



COMMUNITY-BASED WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT IN TANZANIA: THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

Community-based wildlife management (CWM) approach – known to others as community-based conservation – was first introduced in Tanzania in 1987/88. The approach intends to reconcile wildlife conservation and rural economic development. In the 1990s Tanzanians witnessed a rush by government Ministries and Departments to formulate and/or reformulate their policies. One such policy is the Wildlife Policy, formulated by the Wildlife Division in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Some policies affect community-based wildlife management (CWM) approach positively. Others affect the approach negatively and yet others affect it both positively and negatively.

This article reviews the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania and eight other national policies and assesses how each actually or potentially affects CWM and wildlife conservation in general. The article intends to show wildlife managers, conservationists and proponents of CWM in Tanzania the work ahead of them, as far as clearing the way for the approach is concerned. Also, as one reviewer observed, the article acts as a stimulant to further analyses of the policies.

INTRODUCTION

After political independence, governments in Africa embraced and continued colonial wildlife policies and laws (Nabane & Matzke 1997, Lynch & Alcorn 1994). This led to a war-like situation, with the governments on one side and local communities in wildlife areas on the other, and the “helpless” wildlife caught in between. In fact, some governments went to

the extreme by adopting a “shoot-on-site” policy against poachers (Hitchcock, 1995; Liebenberg and Grossman 1994). But even this policy did not help much to stop the downward trend of wildlife populations on the continent (The Economist 1997, Matzke & Nabane 1996, Wolanski, 1996, Hitchcock 1995, Thouless & Sakwa 1995).

Parallel to and reinforcing the decline of wildlife populations, government expenditure on wildlife management has been small. See, for instance, Milner-Gulland and Leader-Williams (1992) for 1988 figures for the whole continent, IUCN (1991) for figures from Tanzania for 1991 and Kelso (1995) for other African countries.

The combination of continuing threat to the survival of wildlife species, shrinking habitats, shrinking economies of the African countries, and erosion of the public's general confidence in governments as problem solvers led to a growing consensus, especially among conservationists and international conservation organizations, that alternative approaches were required (Freeman 1989). One of the suggested alternatives was community-based wildlife management (CWM) - known to others as community-based conservation (CBC). The main goal of CWM is to create conditions whereby local communities in wildlife areas can sustainably manage and utilize wildlife in their areas.

Community-based wildlife management builds upon the principles of sustainable



development and integrated rural development, which imply that natural resources are brought under local control and that local communities are given a decisive voice in planning their management (Sibanda 1996, Friedmann 1992). But implementation and outcomes of CWM are

influenced, or are likely to be influenced, by a number of 'internal' and 'external' (to the community) factors as illustrated in Figure 1. Among the external factors are policies of the host government.

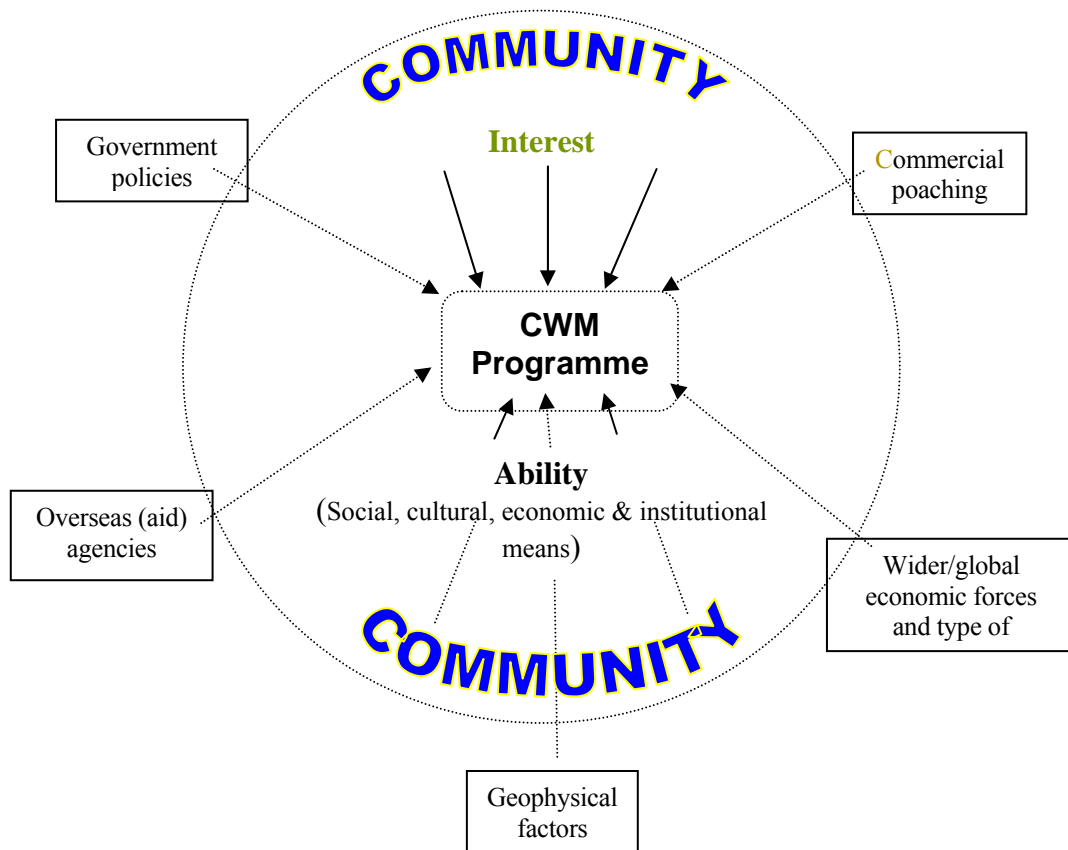


Figure 1. Factors influencing Community-based wildlife management in Tanzania

The government of Tanzania, like all other governments, is not a unitary actor. It consists of a broad range of agencies and individuals. As a result, 'self-interest' is likely to differ within government and at different levels. In the 1990s Tanzanians witnessed a rush by government Ministries and Departments to formulate and/or reformulate policies. The decade could appropriately be called 'The Policy Formulation Decade'. This article answers the following questions regarding CWM in Tanzania: Which government policies do affect the approach in a negative way? How do they affect it and why? The article suggests measures to be taken by the relevant government authorities in order to

harmonize their policies with CWM. Also, it reminds proponents of CWM and wildlife managers of the need to learn to negotiate and communicate effectively with competing interest groups and agencies across political jurisdictions. Consequently, the article suggests that, when reviewing their policies, policy makers should take wildlife conservation issues into consideration.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AFFECTING CWM

An assumption that the Tanzanian government supports CWM entails existence of favorable policies. But, to date,



the approach is implemented in an uncertain environment, as far as government policies are concerned. This section reviews nine national policies and assesses how and to what extent they affect CWM. They include the Wildlife Policy, Agricultural and Livestock Policy, National Land Policy, Mineral Policy of Tanzania, National Water Policy, National Investment Promotion Policy, National Poverty Eradication Strategy, National Environmental Policy and Regional Secretariat's Operations Manual.

Wildlife policy of Tanzania

The Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (WPT), which is operational since March 1998 (ten or eleven years since CWM was first introduced in the country), is supposed to be the lead policy, as far as CWM is concerned. However, WPT is not clear on the approach. The Policy admits that in the past the government made a mistake to alienate rural communities (MNRT 1998). Thus, it envisages to promote their involvement and to integrate conservation with community economic development, and promises to play the roles of advisor, counselor, educator, overseer and extensionists. Nevertheless, WPT is not genuinely willing to devolve authority and responsibility for the management of wildlife to local communities. Evidence for this argument includes the statements in the same policy document that the state will retain ownership of and overall management responsibilities for wildlife.

There is superficiality in WPT's promise to devolve powers to local communities. According to it, in the intended setup of CWM programmes and projects there are two partners (MNRT 1998) managing a resource that belongs to only one of them, the government. Because of the government's (in this case wildlife authorities) powerful position compared to the local communities, the partnership will not be equal and decision-making will not be

equally (or even equitably) shared. Consequently, most of the tools, rules and assumptions guiding the partnership will come, or are likely to come, from the wildlife authorities (the stronger partner), making CWM government-driven. One good example is the outlined strategies for benefit sharing. The government will decide on the size of its slice first before allowing other stakeholders to share the remainder. This will likely not ensure that those most affected by wildlife are the main beneficiaries of revenues from that resource. The situation suggests mistrust and fears of the other stakeholders, especially local communities, by the government and its wildlife authorities in particular.

One may be tempted to think that, by adopting CWM, the government's intention was or is mainly, or even only, to enroll goodwill from local communities and to use them to contain illegal use of wildlife in their areas (MNRT 1998), something the government has so far failed to achieve single-handedly. One may be tempted to think also that the government's main or only intention is to extend its Protected Area network.

No effective partnership can be formed, and opportunities created, for local communities to access wildlife (MNRT 1998), if the communities do not have the ownership of, and control over, the wildlife and the lands on which that wildlife occurs. WPT seems to recognize this fact when it states that, "wildlife resource ownership by the State hinders investment in and development of wildlife industry by private sector". But, surprisingly, on that same page it states also that, "the state will remain the overall owner of wildlife." Related to this matter is, therefore, a need for the government to issue a statement clarifying where community-based wildlife management falls. Is it part of the public sector, private sector or somewhere else? And, if it falls somewhere else, where exactly?



WPT intends to confer user rights of wildlife to landholders, including local communities. A Wildlife Management Area (WMA) may be established on village land, reserved land (current Game Controlled Areas, etc.), general land or on a combination of these. There are questions yet to be answered. For instance, Will user rights be conferred to a local community or group of communities where a Wildlife Management Area is established outside village land(s), i.e., on general land (under the control of the Commissioner of Lands) or reserved land? Who will have the user right in case a Wildlife Management Area is established on a combination of categories of land?

Other things that are not clear in the WPT include the establishment and ownership of Wildlife Management Areas, even where they are established on village lands. The policy gives confusing statements. It states, regarding wildlife protection, that its objective is to 'transfer' the management of Wildlife Management Areas to local communities (MNRT 1998). Again, it states, as one of its strategies for recognizing intrinsic value of wildlife to rural communities, that, the local communities will need 'permission' to hunt in Wildlife Management Areas. Yet it states that the duty of the government is to encourage, to provide technical advice and assistance and to facilitate establishment of Wildlife Management Areas by the communities - Wildlife Management Areas as a new category of Protected Areas.

The reader of the policy document is left with a number of unanswered questions like: Who exactly is to establish Wildlife Management Areas? Who is to manage them first, before the responsibility is transferred to local communities? If Wildlife Management Areas will belong to local communities, why should the communities require permission to utilize resources in there? Is it because WPT does not recognize them as investors? Since, according to WPT, Wildlife Management

Areas will be established as a new category of Protected Areas, one may argue that they, like other Protected Areas, are created mainly or solely "for the purpose of protecting biological diversity" (MNRT 1998) and not to contribute to poverty alleviation and economic development in the local communities.

Agricultural and livestock policy

One of the strategies outlined in the Wildlife Policy for ensuring that wildlife conservation competes with other forms of land-use is to influence the Agricultural and Livestock Policy (ALP) and other policies so that marginal areas are left to wildlife conservation by and for local communities (MNRT 1998). But ALP intends to increase food production and livestock products by 4% and 5% annually, respectively, through not only increase of productivity but also area expansion (MAC 1997). That means, through expansion, in the near future the remaining so-called marginal areas/lands will be under crop and livestock production. After all, with modern agricultural technologies (MAC 1997) and improved crop varieties few of the existing marginal areas will remain so.

ALP admits that there are growing conflicts between agriculture and a number of other land uses, including wildlife conservation (MAC 1997). It promises to encourage multiple land use techniques, community involvement in resource management, land use planning and conflict resolution, and to identify, set aside and protect lands suitable for agriculture (MAC 1997). However, it shies away from the idea of resource sharing, appearing in the Land Policy (MLHSD 1997), and no reason is given.

In various sections the ALP gives statements about management of natural and environmental resources, but it refers mainly to land, soil, water, air and vegetation/forests (MAC 1997). Wildlife is mentioned mostly as vermin, pests and a source of diseases and



other problems farmers and livestock keepers face. The resource is only scantily mentioned in a favorable way, for example, when referring to extension services, environmental issues and exploitation. However, the term wildlife management is used synonymously with vermin control. Control of vermin, pests and reservoirs of plant and livestock diseases is one of MAC's policy instruments. An important point to note is that the primary goal of ALP is to improve the well-being of rural communities - the people whose principle occupation and way of life is based on cultivation and/or livestock keeping. Unfortunately, in the ALP, community-based conservation is equated to a mere cropping scheme.

National land policy

The Wildlife Policy aims at, among other things, improving inter-sectoral co-ordination and co-operation (MNRT 1998) in order to enhance conservation of wildlife outside existing Protected Areas. Also, recognizing the fact that wildlife occurs on land, one strategy of the Wildlife Policy is to help rural communities to have secured ownership or long-term user rights of the lands they occupy.

Like the Agricultural and Livestock Policy, the National Land Policy (NLP) admits that there are growing conflicts between agriculture and a number of other land uses, including wildlife conservation (MLHSD 1997). NLP recognizes wildlife areas outside existing Protected Areas as sensitive areas that require protection. The areas include forests, migration routes, wetlands and areas of biodiversity, which are also given priority by the Wildlife Policy, as far as CWM and Wildlife Management Areas are concerned (MNRT 1998). NLP states that such areas should not be allocated to individuals (MLHSD 1997), and also that wetlands will be allocated to appropriate users. Regarding marginal areas it says they "will be defined as a tenure category requiring special development conditions and punitive

charges will be levied for incompatible use and illegal development".

The Wildlife Policy promises to issue permits to local communities to hunt (MNRT 1998) and conduct small-scale cropping in Wildlife Management Areas. In general, it will confer user rights of wildlife to them, as landholders. But NLP complains that licenses, rights and claims such as hunting rights are issued (by the relevant wildlife authorities) without taking into consideration existing land tenure systems (MLHSD 1997). Since wildlife occurs (or grows) on land, without land there is no wildlife management. In other words, when rules for the use of land change, those of wildlife management must change as well. That means, any management and use of wildlife must respect and follow NLP. This may necessitate establishing an inter-ministerial committee by the Ministry responsible for wildlife (MLHSD 1997).

After implementing CWM on village land for a certain period, a local community or group of communities may wish to change use of that land (Wildlife Management Area). NLP may be giving them green light where it states that, "Conditions and procedures for revocation of rights to village land will be defined by the Village Assemblies". But the Wildlife Policy is reluctant to let them change use of village land under a Wildlife Management Area.

The Wildlife Policy intends to establish Wildlife Management Areas as a new category of Protected Areas and then transfer their management to local communities (MNRT 1998). If Wildlife Management Areas are going to be a category of Protected Areas, they, like all other protected areas, may require a Certificate of Occupancy (MLHSD 1997). But, where a Wildlife Management Area is established on village land, a separate Certificate of Village Land, i.e., for the piece of village land under the Wildlife Management Area, will be issued to the



community (MLHSD 1997). There are questions to be answered regarding this however: What exactly will be issued, certificate of occupancy or certificate of village land? And issued to who? After the certificate has been issued, will it be possible for the community(ies) to change use of the land under a Wildlife Management Area?

Also, NLP sees pastoralism, and in particular the free movement of cattle, as a problem, but a problem only to settled local communities and to land conservation (control of degradation) (MLHSD 1997). However, the proposed measures, such as banning shifting cultivation and nomadism and provision of stock routes, will benefit wildlife as well.

Mineral policy of Tanzania

The mineral policy of Tanzania (MPT) promises safe and environmentally sound mining activities (MEM 1997) and land reclamation after a mining operation. regarding carrying out mining in protected areas, MPT promises to prepare appropriate guidelines and to prohibit the use of toxic chemicals and pollutants. Furthermore, MPT promises to harmonize the mining laws with other laws that affect development of the mineral sector. Notwithstanding these promises, the Wildlife Policy prohibits mining in core wildlife Protected Areas for the purpose of preserving biological diversity (MNRT 1998). Currently core Protected Areas includes National Parks, Game Reserves and Ngorongoro Conservation Area. According to the Wildlife Policy, Wildlife Management Areas will form another category of Protected Areas, but it is not clear yet if they are going to be classified as core Protected Areas. If they are then mining will not be allowed in there as well and this will be a policy conflict.

MPT recognizes the need for a balance between socio-economic development and protection of flora and fauna, and the natural

environment in general, as a tool for achieving sustainable mining development (MEM 1997). Also, it promises to harmonize mining laws with other laws affecting development of the mineral sector. But it does not say a single word about harmonizing those mining laws with laws, such as natural resource conservation laws, that they affect or are likely to affect. Furthermore, it does not consider conservationists and the Ministry responsible for wildlife conservation as a key stakeholder/interest group in mining, and a group/agency with which it must establish and maintain a coordinated consultative mechanism.

The minerals policy of Tanzania intends, among other things, to create gainful and secure employment in the mineral sector and provide an alternative source of income for the rural population in Tanzania (MEM 1997), or to contribute to poverty alleviation in rural areas. At the same time geological investigations and mineral production statistics confirm that the country “has a rich and diverse mineral resources base with high economic potential”. Economically exploitable mineral deposits extend over 800,000 km². If Tanzania has a total land area of 945,090 km², it means 84.7% of it has economically exploitable mineral deposits. If that is true, the deposits are located in many potential Wildlife Management Areas. And it means that sustainability of Wildlife Management Areas (including those on village lands), and CWM in general is highly questionable. To make matters worse, MPT vows to sensitize and create awareness among the rural population on existing artisanal and small-scale mining opportunities. In order to lure foreign investors and to turn Tanzania into the “gemstone center of Africa,” the policy promises a simplified investment approval procedure, favorable regulatory framework and a competitive package of fiscal incentives for mining investments. To CWM this is not good news.



Some proponents of CWM argue that success of the approach “is measured in terms of ecological objectives, such as increased wildlife populations” (Kiss 1990). To safeguard environmental integrity, MPT promises safe and environmentally sound mining activities (MEM 1997) and land reclamation. Promising safe and environmentally sound mining activities means there will be environmental impact assessments (EIAs) prior to mining projects. But EIAs face several methodological difficulties. A major difficulty is to ensure that a full range of impacts are articulated and presented so that an open and honest dialogue may occur among all groups in the process. Also, an EIA requires several kinds of data and a detailed public participation process, both of which are almost impossible to achieve. Accordingly, several types of data analysis are required. Such as on: all the impacts upon the envirophysical, social, economic and cultural environments; the actions necessary to prevent or mitigate/remedy the effects; and the alternative methods of carrying out a project and the alternatives to the project.

Given these and other difficulties, EIAs are exceedingly complex and time-consuming, and thus unrealistic, especially compared to the small sizes and financial constraints of the majority of mining projects.

MPT intends also to create, or to facilitate the creation and/or improvement of, infrastructural facilities (transport, water supply, power supply, communication, education and health services, and recreation) within mines. Literally this means establishing and/or encouraging permanent settlements in (potential?) Wildlife Management Areas and, therefore, complicating further the EIAs. No measures of controlling growth of those settlements are outlined in the MPT. There is not even a clue on what will follow/happen after the closure of a mine. To CWM this is not good news either.

MPT lists land degradation, air pollution and water contamination as outcomes of mining activities (MEM 1997). These outcomes and others not listed (noise, domestic and other waste, secondary activities, etc.) affect wildlife negatively. The MPT, however, promises land reclamation, possibly by the miners themselves. If and where land reclamation is properly done wildlife may slowly return or be reintroduced. But, like EIAs, reclaiming land is an expensive and unattractive exercise. Miners will do whatever tricks they can to avoid doing it. The pits they leave behind will serve as traps to injure and kill wildlife and local community members.

Compared to revenues expected from Wildlife Management Areas, of which the government plans to take the biggest slice, for example in terms of shares and taxes), mining offers quick and easy money. Miners do not have to wait long periods to start receiving benefits and, unlike those from Wildlife Management Areas, the benefits go directly to individuals and households. Where there is wildlife and economically exploitable minerals the people will, most likely, opt for mining, but to the detriment of wildlife.

National water policy (Draft)

National policies that recognize the value of wildlife and ecosystems, and those that direct lower level governments to plan for wise use of their lands, create a positive climate for community-based wildlife management. The draft National Water Policy (NWP) is one of such policies as it tries to make a step toward that direction. It states that, “Extensive dry season irrigation dries up the rivers and disturbs the ecosystem and wildlife” (MWLD 2001). It includes the ‘environment’ (of which wildlife is part - at least to biologist-conservationists) on the list of main water uses in Tanzania and recognizes that wetlands (a category of ecosystems which, according to NWP, covers a total of 2.7



million hectares) “enable the development of special types of plants and animals” and that they “contain rare and endangered species of plants, fish and other animals” (MWLD 2001). The draft NWP makes it mandatory for all water schemes to conduct EIAs and promises to take measures to mitigate negative impacts (MWLD 2001) - but see 2.4 above. Also, the draft NWP intends to review the Water Utilization Act of 1974 and associated regulations for the purpose of enabling them to address the growing water management challenges and to harmonize them with other water-related legislation (MWLD 2001). The author believes that wildlife conservation laws are also ‘water-related’ for without access to water by wildlife no conservation scheme can succeed.

Other water uses identified by the draft NWP include domestic, industrial, livestock, irrigated agriculture, fisheries, navigation and hydroelectric power generation (MWLD 2001). The reader of the draft NWP may be made to believe that the policy intends to ensure that there is enough water for all uses. However, the draft policy explicitly states that, “Use of water for human consumption shall receive first priority” and that, “The use of water for all other purposes shall be accorded second priority and subject to authorization” (MWLD 2001). A biologist-conservationist would perhaps argue that first priority for the use of water should be to sustain life, including, of course, ‘wild life’. The draft NWP recognizes, as one of its guiding principles, that “Water...is essential to sustain life, development and the environment” (MWLD 2001). Referring to water, it also states that, “every citizen has an equal right to access and use the nation's resources” (MWLD 2001). Synonyms for the term ‘citizen’ include dweller, inhabitant and resident. The question is, where is the wildlife’s citizenship?

It is increasingly becoming common for wildlife authorities to attempt to involve local communities in wildlife management

(Songorwa 2000, 1999a&b, Songorwa *et al.* 2000). Possible and viable locations for community-based wildlife management schemes are wildlife-rich areas outside existing Protected Areas. One such area is the Kilombero valley in Morogoro region, which is home for the rare Puku (*Kobus vardonii*). But the same area is targeted by the draft NWP for a hydropower project, although the draft policy itself admits that projects of that nature have negative impacts on the environment (MWLD 2001), which, at least to biologist-conservationists, includes wildlife.

Due to rising water demand in Dar-es-salaam city, Kibaha and Bagamoyo towns, and surrounding villages, in recent years (last decade) there was a proposal to construct a multipurpose dam on Ruvu river, near Kidunda village, in Morogoro district (MWEM 1995). According to the Terms of Reference for EIA, the dam was also to generate hydroelectric power and supply water to proposed downstream irrigation schemes. The project was expected to create a lake estimated to cover 150 km² at full capacity level. About 9% of the area of that lake (reservoir) was expected to lie in the nearby Selous Game Reserve and the rest was to be outside the boundaries of the reserve. The area to be submerged was and still is covered with vegetation and is inhabited by over 6,000 people who live in four villages namely Kiganila, Magogoni, Bwakila Juu and Bwakila Chini, and who participate in a CWM programme called Selous Conservation Programme (SCP). Part of the area that the reservoir was to submerge was, and is still, under the SCP. The dam project would, therefore, bring about conflicts of interest with CWM and wildlife conservation in general.

Possible negative impacts of the Kidunda dam project would include effects on the ecology of the area, the area expected to be lost in terms of home range for all major wildlife species, loss of seasonal wildlife concentration areas, that is in the wet and



dry seasons and blockage of migratory routes between Selous Game Reserve and existing forest reserves outside the reserve. Others would be loss of endemic species of plants and animals in the area (if any) and loss of wetlands and plant and animal species downstream. Mkulazi forest reserve and riverine forests would be affected as well. Other effects would include cultural and socio-economic effects on the population to be resettled, loss of traditional values and the problem of absorption of resettled people into nearby villages and effects on environmental (physical, social and cultural) and economic interdependency.

As pointed out above, dry season irrigated agriculture reduces and even depletes river flows and wetlands. As a result, survival of wildlife is disrupted and some species become locally extinct. These are negative impacts to wildlife conservation initiatives, including those by local communities. Also, some of Tanzania's main water uses identified by the draft NWP, that is domestic, industrial, livestock (dipping) and agricultural uses, pollute the same water. In other words, although local communities and 'their' wildlife may continue to have access to water, it may be of unacceptable quality - a situation that may result in serious health problems to local communities and/or 'their' wildlife. It may also lead to economic problems in the sense that the tourism industry, on which CWM relies heavily (Songorwa *et al.* 2000), and which some government policies promote, will be at stake.

The draft NWP states that the old policy approach was sector oriented and that it did not recognize the multi-sectoral linkages in water development and management. As a remedy, the draft NWP promises to adopt a participatory, multi-sectoral and multidisciplinary approach - intending to minimize effects of externalities. It promises participatory water planning, designing and decision-making by all affected parties and an institutional mechanism to resolve

conflicts over water (MWLD, 2001:A-7&8). Hopefully, the local communities and 'their' wildlife will be represented. If not, the consequences may be detrimental to them.

But, even if the local communities and 'their' wildlife are represented, the snag to them is that, in allocating water uses, the draft NWP intends to distinguish and separate water use permits from land titles (MWLD 2001). This can be taken to mean that a local community can have a Certificate of Village Land for its land under CWM and yet not have exclusive right to use water on that land. Also, it implies existence of different organs at the "lowest level" for the management of land and water, not mentioning wildlife - a situation that might cause confusion and conflicts within the communities. Paradoxically, the draft NWP states also that, "Water sources ... will be identified, protected, demarcated and land title deeds acquired" (MWLD 2001) but does not say who will do all those. An important question is, What will happen if/where a water source is on land under CWM?

National investment promotion policy

Investment in any wildlife-related activity(ies) requires land, and often a big chunk of it. Local communities implementing CWM have to have legal ownership of the lands they occupy and be protected from unscrupulous investors. The National Investment Promotion Policy (NIPP) gives the required protection when it states that, "village land is not available for commercial activities, except by the village itself, or for joint ventures with the Village Government or the village's Co-operative Society" (PC 1990). Authorized Associations or Community-Based Organizations intended for managing wildlife outside existing Protected Areas (in Wildlife Management Areas) (MNRT 1998) fall under the category of village co-operative societies. Consequently, and if registered under the Co-operative Societies



Act of 1982, they “qualify for a tax holiday in the same manner as corporate investors” (PC 1990). This is good news to the local communities and proponents of CWM. But, after the tax holiday, taxation rates applicable to them will be of 22.5 per cent. This will be unbearably high for the communities because it is now understood that CWM is complex (Murphree 2000) and that CWM projects require long periods to succeed (Songorwa *et al.* 2000, Songorwa 1999c) and to break even, if and where they can.

The protection of local communities by NIPP is partial, however. Rich investors can still lease or sublease general lands next door to CWM projects and out compete them. In fact, NIPP encourages prospective investors to go there (PC 1990).

The main objective of NIPP is to enhance Tanzania’s economic and social development, and, like the Agricultural and Livestock Policy, one of its specific objectives is to increase food production (PC 1990). NIPP recognizes agriculture as the anchor of the nation’s economy and states that, at the time the policy document was being developed, agriculture contributed 50 per cent of GDP and employed 80 per cent of the population (PC 1990).

Investors bring with them modern technologies. With modern technologies they are able to increase crop and livestock production by improving productivity of the land. But that alone is not enough for them to reach their targets. They need to expand. Thus, with modern technologies even the remaining marginal lands (wildlife habitats outside existing Protected Areas) might be put under crop and livestock production.

NIPP attracts local and foreign investors in other sectors of the economy as well,

including mining and petroleum development, tourism and natural resources (PC 1990). As far as wildlife and other natural resources are concerned, the policy intends to attain not optimal but “maximum” utilization. But there are many uncertainties associated with wildlife. They include but are not limited to unknown sustained yield levels, stability of populations, harvesting patterns of other users (legal and illegal), outbreak of epidemics and environmental factors such as drought. “Maximum” utilization is likely to be detrimental to the respective wildlife populations. For consumptive use, off-take must be within sustained yield levels.

Promoting wildlife-based tourism is a necessity because it is the main source of revenues on which CWM relies (Songorwa *et al.* 2000). But, already research has shown that increased competition in marketing wildlife and its products is likely to bring down their prices, that tourism is unlikely to deliver net benefits for the local communities, and that few wildlife areas in Africa attract a number of tourists big enough to cover costs (Barrett & Arcese 1995). Other studies have shown also that considerable amounts of tourism revenues return directly to the tourist-generating countries through payment of loans and dividends of foreign investment, importation of goods and services related to the business, and salaries of senior expatriate personnel (Heinen 1995, Murphy 1985).

Tourism creates a series of positive and negative impacts on host communities. The most commonly held positive impacts are employment creation and income generation. Local communities will be interested in such socio-economic impacts. But, negative impacts that can occur need also to be recognized in advance (Table 1).



Table 1: Impacts of tourism on economic, social and operational issues of wildlife management

Issue	Positive	Negative
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Earns foreign exchange - Circulates income within the economy - Very labor intensive - Generates taxes - Provides employment for those categories of workers traditionally difficult to employ (young people, unskilled, etc.) - Increases land value - Aids in diversifying the economy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can use resources that could generate revenue for extractive purposes (forestry, etc.) - Can require a public investment in infrastructure (roads, sewer, water, utilities) - Creates a relatively large proportion of low-paid, semi-skilled jobs - Can increase municipal service costs for policing, fire protection and health care.
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bases on raw materials (resources) that exist - Creates improved or new facilities for local residents - Provides an expanded outlet for crafts, arts, and culture - Assists in educating visitors about different cultures and traditions - Can improve the image of the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can create congestion in popular local recreation areas - Can deplete natural resources (wildlife, fish, etc.) - Can create an unfavorable image - Can create a negative perception about service industry jobs vs. production or manufacturing jobs.
Operational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relative ease of entry for owner operators regarding training, credentials etc. - Can produce an enjoyable lifestyle - Can allow an off-season for other pursuits - Lends itself to family operation - Requires entrepreneurial ingenuity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very dependent on climate and weather - Influenced by exchange rates - Generally cyclical in nature, following the economy - Very difficult to predict future tourism activity with accuracy - Very susceptible to competition both locally and farther afield - Success very dependent on capability of facility management and effectiveness of promotion - Very labor intensive, involving hiring, firing, labor stoppages, labor shortages and other human relations issues - Generally costly to finance - Requirement to build markets, normally requiring 3-5 years.

Adopted from British Columbia (Canada) Ministry of Tourism, Recreation & Culture (1986).

National poverty eradication strategy

The National poverty eradication strategy (NPES) recognizes that environmental degradation arises from unfavorable use of land, forestry and oceans. NPES states further that those unfavorable uses are caused by poverty and that environmental degradation perpetuates poverty. NPES states also that continued and increasing use of fuel wood (and charcoal?) as the main source of energy has led to deforestation and

drought - the vicious cycle of poverty. Thus the Strategy has set a goal for itself to break the cycle, i.e., to reduce poverty in the Tanzanian society by 50% by the year 2010 and to eradicate it altogether by the year 2025 (VP's Office 1998). Also, one of the specific goals of NPES regarding water is to discourage tree cutting - with the trees goes the wildlife. If and where successful, NPES will be unwittingly protecting wildlife habitats as well.



Natural resources, including wildlife, are intended to be utilized in the fight against poverty (VP's Office 1998). But one shortfall of NPES is that it only encourages local communities, households and individuals to utilize natural resources in their fight against poverty. It does not require them to do it in a sustainable way. Perhaps it is worth pointing out that the communities' desire to improve their well-being may lead them to overexploit the resource(s) and, thus, fail to come out of the vicious cycle (Songorwa *et al.* 2000)

Another specific goal of NPES is to diversify the structure of the economy, to reduce dependency on agriculture (VP's Office 1998). To the contrary, however, it accepts that agriculture should remain the main source of economic development and poverty eradication, and promises to promote and enhance investment in agriculture. Also, it intends, as one of its strategies, to identify and increase access to "new farm lands" by farmers. Some of these "new farm lands" are the existing wildlife-rich areas potential for CWM.

Regarding mining, NPES encourages the private sector and foreign firms to invest in the sector and vows to promote small-scale mining (VP's Office 1998). It promises that environmental protection and preservation will go hand in hand with mining activities. But, as discussed earlier, mining activities are likely to impact negatively on CWM and on wildlife conservation in general. NPES promises also to promote and protect existing flora and fauna, and to incorporate EIAs in development initiatives. But, again, as discussed, EIAs are complex and expensive to conduct. Also, the country has several laws and by-laws already, yet things do not go the way they are expected or supposed to. Law enforcement is poor and majority of the society is not even aware of those laws (they are written in English and distribution is poor). It means that enacting new laws and by-laws to enforce

environmental protection may not be the answer.

Like the National Investment Promotion Policy, NPES promotes tourism (VP's Office 1998) and encourages local communities to establish co-operatives. Also, it encourages them to enter into partnerships "with other people who have financial and human capital". However, experience from other parts of Africa shows that hardly can local communities receive the revenues initially promised (Songorwa *et al.* 2000). The clever so-called "partners" either benefit more or take everything with them.

National Environmental Policy

Like in the case of Poverty Eradication Strategy, the coordination and supervision of the National Environmental Policy (NEP) is under the Office of the Vice President. NEP gives an all-inclusive interpretation of the 'environment', which includes, among others, plant and animal life (VP's Office 1997). Among six countrywide environmental problems identified by NEP are loss of wildlife habitats and biodiversity, deterioration of aquatic systems and deforestation. Like the Investment Promotion Policy and Poverty Eradication Strategy, NEP promotes tourism, and wildlife-based tourism in particular. The policy is concerned about loss of wildlife habitats, which threatens the tourism industry. It sees tourism, mining and transportation infrastructure as the principle catalysts or incentives for economic growth, and emphasizes EIAs (on projects and policies which impact on the environment) and the channeling of benefits to local communities.

NEP admits that the act of promoting agriculture "as the engine of growth" would jeopardize environmental and natural resource conservation, for it is the existing forests, woodlands, wetlands and other wildlife areas that will, through agricultural expansion, be brought under agriculture.



Also, NEP is cautious about giving a “big push” on tourism with the understanding that the industry can have implications for the use of wildlife and other natural resources and the environment in general. Again, NEP wants natural resource conservation (including wildlife conservation) efforts to be oriented toward poverty alleviation, but stresses the need for sustainable resource utilization, gathering of relevant information and integration of sectoral or cross-sectoral policies, strategies and programmes.

NEP has set for itself six objectives as follows:

- i) to ensure sustainability, security and equitable use of resources for meeting the basic needs of the present and future generations without degrading the environment or risking health or safety;
- ii) to prevent and control degradation of land, water, vegetation and air, which constitute humankind’s life support systems;
- iii) to conserve and enhance the country’s natural and man-made heritage, including the biological diversity of the unique ecosystems;
- iv) to improve the condition and productivity of degraded areas, including rural and urban settlements in order that all Tanzanians may live in safe, healthy, productive and aesthetically pleasing surroundings;
- v) to raise public awareness and understanding of the essential linkages between environment and development, and to promote individual and community participation in environmental action; and
- vi) to promote international cooperation on the environment agenda, and expand Tanzania’s participation and contribution to relevant bilateral, sub-regional, regional and global organizations and programs, including implementation of treaties.

Three of the four responsibilities of NEP (VP’s Office 1997) are:

- i) Development of consensual agreement at all levels for the challenge of making trade-offs and the right choices between immediate economic benefits to meet short-term and urgent development needs, and long-term sustainability benefits.

But experience shows that reaching consensus might be difficult. Existing conflicts at policy level make the process of negotiating and reaching the consensus difficult. For instance, the Land Policy proposes the idea of resource sharing, but the Agricultural and Livestock Policy shies away from it. Another example is that of the Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) project in Zambia. After ten years of implementation, at no level of the Zambian government was there clear consensus of what the CWM approach was (IIED 1994).

- ii) Development of a unifying set of principles and objectives for integrated multi-sectoral approaches necessary in addressing the totality of the environment.

But, as stated above, policy conflicts make the process of negotiating and reaching consensus difficult. If it will be difficult for the different sectors to come to a consensus, they may as well fail to honor the principles.

- iii) Fostering government-wide commitment to the integration of environmental concerns in the sectoral policies, strategies and investment decisions, and to the development and use of relevant policy instruments, which can do the most to achieve this objective.

This might also be difficult to achieve since different government agencies interpret ‘environment’ differently. Few policies give all-inclusive interpretations of the



'environment'. Many do not. For instance, the Agricultural and Livestock Policy refers to land, soil, water, air and vegetation/forests.

Regional secretariat's operations manual

The Regional Secretariat's Operations Manual (hereafter called the Manual) has a single paragraph on natural resources. However, it recognizes the need to carefully manage the utilization of natural resources, including, of course, that of wildlife. The Manual perceives that management of the utilization of natural resources is important to support economic production. As a result, it urges all councils (Municipal, District, Village?) to be aware of the (economic?) opportunities presented by natural resources in their areas and to match results of environmental conservation analysis by the natural resource opportunities consideration. The Manual explains that, "The idea is to be able to exploit the opportunities created by the natural environment without causing it any harm" (MRALG 1999). But, it admits that it is difficult to exploit opportunities created by the natural environment and yet avoid causing harm to it.

To the manual, natural resource development and environmental conservation are two sides of the same coin. By urging each council to become a "watchdog" for abuses of the natural environment (the one side of the coin), perhaps it requires them to 'guard' the other side as well (MRALG 1999). But the authenticity of all these statements remains to be proven.

As stated above, the interest of the Manual is for the councils to manage utilization of natural resources and not to manage the resources. Managing utilization of a natural resource is but only part of the bigger spectrum of activities required for managing the resource. A careful look at the paragraph of the Manual, therefore, makes the reader believe that its main interest is in the

economic use of wildlife and revenue generation. But wildlife has other uses as well. These include contribution to the ecosystem, gene pool potentials and monitoring of environmental quality. Also, since every being has the right to exist (existence value), wildlife should be preserved for its own sake. Managing or conserving wildlife in a sustainable way requires one to take into consideration all these different uses of the resource. It is difficult to focus only on the economic uses of wildlife and yet avoid causing harm to it and to the environment in general.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion in the previous section, one can confidently conclude that some, if not many, government policies in Tanzania, including the Wildlife Policy, do not recognize CWM. As soon as one steps outside the National Environmental Policy (in this case the mother conservation policy) one finds that decisions taken by government agencies have negative impacts - actual or potential - on CWM. The agencies have policies and implement plans which, in one way or another, are not compatible with the goals and objectives of the approach. For instance, wetlands that have been biologically rich like the Kilombero valley, and visually key elements in the landscapes of the areas, have been prime targets for drainage and irrigation projects. Destruction of natural areas like these represents a possibly important reduction in the 'economic' and 'social' options available to local communities and to the future Tanzanian society and, thus, it is a loss to the country. Unfortunately, most, if not all, such decisions are legally beyond control of the proponents of CWM and of wildlife conservationists in general.

Few policies, including the Wildlife Policy, show ambivalence or ambiguity. The tendency is that of wanting to help local communities have ownership of all except those resources under their jurisdiction. For



instance, the Wildlife Policy wants local communities to have secure ownership of the lands they occupy, but not of wildlife. The Land Policy complains that licenses to utilize wildlife are issued without taking into consideration existing land tenure systems, but when it comes to defining land it defines it in a confusing way - at least to local communities and their well-wishers.

But the habit of publicizing devolution of management of wildlife to local communities while denying the same communities ownership of the same resource has been the fashion among many government agencies in Africa, Songorwa *et al.* 2000). Therefore, if the Tanzanian government believes in and is committed to CWM, there is a need for it to harmonize its policies with the approach. There is an urgency to take measures to stop, or at least mitigate, the negative impacts which government policies have on CWM. This requires action from policy/decision makers at various levels of the government.

Wildlife managers, and proponents of CWM for that matter, need to be prepared for the existing and possibly continuing uncertainty, not only through greater awareness of the public policy process, but also by clearly understanding conservation politics and all government policies that actually or potentially affect CWM.

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