local governments, while at the same time building the trust of citizens (be demonstrating that it is committed to serving local communities, and not corrupt) and enhancing citizens' opportunities to hold all levels of government accountable. Clearly, such a transformation and shift in behaviors is not easy to achieve. The challenge is to enact and implement reforms at all levels of government, from central headquarters at the national level, to regional levels and eventually including every district and local office.⁷

⁷ Over the past several years, the World Bank has financed an ambitious effort to promote far-reaching changes in the institutional and legal framework for environmental management (ILFEMP), but the recommendations emerging from this activity have yet to be fully implemented.

Several milestones must be crossed to create the full enabling environment for better natural resources management. The first milestone is crossed when there is sufficient national *political will* to move toward CBNRM by enacting enabling policies, legislation, and regulations to support the devolution of power, and the *policy, legal and institutional framework* for supporting CBNRM. Taxation and other fiscal policies and revenue sharing arrangements often need to be revamped or adjusted to remove disincentives and to promote greater socio-economic and institutional incentives for CBNRM.

A second milestone requires establishing *clear, simple and transparent procedures for mutual accountability* between local, district/provincial and national levels. District/provincial level reforms are essential to reduce rent-seeking behavior by politically powerful interests, although the reduction and control of such behavior requires pressures and oversight from both national government and local constituencies.

Although most sectors have passed new and relatively progressive policies within the past several years, and while there is a variable degree of progress in different sectors or program areas (such as wildlife, forestry, fisheries, coastal zone management, environmental assessment and protection), in the aggregate, Tanzania is at the first milestone of such a CBNRM enabling process. Much work remains to be done to fully implement policies that support an enabling environment for CBNRM. The assessment confirmed that there are numerous exciting pilots for community-based management of wildlife, forests, coastal resources and community-directed sustainable development. And the assessment identified some “conditions for success” that could be used to expand and extend national program support for CBNRM.

One proven way to catalyze change in the enabling environment is elegantly simple – launch national government programs to empower community based organizations responsible for CBNRM activities, while seeking to build trust with local communities and assisting them to demand accountability from district government. This approach creates strong local constituencies that demand accountability from both mid-level government (at district and regional levels) and from the national government agencies with policies that are in principle fully consistent with CBNRM and could contribute more broadly to environmentally sustainable development. This program approach has had positive impacts for natural resources management and democratic transition in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mexico, for example. The seeds of such an approach are present in the CBNRM pilot programs in Tanzania, but in view of the currently operative constraints and remaining challenges to be addressed, a deeper and broader expression of political will for such democratic reform as well as expanded program support will be needed to move CBNRM forward significantly.

The Political Transition Influencing Progress Toward CBNRM in Tanzania

The current status of CBNRM reflect the current status of Tanzania’s transition to democracy. Tanzania is slowly moving from an authoritarian one party state toward a more effective multi-party democracy. The first multiparty elections were held in 1995 and a series of reform laws were passed in the late 1990s. There remain, however, significant restrictions on freedom of access to information, freedom of the press and freedom of association. There are new policies and laws related to decentralization and local government reform, titling of village lands, and expanded access to courts. While these new laws have their weaknesses, they do offer

opportunities for moving forward with local control and benefit from resources that have been under state control for state benefit - including wildlife, forests, fisheries and other natural resources. Civil society associations and the capacities of many NGOs are not well developed (as can be expected at this stage of a democratic transition), and villagers are generally unaware of their rights and the implications of these new laws. Hence, there is little advocacy or downward accountability for implementing and using the new laws to re-organize societal relationships.

As documented in the findings presented in this report, CBNRM has been most effective by taking advantage of the local government reforms that enable village government to draft and enforce by-laws (which must still be approved by district council and national government). CBNRM is also progressing in cases where village government has an effective working relationship with district government that is seriously attempting to move toward downward accountability; and/or where communities have worked with NGOs to find creative solutions that push the envelope of what is politically possible.

The sectoral policies themselves do not effectively support real community empowerment by promoting downward accountability. Central government continues to retain the lion's share of power and revenues from natural resources, and has proved reluctant to redistribute the revenue and to clearly and firmly transfer resource ownership from the State to its citizens, or to devolve rights and authority for managing resources to local communities. Furthermore, the sectoral policies are not harmonized to prevent conflict over resource management regimes—e.g., communities who have been planting and protecting mangroves under a coastal management regime are confronted with loggers authorized by the forestry department to harvest the same mangroves as part of the forestry management regime.

There is potentially a strong and positive linkage between CBNRM and *poverty alleviation*, which has recently emerged as a stated priority of the central government. However, lacking a clearer transfer of rights and authority and increased incentives for CBNRM, the scale of activities and economic contributions to local communities from CBNRM are still relatively modest. For example, the assessment revealed that many local communities are currently only managing local accounts with a few hundred dollars in receipts, while the Wildlife Division receives \$6-8 million annually from the allocation of hunting block concessions. The case of the Ololosokwan Village in Loliondo Division and a number of other Conservation Business Ventures is indicative of the greater financial returns that are possible, as well as the continuing tensions between local empowerment and continued control by central government agencies. (see text box on Ololosokwan).

The Ololosokwan and ConsCorp story – from the local perspective

Ololosokwan Village is in Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro District, and it covers approximately 115,000 acres, with a population of about 3,500; the majority of the villagers are members of the Purko section of the Maasai ethnic group.

They acquired a village deed (99 year lease) in 1990, but in 1992, a Tanzania cattle producer was given a deed (33 year lease) to 25,000 acres, part of which overlapped with village lands identified in their deed. The cattle company build a lodge for tourists instead of raising cattle (Klein's Camp) and sold the lodge and land to Conservation Corporation Africa, despite the confusion of overlapping leases. The village seemed to have a stronger legal position due to its longer length of lease, and the village went to the

African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) for assistance to facilitate resolution of this problem out of court. They villagers felt that they did not have the means to operate a lodge on their own and wanted instead to strike a deal with ConsCorp or CCA.

In 1999, they negotiated an agreement that pays them \$1.50 per acre (increasing 5% per year) for 15 years. The village also earns money from land set aside for mobile camping. In 1999, they earned \$33,000, in 2000, \$39,000, and in 2001, they earned \$65,000. In addition, 80% of the CCA staff come from the village and CCA has implemented a policy of training for both management and non-management staff. The government also receives taxes from ConsCorp. The funding has been used to purchase and maintain improved breeds of cattle, to build teachers houses and to maintain a dispensary. In addition, scholarship funds are provided to support secondary school students (20 this year) and one student at the University of Dar Es Salaam.

Klein's Camp has significantly improved the village's access to health care by supplying a doctor and ambulatory services to the Wasso Hospital located three hours by vehicle from the village, in addition to a link with the Tanzania flying doctors service which visits the village every two weeks. Another biophysical benefit is the protection of the Loliondo corridor for migrating wildlife that connects Maasai Mara with the Serengeti and provides for seasonal use by wildebeest and other migratory wildlife. In addition to its economic and biophysical results, the improved wildlife management has resulted in peace between Masai and Kikuyu communities that previously rustled each others cattle. Now they sit together and talk about the resources.

The activity is overseen by a steering group with three people from ConsCorp and three representatives from village. Money is kept in a separate account from village accounts and village assembly authorizes expenditures.

Despite the locally important and positive impacts, a number of outstanding issues have yet to be fully resolved. The operation is technically illegal under the Wildlife Division regulations that prohibit tour operators from operating in hunting blocks. The hunting company is still in the area although there is reportedly poor communication between the hunting company and the village. They have had armed confrontations with residents.

TANAPA is working to resolve other issues with the village. TANAPA constructed and occupies a ranger outpost on village land. The Village does not want TANAPA to relocate the outpost, but has requested them to acknowledge in a Memorandum of Understanding or in some official manner that the structure exists on village land. The primary concern on the part of the village is that this outpost may lead to an extension of the TANAPA park boundaries.

Coastal Resource Management in Tanzania

Tanzania is blessed with a rich coastline that contains some of the most important mangrove and coral reef resources in East Africa. More than a quarter—approximately 8 million people—of the country's population reside in one of five mainland coastal regions encompassing 15 percent of the country's total land area. Coastal regions support three-quarters of the industrial base and are responsible for approximately one-third of the national GDP.⁸ It is difficult to overstate the local, national, and regional socioeconomic and ecological importance of the Tanzanian coast.

⁸ TCMP, 2001b.

Policy, Legal, and Institutional Framework

The Constitution of Tanzania establishes that policies and laws regarding natural resources management, including those pertaining to coastal and marine resources, are developed and implemented by Central Government. While Central Government has the constitutional authority to make laws, the authority for various aspects of implementation and enforcement is delegated to district governments. Decentralization is further clarified and strengthened through the Local Government Reform Act, which has stimulated the creation of village environmental management committees nationwide. A centralized regulatory system is expensive to administer, and it is clearly government's desire (at least with regard to coastal and marine resources) to strengthen local government authority, involvement, and accountability in implementing community-based natural resources management. It is encouraging that there are a growing number of community organizations, village committees, and NGOs that are becoming institutionally stronger and can provide the foundation for resource management at the local level.

In 1997, the Tanzania Coastal Management Partnership (TCMP) was established to improve national coastal planning, policy and management, and to coordinate such efforts at both the national and local levels.⁹ The Partnership is a network of existing coastal programs/projects, government departments, citizen groups, scientists, and the private sector, with the aim to achieve participatory and transparent decision-making on the priorities and key strategies needed to promote effective coastal management in the country. A wide range of ministries participate in the Partnership, including the Ministries of Natural Resources and Tourism (with forest, fishery, tourist, and park regulatory responsibilities); Lands and Human Settlement; Trade and Industry; Water; Agriculture and Cooperatives; Energy and Minerals; and Home Affairs.¹⁰ In 2001, the TCMP completed and submitted a National Coastal Management Strategy that is currently under consideration for Parliament approval.

Within this context of efforts to harmonize policies and improve intersectoral coordination at the national level, several coastal programs/projects continue to make progress working with district and village governments, communities, and resource users. This assessment focuses mainly on one of those activities, the Tanga Coastal Zone Conservation and Development Program, and to a lesser degree on two additional efforts: the TCMP process to develop District Action Plans; and the Mafia Island Marine Park. Readers may be interested to pursue an understanding of other community-based coastal programs underway in Tanzania, a list of which includes (at a minimum): Mnazi Bay Marine Park; Dar es Salaam Marine Reserve; Kinondoni Integrated Coastal Area Management Programme; Rural Integrated Project Support (Mtwara and Lindi Districts); Rufiji Environment Management Project; Mnemba Island Marine Reserve; Menai Bay Conservation Area; Chumbe Island Marine Park; Chwaka Bay-Paje Conservation Area; and Misali Island Marine Conservation Area.

⁹ TCMP, 2001b.

¹⁰ Makaramba and Kweka, 1999.

Tanga Coastal Zone Conservation and Development Program

In 1994, with funding and technical assistance from IUCN and Irish Aid, the northern coastal region of Tanzania began a process that is now recognized as one of the most successful examples of community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) in East Africa. The Tanga Coastal Zone Conservation and Development Program (TCZCDP, hereafter the 'Program') supports collaboration between Central Government, Regional and District authorities, and the approximately 150,000 people residing in 45 villages in the Tanga Municipality, and Pangani and Muheza Districts comprising the Tanga region.

The Tanga region includes 150 km of coastline stretching from the Kenya border to the southern part of Pangani District. Residents are highly dependent on coastal resources for subsistence and income earning livelihood and, of course, overall quality-of-life. The region is endowed with ecologically important and diverse habitats, including coral reefs, seagrass beds, coastal forests, and mangrove forests, and supports economically important commercial and artisanal fisheries.

As a result of preliminary resource assessments conducted in the early 1990s under the auspices of IUCN, the Program undertook a collaborative process of village-level action planning and implementation to address priority resource management issues. The Program adopted a four-step approach of 'listening', 'piloting', 'demonstration', and 'mainstreaming' to achieve an expansion of activities from an initial three pilot villages to today's work in 28 of the region's 45 villages. Principal issues addressed by the Program include overfishing, destructive fishing, mangrove deforestation, coastal erosion, poor government enforcement, and limited options for improving villager livelihoods.¹¹

During Phase I (1994-1997), the Program focused on institution and capacity-building for integrated coastal management (ICM) for both district and village governments. Training, technical assistance, and funding was provided to support a collaborative process of Participatory Rapid Assessment (PRA) which resulted in enhanced awareness of socioeconomic and natural resource issues, and the beginning of a sense of Program 'ownership' among stakeholders. Experimentation with 'early actions' was also carried out during this 'listening and piloting' stage of Phase I.

During Phase II (1997-2000), efforts focused on the well being of people, and were made to modify and replicate successful management actions to villages neighboring the three pilot villages. Actions were taken to develop cost-share arrangements and field-test new practices, including monitoring and enforcement in designated 'management areas'. Considerable effort has been made to facilitate dialogue, consensus building, and cooperation between villages in the development and legal adoption of Village by-laws that form the basis for specific NRM-related rules and regulations. In short, the Program worked during this 'demonstration' period to address management issues (e.g., fisheries management, mangrove restoration, etc.) that require inter-village collaboration and ecosystem-scale approaches.

¹¹ Torell, et al., 2000.

The Program is working today on a Phase III (2001-2003) to ‘mainstream’ activities in each of five fisheries management areas extending across the entire region, while seeking to institutionalize the recurrent budgetary resources that will be needed to sustain operations beyond the period of donor support. District and Village governments are being asked to contribute more resources (cash and in-kind) to various services (e.g., monitoring and enforcement) that are seen as essential to the long-term sustainability of management efforts. The following is a discussion of some of the changes and key features related to three broad aspects of the Tanga Coastal Zone Conservation and Development Program.

Biophysical Aspects

Several notable successes in the management of biophysical resources of the region can be attributed to the Program during its first seven years of operation. Perhaps most significantly, there appears to be widespread perception among villagers that the overfishing and destructive fishing practices of the past are beginning to be brought under control. There is even some quantitative evidence of a 30 percent increase in the number of reef fish now inhabiting closed coral reef areas.¹² The Program and its stakeholder communities have accomplished this with the creation of management areas that unite adjacent villages in five sub-regions under a commonly agreed set of management goals, objectives, and actions. Rules and regulations for the management areas have been developed through grassroots discussions among all interested stakeholders, and approved sequentially through Village, District, and Central Governments. All of this is highly significant, considering that 95 percent of fishing in Tanzania is conducted by artisanal fishers mainly along inshore areas of the coast.¹³

The Tanga region was formerly known to suffer heavily from dynamite fishing, with 70 percent of coral significantly damaged and another 10 percent beyond recovery.¹⁴ Although it will take several years (or decades in some cases) for full recovery, the fact that a decades-old fishing practice has been virtually (although not entirely) eliminated in a little more than two years of community-based action planning, has bolstered local enthusiasm and support for the five management areas. In addition, certain gear types and practices (e.g., seine net fishing and poison fishing) were also reported by villagers during this assessment to be eliminated or significantly curtailed.

There are now 28 out of 45 villages participating in five management areas that encompass virtually the entire coast of the region. These management areas are supported by Village by-laws, and three of these now have further provision for closed areas within which no marine harvest is allowed. There is anecdotal evidence (villager perception) that fish stocks have increased, and that so has the health of coral reefs within the management areas. It is believed

¹² Torell, et al., 2000.

¹³ TCMP, 2001b.

¹⁴ Torell, et al., 2000.

that recovery from coral bleaching associated with the 1998 El Nino event was faster and more complete within the closed areas.¹⁵

Villagers in several communities have re-planted areas where mangroves had been destroyed by overharvest or intentional destruction (as by hotel developers wanting to open visual access to the sea). Several thousand mangrove seedlings have been planted with reported survival rates on the order of 90-95 percent. These actions have helped to alleviate coastal erosion (e.g., Tongoni Village), and to create regional awareness of the ecological services that mangroves provide.

Working to consolidate regional environmental awareness, the Program has involved community members in the ongoing monitoring and enforcement efforts associated with the management areas. Volunteer monitoring of basic indicators has proven helpful in maintaining village enthusiasm and support for the new rules and regulations within their management area. Villagers indicate that they gain satisfaction from being part of a regional effort to manage the environment. Monitoring is conducted on simple indicators such as number of dynamite blasts, number of mangrove seedlings planted, and the villagers have also learned how to do basic line and belt transects on coral reefs. Data on fishing effort and fish catch are more difficult to obtain (and less accurate). Continued involvement of District and Central Government will be necessary to sustain key monitoring and enforcement functions.

Socioeconomic Aspects

As previously mentioned, the region's general environmental awareness has increased with activities of the Program. Participating villagers, members of neighboring villages, and district government staff are now more knowledgeable of basic coastal ecology and the key issues that can be dealt with through collective action. This awareness has been the impetus for at least one neighboring village to begin the action planning process on its own after seeing the progress made by other villages.¹⁶ The assessment team both observed and heard from various stakeholders of today's much higher level of overall cooperation and trust between villages and with district government officials.

The Program has focused much of its community work on increasing the number of women involved in the action planning and village-level decision-making process. The assessment team heard from several women who indicate increased income opportunities as a result of training provided to women on such activities as seaweed cultivation and organic vegetable farming. Participants of a three-day workshop in August 2000 confirmed that women have become more independent as a result of these developments, are better able to provide for their families, and have become much more integrated into village decision-making.¹⁷ One workshop participant was quoted as saying: "When I came to Tongoni as a young primary school teacher, things were very different. Women were only allowed to go outside their houses with permission from their

¹⁵ Makoloweka., S. Personal communication, 2002.

¹⁶ Torell, et al., 2000.

¹⁷ Torell, et al., 2000.

husbands and therefore they stayed inside the house most of the time. As you can see, things have changed greatly. Now even the chair of the Environmental Committee is a woman.¹⁸

Other reported socioeconomic outcomes include:

- Increased self-dependence and confidence in the ability to implement actions
- Increased capacity to influence decisions on resource use and solve coastal issues
- More equal resource ownership
- Increased village security as a result of enforcement training and equipment
- Increased confidence and transparency in identifying wrongdoers among villagers.¹⁹

Although the overall fish catch has increased in the region, fishers' incomes have declined by almost 30 percent in real terms between 1996 and 2000.²⁰ This reflects a reported 20 percent decline in the price of fish during the same period. Nevertheless, it is the perception among villagers and district officials that the overall nutritional and educational status of the region has increased in recent years. Greater fish catch is reportedly responsible for fewer malnourished people. Higher educational standards are also reported due to greater income and the fact that the seine fishery has been made illegal. The seine fishery formerly employed large numbers of school age children, and its demise has resulted in more children attending school.²¹

Governance Aspects

Clearly, the Program has achieved a new level of capacity by villagers to undertake various resource management actions. Capabilities in issue identification and assessment, action planning, implementation, monitoring, and enforcement have greatly empowered local communities and expanded their involvement in natural resources management. They have learned many valuable problem identification and solving skills that can be applied to issues unrelated to NRM. One interviewee reported that he now uses action-planning techniques to help plan his own family's affairs. Moreover, villagers generally feel that district officials consult with them more frequently and meaningfully on topics of importance to local communities, and that the foundation for a strong partnership for co-management of the resource has been built.

One also gets the impression that District Government officials have benefited by the greater trust and cooperation that has developed during the years of the Program. Although there is still villager complaints regarding the heavy-handed role sometimes played by Central Government in making land-used decisions that affect local communities, villagers appeared to show much

¹⁸ Torell, et al., 2000.

¹⁹ Torell, et al., 2000.

²⁰ Torell, et al., 2000.

²¹ Torell, et al., 2000.

greater deference to District Officials who have invested considerable time in consensus-building processes with the villagers. Although there is nothing to quantify this assertion, the author was struck by an apparent greater job satisfaction (and pride of ownership) among District Officials as a result of having participated in the Program.

Tanzania Coastal Management Partnership: Development of District ICM Action Plans

In 2000, the TCMP neared completion of a four-year consensus-building process to develop the Tanzania National Coastal Management Strategy. As a means of implementing the National Strategy, it was decided to field-test a set of guidelines for the development of District ICM Action Plans in two districts selected as pilot sites. The two districts chosen were Pangani (a district well experienced in the action planning process as participants in the Tanga Program), and Bagamoyo (a district with no formal experience in ICM or village-level action planning).

The application of the guidelines and the completion of the two draft District Action Plans for Pangani and Bagamoyo offer many insights into the application of action planning at the district and sub-district levels in Tanzania. As of this date, the two draft plans have undergone review and await final revision and approval prior to the start of implementation. Upon approval, the respective District Governments will fund 75 percent and the TCMP 25 percent of implementation costs respectively.

The selection of the two pilot districts and the implementation of the action planning processes were carried out under careful criteria and guidelines. These criteria and guidelines are described in “Guidelines for District ICM Action Planning”, prepared by the Core Working Group of TCMP (TCMP, 2002). The guidelines suggest four principal characteristics for action planning:

- Empowering those involved to plan and implement actions themselves;;
- Implementing a limited number of specific actions to address well defined local problems;
- Monitoring the impacts of the actions taken; and
- Continuous review of progress and effectiveness – if necessary leading to adaptation.²²

For Pangani District, 24 management issues were identified and four selected as the priority issues upon which to base the first draft of the District Action Plan.²³ The four priority issues selected include: low fish catches; reduced mangrove vegetation cover; increased beach pollution from human excreta and coconut husks; and increasing rate of excavation of stone along Boza escarpment, German graves, and other historical sites.²⁴ For Bagamoyo District, 9 management issues were identified and assessed and four selected as priority issues, including: conflicts

²² Torell, 2001.

²³ Pangani District Council, 2002.

²⁴ Pangani District Council, 2002.

between shrimp trawlers and artisanal fishers; destructive fishing practices; illegal and uncontrolled cutting of mangroves; and conflicts on the use of beach areas.²⁵

A workshop conducted in October 2001 set out to allow those who had participated in the two action planning processes to reflect on their experience. Results from the workshop are reported in “Reflection on the first year of district action planning” (Torell, 2001), and should be consulted by those interested in conducting similar action planning processes at the district and sub-district levels in Tanzania and elsewhere.

Mafia Island Marine Park

The development and implementation of the Mafia Island Marine Park represents an important milestone for coastal and marine conservation efforts in Tanzania. The idea for the Park stems back to the 1960s with preliminary field assessments along the coast and recommendations for creating a series of marine parks, reserves, and sanctuaries. Although eight small reserves and sanctuaries were established under Fisheries Regulations of 1975, they resulted in little more than “paper parks” due to the lack of human and financial resources for enforcement and virtually no community involvement.²⁶ The designation of parks and reserves did little to curtail dynamite and other destructive fishing techniques within their boundaries.

In 1991, following a survey of the Tanzanian coast which provided valuable baseline information, the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources, and the Environment appointed a Steering Committee to oversee development of the Mafia Island Marine Park. The Steering Committee was comprised of representatives of key ministries, academic institutions, and international NGOs. In the same year, an FAO legal team developed the legal framework for the Marine Parks and Reserves Act and Regulations.²⁷ A major workshop was held in October 1991 to initiate a collaborative and participatory planning process with representatives of the 11 villages to be involved in the Mafia Island Marine Park. In 1992, World Wildlife Fund (WWF-UK) provided technical and financial support for development of the Park. Following approval of the Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994, the National Assembly established the Mafia Island Marine Park in April 1995 by Resolution.²⁸

Working with the 11 villages located within Park boundaries, and specifically with Village Liaison Committees established to enhance community planning and dialogue, Park officials and external advisors facilitated completion of the Park’s first General Management Plan approved by the Board of Trustees in October 2000. The planning process involved the key steps of a participatory CBNRM process: Participatory Rapid Assessment (PRA); issue identification, assessment, and prioritization; implementation of demonstration “early actions”; and attention to both conservation and socioeconomic goals identified by the communities themselves. The General Management Plan establishes three types of marine use-zones within Park boundary,

²⁵ Bagamoyo District Council, 2002.

²⁶ Mafia Island Marine Park, 2000.

²⁷ Mafia Island Marine Park, 2000.

²⁸ Mafia Island Marine Park, 2000.

and further provides the guiding principles and management strategies for a variety of conservation and community development objectives.²⁹ It provides details on the zoning scheme, prohibited uses, and other uses that are permissible but regulated. Park staff and stakeholders are today moving forward to develop Park Regulations to complement the General Management Plan.³⁰

The Assessment Team was unable to visit Mafia Island and conduct interviews during this CBNRM assessment, however, anecdotal evidence suggests this to be a rich and rewarding case study in coastal and marine CBNRM for Tanzania. Park staff participates in the annual TCMP self-assessment workshops, reporting regularly on progress made, opportunities, and challenges for the Park. The Park has made notable success on a number of challenges, including: implementation of Local Resident User Certificates (LRUC) aimed at self enforcement; installation of demarcation buoys; establishment of a User Fee System; marine enforcement patrols in concert with District Government; construction of Park Headquarters, staff housing, and Village Liaison Committee offices; entrance and fishing permit fees; studies and demonstrations of alternative income and resource use strategies; community training and environmental education; and much more.³¹ And although there are several remaining challenges (especially financial sustainability for the Park, and the introduction of alternative, environment friendly resource use techniques), the Mafia Island Marine Park represents an important model of Central Government and local community “co-management” of important coastal and marine resources.

Summary of Findings from Other Sites Visited by the Assessment Team

The following additional cases selected for review and field visits were identified as successful activities, and represent a sampling of what is possible within the current CBNRM policy environment. These summaries are intended to highlight the principal observations and findings based on a short visit to the area and interviews with key members of the village NRM committees or other local community-based organizations. Detailed field reports from visits to these sites can be found in Annex E. An analysis of the overall results follows the summary descriptions for each site.

***Name of Activity:* Ngarambe Natural Resource Management**

Location Visited: Rufiji District, on the eastern edge of the Selous Game Reserve

Date started: 1997

External funding/donor: WWF, GTZ, WD

Summary Description:

In 1995, GTZ began a sensitization campaign to raise awareness of a program that would enable villages around Selous Game Reserve to benefit from wildlife and reduce poaching. The GTZ program covers some fifty villages around the reserve. WWF and GTZ are collaborating in two

²⁹ Mafia Island Marine Park, 2000.

³⁰ Hisluck & Kazimoto, 2001.

³¹ Hisluck, 2000.

villages bordering the eastern sector of Selous Game Reserve. The African Development Bank is supporting similar activities in districts bordering the western part of the reserve. The experiences from these activities are being used by Wildlife Department to craft national guidelines for Wildlife Management Areas.

Ngarambe village, population of 2,500 people, covers 22,579 hectares, including rich agricultural flood plain and forested uplands. Village livelihoods are based on farming, temporary labor in Selous Reserve; and sale of plaited mats to tourists and hunters. The men traditionally hunted wildlife for meat, and the Reserve management viewed the village as a poacher village prior to the project. In exchange for village agreement to set aside lands for wildlife management and forest, the project facilitates the granting of village land titles.

Powers Devolved to Community: Patrol area and apprehend poachers; shoot, butcher and sell selected species (quota) for local consumption; sell licenses to ‘resident hunters’ , draft bylaws, set prices for licenses and fines, keep funds raised from selling licenses and fines in a natural resources bank account, use those funds as decided by village assembly.

Powers Retained by State: Approve bylaws, Set quota (determine which species and how many of each can be killed each year), monitor wildlife populations,

Benefits to Community: Legal access to meat “for the pot”; small fund generated from sale of hunting licenses is used for allowance and rations for game scouts and for local projects – e.g., bricks for school buildings, materials for new village government building (WWF contributed construction materials like cement, roofing sheets), building for grain mill (Selous Game Reserve management gave mill).

Key Results: Poaching by villagers stopped, wildlife populations stable, game scouts also protecting forest against poachers, improved trust between village and Selous Game Reserve staff

Conditions for Success:

All villagers understand the roles and responsibilities of village government, village assembly and the Community Natural Resources Committee. Village assembly plays active role in directing local government. Transparent accounting for funds creates trust and maintains interest of all villagers. Experience with good governance in NRM spills over into improved village governance.

Lessons Learned:

- Take advantage of Local Government Reform.
- Train villagers in bookkeeping, transparent management of funds, roles & responsibilities of village government, and patrolling.
- Use participatory land use planning to build broad village buy-in, identify protected zones & agricultural zones, and initiate empowerment process.
- Improve tenure security under new Land Act.

Other Issues:

- Lack of transparency in district government regarding use of the 25% revenues given to district government by the Wildlife Division.
- Wildlife damage crops but village receives no compensation for this damage.

Name of Activity: JUKUMU Society

Location Visited: Dhuthumi Village, Morogoro District *Date Started:* 1996

Summary Description:

In 1996, 19 villages, representing approximately 65,000 people, in the Gonabis GCA, located directly north of the reserve and incorporated into one of the SGR tourist hunting blocks, joined to administer a wildlife conservation-oriented buffer zone, designating a total of 750km² as a communal wildlife management area. This common area, borders Selous Game Reserve in the south, Mikumi National Park in the southwest and is surrounded in the west and northwest by the Uluguru Mountains. The area possesses abundant wildlife resources such as wildebeest, buffalo, crocodile, impala, zebra, giraffe, warthog and waterbuck among others. The villagers have collectively created an NGO known as JUKUMU (Jumuiya ya Kuhifadhi Mazingira Ukutu), which is charged with running their buffer area. The organization is responsible for owning firearms, organizing meat sales and transporting the meat to the market, and signing contracts with hunters.

Powers Devolved to Community:

- Acquired permits to harvest crocodiles
- Ability to collaborate with District Game scouts and Selous Game Reserve staff on anti-poaching activities.

Powers Retained by the State:

- Setting quotas for utilization
- Agreements with safari hunting companies

Benefits to the Community:

- Villagers are allowed to harvest a quota of game for their own consumption
- Community receives revenue from concession lease

Other key results:

Relationship with central and district government improved

Conditions for success:

A forum for consensus building, joint decision making, conflict resolution, and organizing meat sales created

Other Lessons Learned:

- Value in having an external facilitation
- Organized a forum for consensus building

Other Issues:

- Community obtained a trophy dealers license to market game outside of the project villages however failed to renew the license because they did not show a profit.
- Opportunities for enhancing their capacity are limited.

Name of Activity: Mgori Forest – Land Management Programme (LAMP)

Location Visited: Singida District

Date started: 1995

External funding/donor: Swedish SIDA

Summary Description:

Mgori Forest covers 400 km² in the wildlife corridor to the the Swaza swaza Game Reserve in neighboring Hanang District. LAMP project assisted five villages (Pohama, Ngimu, Unyampana, Mughunga and Nduamghanga—each with approximately 250 households, in two different wards) to assert their control over Mgori Forest in Singida District after the Forest Department attempted to gazette it as a national forest reserve.

Powers Devolved to Community: Patrol forest and apprehend poachers, fine poachers; draft and enforce bylaws; draft forest management plans, set fines, keep funds raised from fines in a natural resources bank account, use those funds as decided by village assembly

Powers Retained by State: Approve by-laws and forest management plans, survey wildlife, survey forest, determine whether village can harvest timber or wildlife

Benefits to Community: Small community fund (ca. 100,000 shillings; some villages not using it since so small, others using for operating costs or contributing to school building construction); and community access to subsistence items from forest (medicines, firewood, honey).

Key Results:

- District government ceased issuing permits for hunting and timber cutting.
- Poaching of forest products has been reduced.
- Forest fires stopped.
- Forest regeneration is evident to the eye.

Conditions for Success:

Neighboring villages accept legitimacy of village forest guards to apprehend and fine poachers.

Lessons Learned:

Train villagers in bookkeeping, transparent management of funds, roles & responsibilities of village government, and patrolling.

Other Issues:

- Mgori Forest is not yet formally registered/gazetted although all the pre-registration steps have been completed.
- Villages have not received equipment (boots, etc) promised by District Government.
- Villagers feel they are contributing free labor to the forest department, and are only willing to do this with expectation that soon they will allowed to harvest timber and wildlife.

- Villagers feel they need guns to be able to confront poachers.

Name of Activity: MBOMIPA

Location Visited: Tungamalenga village, Iringa District

Date started: 1998 (following on REMP ICDP project begun in 1993)

External funding/donor: DFID

Summary Description:

MBOMIPA’s current purpose is “to improve the livelihoods of people in the proposed Lunda-Mkwambi Wildlife Management Area (LMWMA) by establishing sustainable resource management under community authority and responsibility in Pawaga and Idodi divisions” of Iringa District. MBOMIPA has developed pilot WMAs in 19 villages located in southern part of the Lunda-Mkwambi Game Control Area (LMGCA) , an area of 4,000 km², on southeastern edge of Ruaha National Park. It is in a semi-arid zone dominated by miombo woodland including *Acacia*, *Commiphora*, *Combretum* and *Brachystegia* species. The population of 40,000 people includes Hehe and other Bantu speaking people, some of whom were resettled outside Ruaha National Park following its creation in 1964, as well as non Bantu speaking pastoralists like the Maasai and Barabaig.

Powers Devolved to Community: Patrol area and apprehend poachers; shoot, butcher and sell selected species (quota) for local consumption and/or sell licenses to ‘resident hunters’ , draft bylaws, set prices for licenses and fines, keep funds raised from selling licenses and fines in a natural resources bank account, use those funds as decided by village assembly.

Powers Retained by State: Approve bylaws, Set quota (determine which species and how many of each can be killed each year), monitor wildlife populations.



Photo caption: Idodi Secondary School students in front of the unfinished dormitory being constructed through funds accruing from wildlife utilization in the MBOMIPA project area.

Benefits to Community: Use funds for local development projects such as school buildings. Income from wildlife tripled between 1996 and 1999 (e.g., 1 million shillings in Tungamalenga village).

Key Results: Poaching reduced, wildlife populations stable, increased off-take recommended for five species based on aerial monitoring done in the wet and dry seasons since 1994.

Conditions for Success:

- All villagers understand the roles and responsibilities of village government, village assembly and the Natural Resources Committee. Village assembly makes key decisions about natural resources management and how to fund in their bank account.
- Transparent accounting for funds creates trust and maintains interest of all villagers.
- Experience with good governance in NRM spills over into improved village governance and increased participation in public works and self reliance.

Lessons Learned:

- Train villagers in bookkeeping, transparent management of funds, roles & responsibilities of village government, and patrolling.
- Use participatory land use planning to build broad village buy-in, identify protected zones & agricultural zones, and initiate empowerment process.
- Adapt to changing circumstances as activity evolves.
- Use cross-site visits to enable villagers to learn from each other's experiences.
- Involve women.

Other Issues: Could quadruple their income if were allowed to sell licenses to international tourist hunters.

Name of Activity: TanzaKesho

Location Visited: Mbozi District

Date started: 1999

External funding/donor: UNDP

Summary Description:

The Tanzakesho Programme, under UNDP's Capacity 21 program, *aims at enhancing capacity for participatory planning, management and sustainable development at local levels (District, Ward and Villages)*. The program brings together different sectors and communities in planning processes, whilst giving power and empowering communities to plan, marshal resources and implement programs that address their concerns (health, education, poverty, transport, natural resources etc) in holistic ways.

Powers Devolved to Community: problem assessment, planning and implementation

Powers Retained by State: Incorporate village-generated plans into district plan along with other input, determine which plans will receive district funding (including district budget and donor funding to district for this project).

Benefits to Community:

Empowerment and motivation to undertake small development projects with technical advice from district extension workers.

Key Results:

School buildings renovated, springs protected, forests put under protection, drug use reduced, improved family welfare, enhanced gender equality; increased self-reliance and organization to plan and implement local projects; District Council decided to expand the program to two more divisions, using district funds.



Photo Caption: The Mbozi Mission village expanded conservation of natural forests for the protection of springs as part of their implementation of plans derived from the TanzaKesho PRA exercise.

Conditions for Success:

- Responsive and accountable district government
- Good communication up and down government hierarchy
- Planning department interested in incorporating village plans into district plans
- Improved coordination between district sectoral teams to deliver assistance in integrated development.

Lessons Learned:

- Use intensive 2 week PRA to energize villagers and assist them to assess their own problems and come up with concrete plans to address them, assign responsibilities and timeframes, etc.
- Train villagers in bookkeeping, transparent management of funds, roles & responsibilities of village government.
- Use study tours to enable villagers to exchange experiences and innovations.
- Donors should deliver support through district government structure instead of creating parallel project structure.
- Build district government capacity to use “core team approach” to achieve integrated rural development that meets village needs at increased efficiency.
- Use integrated multi-sectoral approach to fit with management problems faced by village government. Base project design on survey of best practices. Train district core team in PRA, teambuilding, etc.

Other Issues:

- Not all district governments are accountable and transparent.
- Not all district governments have the political will and capacity to use this approach.

Name of Activity: Cullman & Hurt Community Wildlife Project

Location Visited: Arkaria, Lepurko and Imairet (Monduli District)

Date Started: 1990

Summary Description:

The Cullman & Hurt project was initiated by Joseph Cullman, a US businessman and philanthropist, and Robin Hurt Safaris Ltd., a private hunting company. The project aims to create a sense of stewardship and ownership in rural communities for wildlife and other resources in areas where they have traditionally hunted and controlled in spite of unclear land tenure. The goal is to ensure that the 23 villages associated with Robin Hurt Safaris' hunting blocks benefit from tourism hunting that occurs on land that they consider theirs. The project finances local development with hunting fees, and organizes anti-poaching patrols and educational activities. The project is successful because it provides direct benefits for local people, as well as a sense of responsibility and control.

Powers Devolved to Community:

Communities decide how revenues from hunting should be used.

Powers Retained by the State/private sector:

- Hunting quotas are set by the Wildlife Division, and most hunting fees go to the central government.
- Company controls and manages bank account on behalf of local community.

Benefits to the Community:

From 1991 to 2001 a total of 119 projects were funded in 23 villages. Funds helped build school facilities (47), health facilities (16) and water projects (28), as well as providing food and water during several severe droughts and food shortages.

Other key results:

Anti-poaching activities have involved local communities and reduced poaching, and public awareness about conservation and its benefits has increased.

Conditions for success:

- The project has developed reliable and sustainable revenues for communities through surcharges on hunting.
- Local communities decide together in open meetings how they would like the fees generated from the hunting to be used.
- Actual management of the funds is done by Hurt Safaris to ensure that the funds are used accountably
- Villages often provide labor to help with construction projects.

Other Lessons Learned:

- The project depends entirely on revenues from foreign sport hunters.
- Local governance and financial management skills should be developed to increase local ownership and control.

- Longer term agreements increase the private sectors' willingness to invest in an area, especially for infrastructure and support to local communities.
- More systematic monitoring of game stocks and hunting off take should be established.

Other Issues:

- Anti-poaching and educational activities depend largely on outside donations, raised by Cullman and Hurt.
- Communities do not have clear, legal title to their lands, which creates fears over their ability to control and protect the resources they depend on.
- Private donations and grants are used to maintain anti-poaching efforts and educational programs, which limits the project's sustainability.
- The overall size and complexity of the ecosystem makes establishment of a reliable monitoring program extremely difficult at the community level.

Name of Activity: Robanda Community - Private Tour Operator Partnership

Location Visited: Ikoma-Robanda, Serengeti District, West of SNP

Date Started: 1993

Summary Description:

The Robanda people were traditionally hunters and pastoralists when the Serengeti National Park was established. Creation of the park created considerable animosity among the local people who relied on the area for grazing, hunting, firewood collection, and other traditional uses. Poaching was once very common, but there is now a general awareness within the community that wildlife have a greater value through tourism and commercial sport hunting.

Powers Devolved to Community:

- Village officials directly negotiated several agreements with tour operators to use village land.
- Village officials decide how the revenues are used to assist the community.

Powers Retained by the State:

Government allocates subsistence hunting quotas to the village each year.

Benefits to the Community:

The community has benefited through improved primary schools, health services, water projects, and general food security. Overall, the village is distinct from other communities in that many of the houses and shops are constructed of cement with metal roofs, rather than the more common traditional mud and dung structures with thatch roofs.

Other key results:

Poaching around the village has declined as people realize the value of wildlife for tourism and commercial hunting.

Conditions for success:

- Robanda is located near the border of the SNP, with good access roads, so its geographic position attracts private tour companies.

- The village was able to negotiate directly with private tour companies to receive a fee for the private commercial use of village lands and water.
- The village was able to decide how to use the revenues to benefit the overall community.
- Physical infrastructure, including bore holes and a grain mill, provide some revenue for their regular maintenance.

Other Lessons Learned:

- Some degree of outside facilitation would help Robanda negotiate commercial arrangements with private operators, and help them develop a longer term village development and land use plan.
- Support from an outside organization could help local officials and the community to improve their governance systems and management skills.
- A clear demarcation of the village land would avoid confusion and help them patrol the area more effectively.

Other Issues:

- The Robanda Village Council manages all revenues with limited input from the broader community. Increased and more formal dialogue would increase the transparency of how funds are used, and create greater awareness within the village of the benefits associated with the area's wildlife and other natural resources.
- Community meetings need to be held more frequently and regularly to increase village participation.
- People in Robanda realize the value of their wildlife and the hunting quotas they receive for subsistence use. They would like to be able to sell their quotas for village use to commercial hunters in order to have greater overall revenues.
- A wildlife monitoring program would benefit the community, however the magnitude of the ecosystem and the mobility of the animals make effective monitoring a challenge that requires the Wildlife Division and TANAPA to assist.

***Name of Activity:* Manyara Trustland - Tanzania Conservation Land Trust (TCLT) – conservation and pastoral grazing**

Location Visited: Manyara Trustland Headquarters, Monduli District

Date Started: July 2000 – title to ranch transferred to TCLT

Summary Description:

The Manyara Trust Lands, consists of approximately 45,000 acres and occupies a critical location in the northern portion of the Kwa Kuchinja wildlife migration corridor situated between Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks in northeast Tanzania. The Manyara Trust Land is adjacent to the main tourist route to Ngorogoro Conservation Area and Serengeti National Park, on which approximately 100,000 tourists per year pass.

Powers Devolved to Community:

- Creation of Tanzania Conservation Land Trust – legal constitution through a land trust deed recognized by central government
- Joint management of ranch – power to determine access and use of resources on ranch land (dams, bore holes, water tanks, grazing areas, building materials) devolved to community through the Trust

Powers Retained by the State:

Control over the wildlife on the land

Benefits to the Community:

- Joint management of ranch – power to determine access and use of resources on ranch land (dams, bore holes, water tanks, grazing areas, building materials)
- Opportunity to develop wildlife related tourism through community-private sector joint venture relationships
- Potential for other income generating projects on land that preserves the integrity of one of the key wildlife corridor and reserve fodder pastoral use area
- Social welfare improvement for pastoral children – improvement and renovation of primary school facility
- Seasonal access to water through dams, bore holes, water tanks, maintained by ranch

Other key results:

- Organization and governance at the village level was facilitated by the creation of the TCLT through the steering committee
- Awareness campaign by TCLT members is targeting communities in the surrounding areas not involved in the TCLT
- Community game scouts trained to patrol and monitor resource use and wildlife movements
- Increased collaboration between communities and government authorities (TANAPA, WD, District Council)
- Developed interim operation plan and management zone concept plan

Conditions for success:

- Organized themselves to take advantage of a timely political opportunity
- Steering committee allowed people to organize and take control over the ranch
- Presence of an external facilitator (AWF and MAA)
- Access over use of resources
- Joint land use planning

Other Lessons Learned:

- Value in having external facilitation
- Seeking government support for innovative solutions
- Organize a forum for consensus building
- Control over Use through a transparent steering committee

Other Issues:

Manyara Ranch TCLT provides for natural resource conservation and traditional pastoral land use practices that potentially exclude agricultural communities.

Results, Lessons Learned & Conditions for Success in CBNRM

In a recent commentary, a leading architect of Community-Based Conservation in Southern Africa, Marshall Murphree, characterized the broad picture of CBC in Africa as “one where successes stand as islands in a sea of initiatives where performance rarely matches promise and is sometimes abysmal”.³² This report highlights the positive experiences from several “islands” amid the many initiatives in Tanzania. CBC is not new in Tanzania, as there are a number of localized initiatives with more than a decade of experience. However, in many respects CBC is still at an early stage in Tanzania, and far from realizing its full potential to contribute to the country’s economic development and resource conservation objectives.

As will be apparent from the cases documented in this assessment, the experiences gained in a growing number of pilot activities can be scaled up and more widely replicated. Such an expansion will nevertheless require the Government of Tanzania and its partners to address a number of constraints and to move forward more vigorously to devolve political and economic power, and to implement provisions in new policies that are consistent with CBNRM. In the process, CBNRM can provide a mechanism to support democratic reforms and an expansion of natural resource-based enterprises as a foundation for revitalizing rural development, while simultaneously reducing environmental degradation and contributing to the achievement of biodiversity conservation goals.

Despite the many serious and continuing threats to the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources in Tanzania, and the numerous examples of degradation and declining productivity of Tanzania’s rich heritage of wildlife, fisheries, forests, pastures, water, soil and other renewable natural resources, this assessment reveals that there are cases where local communities have been mobilized and are now sufficiently well organized and supported to slow, halt and even reverse environmental degradation. Moreover, these cases demonstrate that CBNRM is an economically attractive land use option. In many areas of Tanzania, traditional agriculture or livestock-raising may not generate the most favorable economic returns. It is possible to increase the productivity and economic returns to local communities from forests, fisheries, wildlife and other natural resources. However, communities will not have an incentive to invest in improved management practices unless they directly benefit from these investments. (see text box on the Mwada Conservation Business Venture).

A growing number of communities understand the linkages between local empowerment to control unsustainable use of natural resources, adoption of techniques to improve the management and conservation of those resources, and increased security of local livelihoods and improved socio-economic well-being. The critical importance of awareness-raising, participatory approaches to conservation and sustained efforts at building local level capacity to improve the management of natural resources is being reflected in recent CBNRM initiatives. Moreover, these initiatives are also recognizing the value of strengthening linkages with efforts that support

³² See Prof. M. W. Murphree, Community-Based Conservation: Old Ways, New Myths and Enduring Challenges. Key Address for Theme no. 3, Conference on African Wildlife Management in the New Millennium, College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka, Tanzania, 13-15 December 2000.

improved governance, enterprise development and the legal empowerment of communities to organize and manage local economic development activities.

The Case of the Mwada Conservation Business Venture

In March, 2002, USAID/Tanzania provided an encouraging report on the Mwada Conservation Business Venture (CBV). The Kibo Safari /Mwada agreement was concluded in May 2001. Prior to the negotiations, the parties had an informal agreement whereby Kibo Safaris used village land for mobile campsite. Under the terms of the CBV, Kibo safari had agreed to pay \$10 per bed night in return for the use of the land. The agreement was signed by the Village Chairman on behalf of Mwada village and Director of Kibo Safari on behalf of the company. The negotiation process was long, as it began in year 2000.

AWF played a major role in brokering the Mwada and Kibo Safari Limited agreement. The village was advised on the business potential of the area, the importance of preserving the natural resources and environment, and was given working examples of similar deals in Tanzania and Kenya where communities benefit. With AWF assistance, the village managed to convince Kibo Safaris to double the bed night fees from \$10 to \$20 per de night. The extra \$10 is treated as conservation fees, payable only if the conservation area has been properly managed and conserved by putting a ban on grazing, cultivation, human settlement and cutting trees in the designated area.

Kibo Safari also benefited from the interventions and services of AWF, as the village came to appreciate the importance of reaching a formal agreement with the company and the villagers were more organized as a result of training offered by AWF. African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) provided training to Mwada villagers on business management, gender issues, and contract negotiations. The villagers have requested further training on financial management, governance and institutional development. AWF also visited the parties separately prior to the negotiations to examine and understand the needs of each party. Then a meeting between the village council and the company was convened, with AWF and the District Council official as invited observers, and they intervened only on matters that needed clarification.

Afterwards, AWF drafted an agreement based on the discussions. The village government presented and explained the draft to the village assembly meeting. After the village assembly agreed with the draft, another meeting between the two parties was convened to finalize the discussions. The village council is comprised of a chairman and about twenty members, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the members are women. The Village Assembly is the highest organ in the village structure, and it is the one that elects the Village Council. The Village Assembly consists of all residents who have attained the age of eighteen.

The Mwada/Kibo agreement is a significant achievement because the conservation area was being overrun by farmers, charcoal makers and pastoralists. This was causing the disappearance of wild life in the area. The agreement will therefore help protect the area, which is adjacent to Tarangire National Park, and will also provide villagers with tangible economic benefits. It is hoped that in the future, more wildlife will be attracted back to the area. The Mwada/Kibo Safari deal can be regarded as an interim agreement while waiting for the supporting legislation on WMA to take effect. Mwada village together with the three other villages of Minjingu, Vilima Vitatu, and Sangaiwe has been proposed as potential Wildlife Management Areas (WMA).

The assessment began by seeking local expert opinion on “successful” CBNRM initiatives. While we did not gather data on the actual extent of area under CBNRM projects or the number of projects, the search for successful initiatives revealed that the majority of ongoing CBNRM activities are tied to donor-funded pilot projects. The fact that the cases reviewed in this assessment are largely driven by projects and have not yet been spontaneously and widely replicated indicates that a favorable “enabling environment” for CBNRM has not yet been well established in Tanzania. The report includes a number of reflections about the “conditions for success” that appear to be necessary to trigger successful CBNRM initiatives.

As the record shows from a number of CBNRM activities that have been supported over the past 10-15 years in Tanzania and other African countries with valuable wildlife and forest resources, these activities are not likely to be sustainable unless there is democratic reform and devolution of power to accompany the application of technical “best practices” and lessons learned. Although the starting point for many CBNRM activities has been an emphasis on increased community participation in the protection and conservation or “stewardship”: of natural resources, this assessment has revealed that community-based management is not likely to succeed if NRM planning and field activities are not well integrated into activities that strengthen local level governance and generate tangible social, economic and financial benefits. Investments in resource management need to lead to improvements in socio-economic well-being, with transparent and accountable provisions for equitable benefit sharing at the local level.

General Findings on Best Practices

The overall results from all of the sites visited, together with key findings and lessons learned from additional case studies in Tanzania, the available literature on CBNRM, and facilitated discussions with USAID/Tanzania SO2 partner NGOs during the SOT retreat suggest the following general findings. In keeping with appreciative inquiry methodology, the results described below are aggregated examples of successful results from some (not all) cases. Annex F provides a summary of key observations from selected sites, in the three critical areas of CBNRM activities: devolution of powers, economic benefits, and improved environmental management. A number of important “best practices” associated with these results are also highlighted in the table and in the following section.

Environmental Management and Biophysical Aspects

Results: CBNRM has produced significant biophysical results at the site level. Fish and wildlife populations have stabilized or increased. Forests are regenerating. Healthy environments are being restored by protection of reefs, springs and forests. These results have accrued through the application of appropriate techniques in land use management overseen by effective local government acting in response to economic and social incentives.

Conditions for Success:

- Community is willing to invest in management measures.
- Community has ownership of their resources.
- Community is empowered to make key decisions affecting resource regeneration.

- Community uses effective approaches and technologies to ensure resource recovery.
- Community has bylaws and effectively uses them to manage sustainable offtake.
- Central government regularly provides communities and district government with biophysical information derived from monitoring populations/ecosystems at larger scale.
- Government agencies provide consistent support to communities.

Lessons learned for CBNRM design and implementation:

- Start small to demonstrate early success and support action by other communities.
- Monitor against a baseline using simple indicators.
- Use cross-site visits and joint meetings to exchange information among communities and upward to district and national levels.
- Identify and address root causes for resource degradation in participatory manner.
- Use participatory land/sea use planning , such as PRA, to build broad village buy-in, identify protected zones, and agricultural zones, and initiate empowerment process.
- Ensure that community has proper equipment and tools to manage resource and enforce rules.
- Raise awareness of environmental issues among communities and district governments.
- Advocate for enabling legislation.
- Train national and district government staff in necessary skills and appropriate techniques, including participatory problem analysis and other techniques that require attitudinal changes
- Develop trust between district government and local communities.
- Involve all sectors of community – including all user groups, women, and youth.
- Place physical markers around borders and use signs to encourage recognition of community control and enhance pride.

Socio-Economic and Financial Aspects

Results: CBNRM activities are generating economic and social benefits. Expectations for higher economic benefits in the future have been sufficient incentives to reduce current offtakes. With funds generated from natural resources, and as a result of village planning exercises, funds from CBNRM activities have been contributed toward the full cost of construction of schools, schoolteachers' houses, clinics and other public buildings. The small funds from CBNRM activities have been used to leverage larger funds and materials from government or donors as well as contributed to reducing local contributions for public projects normally required from

individual households. In cases where adequate funds are being generated, scholarships for secondary and university students are being funded from wildlife earnings. Social cohesion has increased. Volunteerism has increased, particularly for game scouts, coast guards, forest guards who are expecting to be paid in the future. Gender equity has been improved. Subsistence benefits (medicines, water, firewood, building materials, craft materials, etc) have stabilized or improved with more sustainable harvesting.

Conditions for Success:

- Benefits from CBNRM are incentives to change behavior.
- CBNRM income is used to improve social services
- CBNRM implementation builds community cohesion.
- CBNRM subsistence benefits and income increases to meet expectations during initial period of harvesting restraint.
- Income is used in ways that build village social cohesion.

Lessons learned for CBNRM design and implementation:

- Negotiate agreements with private sector that include safety clauses, long-term investment, and good benefits for communities.
- Push envelope to gain access to most profitable resources (international tourist hunters, timber, hotels, etc).
- Advocate for policy reform to support greater economic benefits to communities.
- Train villagers in bookkeeping, record keeping, and financial planning skills.
- Ensure that funds are managed transparently.
- Use open meetings to decide how funds will be spent.
- Use external facilitation when there is significant power differences between village and other stakeholders.
- Seek government support for innovative solutions.
- District and national government and donors need to provide consistent and adequate support, adapting support to take advantage of possibilities for increasing community benefits.
- Evaluate tax benefit/incentives for village enterprises during start-up phase.
- Build capacity to enter joint ventures with private sector.

Governance and Institutional Aspects

Results: CBNRM activities have promoted progress in democratization and good governance at the village level. Village assemblies are holding regular meetings where communities make collective decisions about budget allocation and review expenditures. Corrupt local leaders have been removed, and expectations for government performance have risen. More youth and women are participating in village government.

Conditions for Success:

- Regular and active village assembly meetings
- Self-reliance in decision-making and adaptive planning
- Financial transparency encourages transparency in other matters under village government.

Lessons learned for CBNRM design and implementation

- Use financial management as a strong entry point for improving governance.
- Build accountability, transparency and group problem solving skills through training in roles, rules and responsibilities of committee members, village council, village assembly, ward council and district council.
- Encourage village assembly to be key institution for decision-making.
- Use PRA and other means to enable village to draw up village action plans that have official status.
- Use CBNRM to build constituency for national policy change.
- Take advantage of local government reforms to empower villages to make key decisions, make and enforce by-laws.
- Develop good cross-scale accountability (upward as well as downward) to ensure good governance at all scales necessary to maintain the resource.
- Train communities in conflict resolution and use of courts as mediation tools that can represent their interests when dealing with more powerful non-village parties.

Opportunities and Prospects

The assessment began by deliberating searching out some of the better known examples of “successful” CBNRM initiatives. The fact that the cases reviewed in this assessment are largely driven by projects and have not yet been spontaneously and widely replicated indicates that a favorable “enabling environment” for CBNRM has not yet been well established in Tanzania. The report includes a number insights about the “conditions for success” that appear to be necessary to trigger successful CBNRM initiatives.

Although the starting point for many CBNRM activities has been an emphasis on increased community participation in the protection and conservation or “stewardship” of natural resources, this assessment has revealed that community-based management is not likely to succeed if NRM planning and field activities are not well integrated into activities that strengthen local level governance and generate tangible social, economic and financial benefits. In many areas, wildlife populations can be the source of considerable hardship for local communities, who may suffer crop damages and livestock losses without compensation, and even the loss of human lives. A number of pilot activities are being supported, however, to demonstrate how local communities can benefit to a greater degree from wildlife and other natural resources.

As became clear during the review of the preliminary findings of this assessment at the SO2 Partnership Retreat, a “vision” of what CBNRM might become and how in Tanzania is gradually emerging among many CBNRM stakeholders and program supporters. The following key elements of this vision were discussed at the retreat, and are largely grounded in the findings of this assessment.

The Vision: Resources are managed better and communities in Tanzania are fully engaged in CBNRM and are economically, socially and legally benefiting from it.

Necessary Conditions:

- Widespread access to information at all levels in local languages that describe the policies, laws, rights, lessons learned and other guidelines to “facilitate” CBNRM.
- A diversity of CBNRM approaches has been tested and replicated throughout the country, and the CBNRM policies, guidelines and regulations are fully applied so that communities have greater control over natural resources.
- Coordinated institutional support for CBNRM, across sectors and among key stakeholders.
- Increasing numbers of empowered villages and community based organizations, together with an association or federation of CBOs that is organized as a constituency to advocate for CBNRM and to promote greater accountability in implementing and supporting CBNRM
- Communities have increased their revenue collection, households are richer, and poverty is reduced.

As the vision articulated by the SO2 partners illustrates, there is plenty of evidence and widespread agreement that CBNRM could improve Tanzanian livelihoods and contribute to the sustainable use and improved management of natural resources. Furthermore, it seems apparent that the realization of CBNRM's potential in Tanzania is not limited so much by a lack of technical information, or processes for monitoring, low potential economic benefits, or by a lack of community interest. There is adequate experience with CBNRM in Tanzania and elsewhere to design and implement a successful national program to support the transition to “full CBNRM”. The assessment team felt that the realization of CBNRM's potential is limited more

by inadequate support for democratic governance, a reluctance to analyze and address issues related to the political economy of CBNRM (issues of power and money), and an associated weakness of national political will to unequivocally devolve rights and decentralize the management of valuable resources.

But in that very problem lies a potential solution: CBNRM offers an excellent platform for mobilizing civil society to support the legitimacy of politicians who press for governance reform. Some 80 percent of Tanzanian citizens depend on natural resources for their livelihoods. Control of access to these natural resources is hotly political because by controlling access to natural resources, powerful figures in government are positioned to benefit personally from allocating those resources. The current government is committed to reducing corruption and to shifting resource allocation decisions downward to district and local levels. At this moment in history, natural resource governance issues offer a focus for building constituency pressure for the more systemic reforms that are necessary to create the environment for successful CBNRM and for Tanzanian economic development in general. Experience from Zimbabwe and Namibia further suggests that CBNRM can be a powerful force for pushing democratic reforms if attention is paid to maintaining strategic long-term support to prevent central government from rolling back rights (“aborted devolution”) gained under CBNRM initiatives.

Recent analysis of the “enabling conditions” for investment in sound forest management in the West Africa region bear many similarities to the emerging set of conditions that would also most likely be necessary in Tanzania in order to move forward and scale up CBNRM to reach its full potential. (see Box on Enabling Conditions for Community Based Forest Management)

Enabling Conditions

The following enabling conditions for investment in sound forest management were identified based on the field visits and workshop discussions.

Individuals are more likely to invest in sound forest management when they:

- ♦ perceive that they have clear authority to manage the forest resource and have rights over the products of better management;
- ♦ have access to capital and markets for the products of better management;
- ♦ have access to appropriate technical assistance and knowledge of a broad range of management options;
- ♦ belong to democratically run, business-based, legally recognized producer groups;
- ♦ are able to fund forest management operations with revenue generated by local forest-based activities; and
- ♦ can balance forest management with other aspects of the rural production system.

The above conditions were created by one or more of the following actions:

Policy or legal reforms that:

- ♦ devolved authority to local populations;
- ♦ provided property rights or usufruct security for products of better management;

- ♦ allowed legally recognized producer groups to develop management plans and legally recognized bylaws for managing local forest resources and allowed them to enter into contracts with private operators and/or government on exploitation of forest resources;
- ♦ allowed for revenues generated from forest enterprises to be reinvested in management at the site of exploitation and to support Forest Service Operations; and
- ♦ were communicated and are well known to rural populations.

Institutional reforms that:

- ♦ strengthened the technical assistance function of the Forestry Service and turn it into a Service that acts more like a partner than a policeman;
- ♦ allowed for the legal recognition of CBOs and the development of clear, practical, and simple forest management plans by the Forestry Service and CBOs working as a partnership; and
- ♦ allowed for legal recognition of CSOs and freedom of association

Research and Training efforts that:

- ♦ supported government and private sector professionals in gaining forest inventory and management skills;
- ♦ supported community members in functional literacy, numeracy, enterprise and organizational management, as well as community-to-community visits to exchange experiences;
- ♦ researched forest management and forest product processing; and
- ♦ developed and supported knowledge management systems aimed at identifying, assessing, and broadly disseminating information about forestry experiences (not only to other producers, but to Forestry Service personnel, donors and the international community).

Support to CBOs that:

- ♦ provided intermediary services to CBOs to help them gain credit and markets without creating dependencies or market distortions; and
- ♦ developed infrastructure to link rural populations to markets.

The field visits for the CBNRM Assessment suggested that a number of these conditions and related best practices are contributing to the success of CBNRM in Tanzania, notably:

- Expanded support for awareness raising, exchange visits
- Participatory planning
- Local empowerment and devolution of authority for resource monitoring, protection, and policing
- Government support among field level technical services for CBNRM pilot activities

- Investment in training and capacity building in book-keeping and financial management
- Increased access to local level economic benefits (game meat distribution, community development funds, etc.)

Some of the critically important enabling conditions which have yet to be fully established or widely applied in Tanzania include:

- Clarification and simplification of procedures for significant devolution of responsibilities, authorities and rights to community-based user groups, organizations and enterprises
- Reform of fiscal policies and progressive shifts in revenue sharing
- Literacy training, enterprise development training, and further capacity building to promote increased access to capital (micro-credit, joint ventures) and to larger and more lucrative markets
- Promotion of the role of civil society and the media in advocacy and oversight related to CBNRM
- Strengthening of knowledge management, information dissemination, communication and environmental education activities
- Strengthening of adaptive research and extension efforts, particularly in the areas of land use and NRM planning, resource inventory and monitoring techniques, and procedures to ensure sustained yield harvesting and regeneration of natural resources
- Increased attention to policy research and institutional reforms, particularly with respect to issues related to the political economy of CBNRM, and establishment of appropriate checks and balances

The connection , noted in the 1996 assessment of options for USAID support for CBNRM in Tanzania (Elias & Hitchcock 1996), is still valid:

"The hypothesis is that to be sustainable, solutions to problems at any level must be supported by actions at the other levels. Community level field interventions .. seek solutions to very targeted resource management challenges and carry those solutions through the vertical institutional and legislative structures - both upstream and downstream.... During Tanzania's transition to a multi-party democracy, the system's credibility will be judged in part by the strength and independence of local government. ... Building a sustainable system of natural resource management can be the practical function around which effective local government can be created. By concentrating on the vertical institutional linkages between local [village, ward and district] government, the communities they represent, and nation decision-makers, mechanisms can be put in place to ensure effective community participation in NRM policy dialogue." P.23.

There are multiple opportunities to build on what is working, by giving more attention to governance and economic aspects, as well as environmental conservation. There is a particular need to ensure good linkages and field level integration between CBNRM, democracy/governance, agriculture, poverty reduction and other economic growth development assistance strategies and support programs.

In the short term, expanded efforts to promote greater information sharing about the emerging and proven “best practices” for CBNRM in Tanzania provide a relatively efficient and effective means to stimulate and support the expansion of CBNRM activities, including

- The use of literacy training, bookkeeping, community organization, PRA, formulation of by-laws, legalization of CBO’s, participatory local development planning and natural resource-based enterprise development as effective entry points for CBNRM
- Continued focus on meeting the needs for training and capacity building in key areas
- Increase collaboration and support by central and district government technical services for land use planning, NRM planning, adaptation and assistance with participatory natural resource monitoring techniques, oversight of equitable benefit distribution plans, and assistance with marketing, access to credit, enterprise development and joint ventures.

There are numerous signs that local communities were willing to act in the face of threats to their natural resources from destructive fishing practices, over-fishing, uncontrolled bush fires, hunting, poaching, indiscriminate fuelwood harvesting, timber cutting, erosion, and conversion of rangeland and forestland to other uses (mainly agriculture, commercial farming by outsiders). To be effective, local efforts aimed at resource protection, monitoring and improved management need to be followed up and supported by local authorities responsible for law enforcement and natural resource management. And local investments in resource protection and restoration can be strengthened by a progressive transfer of rights and authority for increased local control over the use of the resource. Experience from Tanzania as well as other countries suggests that communities need to be ensured of:

- legal recognition and empowerment of community-based organizations with a mandate, responsibility and powers to implement CBNRM activities
- support and collaboration from government agencies responsible for allocation of quotas and devolution of CBNRM rights and powers
- assistance and support with the identification and demarcation of areas reserved for CBNRM activities
- legitimization and legal recognition of land use plans produced through participatory planning exercises and in collaboration with local authorities
- clarification and transfer of authority to levy and collect fines and other revenues from NRM activities

- clarification and transfer of authority to decide upon resource access and to issue permits for use and harvesting of resources within designated CBNRM areas
- clarification and transfer of authority to decide upon and monitor distribution of benefits
- technical support in NRM planning, inventory, monitoring, promotion of sustainable use practices
- technical and financial support for the development of natural resource based enterprises and accessing new markets for their higher-valued products
- investments at the local level in resource protection, restoration and more intensive management are directly tied to income-generation, jobs, and a greater flow of products and services to the community

Recommended Follow Up

The assessment team realizes that there is no “blueprint” or single model to propose in order to guarantee success with CBNRM. Yet many of the lessons learned from this and other assessments of CBNRM could be usefully applied to ensure a greater chance of achieving positive impacts and sustainable results over the long run.

It is not the intent of this report to recommend the specific details of a CBNRM strategy and national program for Tanzania. There are a number of working groups, task forces and other initiatives that are well positioned to support the stakeholder consultation process and other activities that could be organized to develop and launch such a program.

Given the continuing need to adapt and deepen the experience with CBNRM in Tanzania, rather than recommending a specific approach or to promote CBNRM, the team is recommending a series of mostly process-related follow up activities that could be pursued over the next 12 months.

1. ***Circulate the assessment report*** to all key stakeholders, in order to obtain additional complementary information and commentary on the assessment findings. This would include for example, the SO2 MRWG, SO2 partners (SO3, SO9), key GOT agencies with an interest in CBNRM (NEMC, DOE, WD, FBD, Fisheries, etc.) interested donors (GTZ, WB, DFID, DANIDA, UNDP), other stakeholders in the CBC community in Tanzania.
2. ***Prepare “user friendly” summaries*** in English and Ki-Swahili of the assessment report and commentaries and disseminate to community leaders and key decision makers; incorporate the main findings from the lessons learned about best practices and enabling conditions as well as information about documented impacts and benefits.
3. ***Use the assessment results in awareness raising and training activities organized to promote and support CBNRM.*** A number of CBNRM partners and stakeholders are currently involved in developing guidelines, source books, and “tool kits” for awareness raising or other training activities designed to promote and support CBNRM initiatives at the local level.

4. **Promote networking, information sharing** as well as continued assessments and “stocktaking” exercises to expand and update lessons learned and best practices; encourage the use of information management tools such as the NRM Tracker and CBNRM websites to increase the accessibility and utility of research results, directory of service providers and other information.
5. **Support more community to community exchanges.** The assessment team noted the usefulness and potentially important role of community to community exchanges or study tours / field visits in stimulating and informing CBNRM initiatives. Clearly, a number of activities need to be supported to launch and to build capacity among community-based organizations. In addition to making the assessment report widely available, the most convincing way to share the assessment findings is to enable community members to visit other communities and to see for themselves what can be achieved and how.
6. **Develop and adopt a common vision for achieving CBNRM** and identify priorities for corresponding support programs and assistance activities; **establish a mechanism to monitor and report on progress in achieving key benchmarks** and other actions needed to establish the full range of enabling conditions necessary for the “take off” and widespread replication and expansion of CBNRM activities.
7. **Accelerate efforts to harmonize and strengthen the legal and regulatory framework** for CBNRM across all NRM subsectors.
8. **Apply the insights gained from program monitoring and evaluation**, improved information management and “collective learning” among CBNRM stakeholders in Tanzania to target additional actions needed, and to **make needed adjustment in policies and program priorities**.
9. Support mechanisms for local level networking and the emergence of federations of CBNRM CBOs to build a **stronger constituency and more effective voice for governance reforms** that support CBNRM.