

**The Case Of The Serengeti Regional
Conservation Strategy Serengeti District,
Arusha Region Tanzania**

**Appendix 3 of the EPIQ Assessment of Lessons
Learned from Community Based Conservation in
Tanzania**

August 2000

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1. Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy – An Overview

The Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SRCS) has had a long history of involvement in natural resource issues at the community level in villages bordering the Serengeti Ecosystem. It is only within the last year (1998) that this involvement has been directed toward the development of a Community Based Natural Resource Management Area (CBNRMA) in the form of a co-operative agreement between villages to create a Wildlife Management Area (WMA). Box 1 outlines the forces driving this community involvement direction. As a consequence the history of the process of development to arrive at an appropriate level of organization and readiness for this program at the community level is complex.

Box 1. The Dilemma

The initial driving forces behind the SRCS came from the perception of a situation in crisis. Poaching and indiscriminate hunting, mistrust, land use conflicts, encroachment, financial complexities etc. all contributed to this perception. While reformers advocate fundamental changes, fundamentalists remain sceptical and reluctant to transfer controls over wildlife to CBNRM

A very brief outline of this historical context is provided below from both the community and SRCS perspectives. Further complicating this situation is the fact that different stakeholders in this scenario had different objectives which resulted in mixed messages and promises being given to the communities, especially in the early stages of the project. This had the effect of creating unnecessary misunderstandings which delayed and blunted the impact of community outreach and awareness raising programs. These conflicting approaches made it difficult for the individual projects to win the trust and respect of the communities, a step which has been identified as critical if communities are to be successfully coached to regard their natural resources (NR) as a primary community asset.

The initial focus of the SRCS was on the Fort Ikoma region of the Serengeti Ecosystem. This area was chosen because of its critical importance as a corridor for the world famous ‘Serengeti migration’. Although large sections of this corridor fall under Wildlife Department (WD) jurisdiction, significant areas were under community control and poaching of wildlife was rampant. The Waikoma, along with the other communities in this area such as the Wanatta and Waisenyi, have a long cultural link with wildlife. They are traditionally hunters but their hunting followed specific rules of engagement. They revered animals such as the pangolin, hyena, python, leopard, lion and elephant which they never hunted or killed except under exceptional circumstances. These communities also had a traditional approach to forest management and to

guard against environmental abuse. They didn't, for example, cut down trees on hills or near water sources. They also managed their agricultural practices so as to not cultivate near rivers such as the Musira at Issenyi and Mugisiniage-Kumasi at Robanda. This cultural base has suffered considerable erosion and a lot of the previously environmentally sound practices have been lost.

Before the Serengeti was gazetted as a national park the Waikoma, for example, ventured as far as Naabi Hill, which now marks the southern boundary of the Serengeti National Park (SENAPA). In the 1950's they were moved by the colonial administration to the Banagi River. In the early 1960's they were moved again to Mochatongarori, near the present Ikoma Gate. In 1970 they were relocated for the last time to where they are now when the Serengeti boundary was moved to the Romoti River (verbal narration from Robanda village representatives, 1999).

The relationship between the villagers and protected area authorities has, until recently, not been a good one. The communities, for example, state that they were aggressively persecuted by the various Wildlife Authorities as intractable poachers for many years. The establishment of the SRCS and a softening of attitude by the SENAPA management toward the communities has made significant inroads to improving local relationships. After years of aggression the communities appear grateful for an opportunity to be directly involved in natural resources management issues, to be afforded a level of respect and to have an opportunity to benefit from the natural resources under their influence.

The SRCS is a government project falling under the Wildlife Sector of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism with funding support from NORAD. The concept for SRCS was first formally debated in 1986 at an IUCN and World Bank sponsored and facilitated workshop at Seronera Research Station. The concept was further explored with meetings at the community level with selected villages, including Robanda, Makundusi, Mbiso and Nyiberekera, in the Serengeti District. This was followed by a workshop attended by the relevant leaders from the three Serengeti District Wards of Issenyi, Ikoma and Natta in which the concept was resolved and agreement to start the project with identified communities made. The Serengeti Regional Conservation Project (SRCP) was formally initiated in 1989, the two year hiatus being necessary for fund raising, organizational development and the construction of the project headquarters at Fort Ikoma.

The SRCP worked with the following communities: Robanda, Makundusi, Mbiso, Singisi and Iharara in Serengeti District and Mgeta, Kyandegge, Maliwanda, Nyamatoke and Hunyari in Bunda District. At each of these communities a Natural Resource Committee (NRC) of eight members, a subcommittee of the Village Government, was elected. Ten individuals, of whom at least two had to be women, were then elected by the general Village Assembly in each village to

be trained as village game scouts (VGS). Training was performed at the Wildlife Department Community Based Conservation Training Institute in Likuyu, Songea District. SRCP are requesting that a similar institute be established at Pansiyansi in Mwanza in order to make training facilities more accessible.

In 1990 the NRC were assisted to establish a 'Natural Resource Account' in each community to be used for the management of all financial income and expenditure related to natural resource based project initiatives at the community level. Training for this activity was also provided. A hunting quota was also established at this time which allowed each village controlled access to game meat. In 1991 a series of study tours allowed the NRC, village leaders and village game scouts to visit other projects both within and outside of Tanzania. Projects visited included the Selous Game reserve (SGR), MBOMIPA, Pansiyansi, Athi River Ranch (Kenya) and the Mbale Forest reserve (Uganda). In all these activities SRCP played a pivotal facilitatory role in training assessment and provision; allocation of quotas and hunting blocks; establishment of tree nurseries and recommendations to the village government and NRC for the use of funds derived from natural resource use. SRCP also held an observer status at all NRC and related meetings.

The SRCP has also enjoyed support from other stakeholders including the SENAPA Community Conservation Service (CCS) and Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS). The WD also has interests in this area in the form of the recently gazetted Ikorongo/Grumeti Game Reserves which are managed as a National Project. As a consequence of these influences the SRCP focus has been almost entirely on the wildlife resources of these community areas.

The CBNRM activities initiated by SRCP, in partnership with other stakeholders, has involved over 20 communities using a variety of methodologies since its inception. For the purpose of this report the CBNRM activities described in detail are those that have, since the 1998 review of the Wildlife Policy, focused on the procedural requirements for the establishment of WMAs. SRCP, strongly supported and facilitated by FZS, have initiated and funded processes at the community level that they anticipate will lead to the establishment of four WMAs. These are as follows:

- Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area in Serengeti District
- Eramatare Community Wildlife Management Area, Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro District
- Lake Natron Community Wildlife Management Area, Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro District
- Makao Community Wildlife Management Area in Meatu District

A summary of the location, size, and number of communities, natural resource use focus and stakeholders in these proposed WMAs is shown in Table 1.

Another WMA is also proposed for the Fort Ikoma Area which will be co-operatively managed by the Motokeni, Singisi, Iharara and Nyiberekera communities. As this WMA is still at the proposal stage it has not been included in this report.

Table 1: Summary of data for WMAs in SRCP Initiative

WMA	Location	Size (km ²)	Objectives	Communities Involved	Population Size	N.R. Use	Stake Holders
IKONA	Fort Ikoma Serengeti District	450	Conservation of land for Wildlife protection, management & utilisation	Robanda Mbiso/Natta Nyakitono/ Makundusi Nyichoka	1,130 2,375 1,516 1,690 Total: 6,711	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wildlife • Grazing • Collection of indigenous tree & grass species • Fish • Minerals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community members • Community institutions • SRCP • SENAPA-CCS • FZS • Ikorongo/Grumeti Game Reserves (Wildlife Dept.) • Central Government • Serengeti District Council • Sengo Safaris • VIP (Hunting Outfitter) • NGO's
ERAMATARE	Loliondo Ngorongoro Distirct	4,500	Not formally stated but focus is primarily on Wildlife Conservation	Losoitto/Malloni Oloipiri Olorien/Magaيدuru Arash Soit Sambu	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wildlife Birds Forest Stone & gravel Minerals Fish Water Bees/honey Livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village Members • Village Institutions • Central Government • SRCP • FZS • Ngorongoro DC • KIPOK • LADO • NCAA • LOSADEI • SENAPA • OSEREMI • Wildlife Explorer • Politicians • Dorobo • Ortello

WMA	Location	Size (km ²)	Objectives	Communities Involved	Population Size	N.R. Use	Stake Holders
Lake Natron	Pinyiny Ward Ngorongoro District	2,000	Not formally stated but focus is primarily on Wildlife Conservation	Collection of sub-villages comprising Pinyiny Ward	Not Known	Wildlife Forests Birds Caustic Soda Limestone Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village Members • Village Institutions • Central Government • SRCP • FZS • Ngorongoro DC • KIPOK • NCAA • Sengo Safaris • Wengert Windrose Hunting Safaris • Politicians
Makao	Meatu and Keratu District	1,700	Not formally stated but focus is primarily on Wildlife Conservation	Makao Sapa Mbushi Mang'ola Iramba Ndogo Mwanjoro/Jina mo Mwangudo Mwabagimu	Not Known	Wildlife Woodland Water Honey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Members • Community institutions • SRCP • FZS • Maswa Game Reserve (Wildlife Department) • Central Government • District Council • SENAPA • NCAA • Robin Hurt Safaris • Tanzania Game Tracker Safaris

2. Socio-Economic Issues – Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area

Because of time constraints only one of the WMAs being developed was visited by this team, the Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area (ICWMA). Most of the data concerning socio-economic issues have been gleaned from the documentation on this WMA jointly compiled by SRCP and FZS. Supplemental observations from in depth discussions were made by the assessment team. This is summarized below.

2.1 Population Demographics for the four villages

Total Population: 6,711

Children under 5 years: 1,109 (16 percent)

Women of childbearing age: 1,795 (27 percent)

2.2 Social Services and infrastructure (Robanda Village only)

- Wells and water points
 - 1 water pump (15 percent of running costs met by Sengo Safaris)
 - 3 seasonal bore holes
 - 3 dams (CCS supported project)
- Cattle dips
 - 1 functional cattle dip
- Equipment
 - 1 milling machine (maintenance support from Sengo Safaris)
- Roads
 - Serengeti–Musoma road runs through the village, is well maintained by SENAPA and the Serengeti District Council (SDC)
- Health facilities

1 dispensary–staffed & managed by the (SDC)

- Schools

Primary school, well maintained (CCS supported project)

- Village office

Village Government office, in need of maintenance Village Natural Resource Committee office, newly constructed with support from Sengo Safaris

2.3 Economic Activities in Relationship to WMA

- Cultivation

Main crops: sorghum and finger millet

Other crops: sesame, beans, pumpkins & groundnuts

Vegetables grown in dry season include: spinach, cabbages carrots, tomatoes, sweet peppers and cucumbers

Cash Crops: cotton

- Livestock

Cattle, sheep, goats and pigs (recent CCS, SRCP stimulated project, loans from Sengo Safaris, to supply lodges with pork)

- Brewing

Important economic activity for women

- Other economic activities

Sale of: thatching grass, firewood, furniture, sandals, game meat

Casual labor

Shops, snack bars, ‘pombe’ bars, butcher, guesthouses

Hire of oxen for plowing

The main potential impact of socio-economic practices on the WMA come from the harvesting of game meat (poaching), cultivation and livestock. In turn the WMA also creates a potential for conflict with ongoing economic activities in the form of wildlife spoiling crops and predators taking livestock, especially during the months the migration passes through the area. Fuel wood demands are estimated to be at 2 tons per household per year and represent a significant potential impact on forest and woodland both inside and outside of the WMA with a consequential potential effect on soil erosion. SRCP have introduced the concepts of fast maturing fuel wood lots and fuel-efficient stoves to the villages but this situation has yet to be seriously addressed.

Other, external influences such as mining and tourism have been identified as having the potential to negatively impact on both the WMA and the communities. Only the impacts from mining have been identified as ones that cannot presently be managed within the Village Government and WMA institutional and organizational set up. There appear to be no local or District mechanisms that allow direct influence or control over the establishment of mines by commercial operators on village land or established WMAs. Currently the Ministry of Energy and Minerals is able to give a prospecting license to an individual or company giving them authority to prospect in any area including, it appears, government protected areas (e.g. Iluma gold mining village in Muhesi Game Reserve). This is a serious issue. Allowing mining interests to be put before those of the community could potentially destroy community commitment to managing a WMA.

Box 2. Mining

The East African Gold Mine Company have proposed to start mining an area in the year 2000 which is part of the proposed ICWMA. Clear focus is required to reach a resolution which harmonises this cross-sectoral issue if future conflicts are to be avoided (information not confirmed with The East Africa Gold Mine Company)

Other 'traditional' practices that are not recognized as purely economic, yet have a potential to influence or be influenced by the establishment of a WMA, are: setting of wildfires, collection of construction materials (wood, sand, gravel etc.), collection of medicinal plants, collection of wild vegetables. These practices would continue under the management control of the village and WMA institutions with technical support from government institutions and non- governmental organizations (NGO's).

Another potential impact on the integrity of the WMA comes from external economic influences. There is a growing trend for villages outside of the peripheral or buffer zone of the government protected areas (PA's) to also want a share in the opportunities that are currently being explored by the targeted communities in the peripheral zones. This has been manifest mainly by an

observed increase in poaching activities in government-protected areas performed by people from outside the peripheral zone. Immigration, which could be considered to be a potential impact in many areas, is not considered to be an issue in the Fort Ikoma area as the cultural history of the peoples living there has discouraged the influx of ‘outsiders’. This may change, however, if the proposed construction of the paved road linking Arusha to Musoma through SENAPA is authorized. Entrepreneurs from more distant areas who have no cultural conflict with the local communities will be attracted to the area by the opportunities it has to offer. This will include small business (guest houses, shops, restaurants, etc.) as well as large business speculation having the potential to put significant competitive pressures on local economic structures which have less experience in business management and the laws of free enterprise.

Depending on the approaches taken by the wildlife sector in establishing NRMAs, crucial influences are likely to come from a number of projects supported and implemented in the SDC. If there is insufficient co-ordination at the district and village levels, projects receiving higher donor inputs have the potential to distract community attention. In addition, those projects that touch directly on issues of basic humans needs such as the provision of water and health services (HESAWA) and increasing agricultural and livestock outputs (MaraFIP) will also tend to distract from the CBNRM process. Notwithstanding the importance of CBNRM, there is a natural tendency for communities to show preference to those projects with immediate and substantial reward.

2.4 Local Institutions and the Participatory Process

- The local institutions available to community members are listed below.

SRCP

SENAPA-CCS

Ikorongo/Grumeti National Project

Serengeti District Council

District, zonal or national projects such as:

Mara Region Farmers Initiative (MaraFIP)

Health, Sanitation and Water (HESAWA)

National Agricultural Extension Project (NAEP)

Mara Region Land and Agricultural Management Project (MaraLAMP)–pending

- Village Government and subcommittees including:

Planning and finance Subcommittee

Security Committee

Social Services Committee

Land use Committee

Education and Culture Committee

Natural Resources Committee

Environmental Committee

Labor Force Committee

Village Council

Village Assembly

3. Analysis of Main Findings

The CBNRM processes in the Fort Ikoma area are still at a very early stage of development and the lessons learnt from the ICWMA example reflect this. There are also, however, valuable lessons to be learned from the considerable experience that has been gathered at the community level from SRCP, and other institutions, activities in the past that are valid to this exercise. A diversity of players, complex jurisdictional issues, institutional overlap, poor community relations, political interference and other factors all contributed to the scenario that is to be found today. This rich experience can also contribute toward helping us understand how best to manage processes at the community level and, where appropriate, this has been included in the report.

3.1 Management of CBNRM and the Participatory Process

SRCP initiated the concept for a WMA at Fort Ikoma prompted by the revisions to the Wildlife Policy. The focus has been almost exclusively on wildlife. A participatory rural appraisal (PRA) was performed in Robanda village (one of the four villages to jointly manage the proposed WMA) over 3 days by members of a team trained and supported by FZS. (See section 3.3). The PRA initiative was aimed at introducing the concept of a WMA, assessing and planning land use and defining different stakeholders interests and roles. One consequence of the PRA activities is that a full time field officer was selected by the communities to be trained by FZS. The aim was to make available a trained technical representative who was trusted and respected by the communities.

The planning process for the ICWMA was further developed through a Village Government Workshop (attended by FZS, the Serengeti Environmental Protection and Development Association [SEPDA], the District Commissioner and other District Council Representatives) and a stakeholders workshop (attended by the stakeholders outlined in Table 1). At the workshop the stakeholders were invited to voice their opinions and expectations. A brief resource inventory was performed by taking input from the stakeholders and the boundaries of the WMA were provisionally defined. The Forestry Regional Management Program (FRMP) in Mwanza have been commissioned to survey the WMA and to secure the 'certificate of land registration' (Please see under land tenure 3.2 for more detail). The institutional structure for the WMA was discussed and developed at the workshop and included a Council/executive committee of 32 members, a board of 13 members and four management sections (finance, tourism, conservation planning and security/law enforcement). The actual conclusions for the ICWMA infrastructure remain unclear as the SRCP/FZS documentation appears to contradict information received from the Interim Committee (see Section 3.2 for details)

An interim wildlife committee was appointed by electoral process to provide a link to the SCRPF/FZS facilitation effort. The members of the committee consist of the four village chairmen and the secretary of the local NGO known as SEPDA. This committee was given a two-day awareness-raising seminar on issues pertaining to WMA. The committee was then released to visit other villages with the potential to be partners in the proposed WMA. They were accompanied by a field officer who was available to give technical advice. (The wildlife committee will soon be departing on a study tour to Kenya to look at other initiatives, such as group ranches, in order to get ideas for their own initiative.)

A constitution was drafted and awaits review by the ICWMA Board before being presented to the village assemblies. The constitution outlines the mechanisms for conflict resolution through community processes. Irresolvable conflicts are to be taken through formal legal methods which, if necessary, FZS have agreed to finance. Agreements have been reached, but not formalized, on the land use activities which include; photographic safaris; tourist hunting safaris with an available seasonal quota; resident hunting (again, within an agreed quota); walking safaris; concession leases; conservation areas and access for local resources use. A system of revenue distribution between each village, local government and central government was also discussed and agreed (See section 3.4).

Linkages with the private sector and NGO's in the WMA process are apparent but, as they are primarily workshop focused, are not very strong. The stronger links are a consequence of the long programmatic presence of the major players (SRCP, CCS and the WD) have had in the area.

The movement of FZS into CBC activities represent a considerable change in direction for an organization that previously focused on physical support to the SENAPA and Wildlife Department anti-poaching and wildlife monitoring role. This move toward collaborative resource management saw the FZS/SRCP linkage strengthened to the point that SRCP are able to actively pursue the WMA establishment process. Unfortunately, this process has not been similarly facilitated at higher levels leaving the legislative environment for allocation of land and natural resource user rights very unclear and lagging behind the progress being made in the field (see Sections 3.2 & 3.4)

CCS also have an excellent co-operative relationship with SRCP although FZS also had a role to play in influencing CCS to play a more active role in CBNRM activities. The level of project co-operation is a consequence of positive personal relationships which does not appear to be backed up at the institutional level. Should the currently strong personal relationships diminish then the linkages between two important players in the joint CBNRM activities could fail. This institutional issue is dealt with in Section 3.2.

The Serengeti District Council have, in the past, had few links to the natural resource initiatives being carried out in their District and the working relationships between WMA and SDC are not well defined (see Figure 1.). Instead they have restricted themselves to community development projects such as those under the sponsorship of the MaraFIP and HESAWA district wide projects (See Appendix IV). They have, however, recently been involved in partnership with SENAPA/CCS, SRCP and tourist lodge managers in setting up an initiative with selected villages to grow vegetables and to produce chickens and pigs for sale to the SENAPA lodges. This initiative is not directly associated with the establishment of CBNRMAs. The Districts role in this scenario appears to be one of conflict management over issues such as which villages should grow what, where and sell it to whom.

The SDC natural resource focus has been more on trees and tree planting, for which they have had financial and physical support from SRCP and CCS, along with anti-poaching and encroachment issues. The SDC were, for example, involved in the recent re-gazettement of the Ikorongo/Grumeti Game Reserve which necessitated moving some community settlements to other areas. Although this entailed a lot of negotiation, they are of the opinion that the situation was well managed and there will be no long term repercussions; the moved settlements having been compensated with additional land. SDC representatives did, however, feel that their capacities for dealing with natural resource issues in areas under their jurisdiction were extremely low. This was borne out by the fact that the District Lands, Natural Resources & Environmental Officer roles were performed by one person.

SDC do receive money as a percentage of income from tourist hunting activities in their area of jurisdiction. In 1997 this amounted to Tshs 7 million which was focused mainly on development projects such as the construction of primary and secondary schools. Their main constraint comes from the fact that this income is rarely remitted in the year that it is budgeted and is therefore unavailable as expected. Consequent delays have triggered complaints from recipient villages that the money was not available for planned activities.

In the last year SDC involvement in the process of establishment of NRMAs has been actively sought. For the purpose of establishing a WMA the District Council were approached by SRCP/FZS and a presentation made to the District Commissioner (DC) and District Executive Director (DED) in the form of a proposal. The District Administrative Secretary (DAS) on the behalf of the DC then introduced the project and the roles of SRCP and FZS to the assembled stakeholders at the first workshop in January 1999. SDC have also been involved in stages of the WMA implementation process such as the establishment of WMA boundaries. SDC also stand to benefit from the WMA process in the fact that they are to be recipients of a share of any income from the WMA (See section 3.4)

Sengo Safaris have had a concessional agreement with Robanda Village for the use of approximately 25 sq. km of village land for their tented camp, along with access for game driving and walking, since 1993. They anticipate that they will be effected by the establishment of the WMA but exactly how is not yet clear. Their relationship with the village is a good one and their concession agreement provides regular income to the community, a total of Tshs 24 million to August 1999. They also support the community in other ways by providing employment, repairing machinery and providing loans to the village. The ICWMA, once it is formally established, will include the concession area leased by Sengo Safaris and there is a strong possibility that their concession agreement will have to be renegotiated in light of this. There will certainly need to be a reassessment of how revenues are distributed as they currently all go to Robanda Village. This brings some anxiety. They are also concerned about potential conflicts between the different land use patterns of other private sector players in the WMA agreement (e.g. hunting verses photography) and who will arbitrate this.

The owners of the Sengo Safaris tented camp do not feel that all the villagers take the concession agreement seriously. This is evidenced by the fact that cultivation is creeping ever closer to their agreed boundaries and that poaching, although reduced, is still a problem. They feel that this situation will potentially prevail even once the WMA has been established as there has been no focus on village land use planning (i.e. the use of village land adjacent to the proposed WMA) and the awareness building associated with this. Village zoning plans would need to encompass factors such as population densities, population growth, land use and animal movements, all in relation to the proposed WMA. There does not appear, to date, be any initiative to address this issue (See section 3.2).

In talking to the Village Government (Robanda), the village NRC and the ICWMA Interim Committee it was apparent that they were very engaged, positive, informed and enthusiastic about the potential for the proposed WMA. In talking with village members though the message was not so clear. These communities have been involved in the SRCP process for a considerable length of time before the concept of a WMA and the associated participatory process were introduced. Despite this their membership still seem confused by what is happening and were of differing opinions of what it means to them.

SRCP, CCS, WD and FZS representatives all readily and independently agree that the engagement of community support for the processes involved in establishing a WMA is very difficult. They also recognize that it is fundamental to the success of the initiative. A variety of aspects influence the ability of the communities to take the new concepts on board ranging from a lack of trust, to multiple players, confusion, lack of harmonization and the fact that wildlife conservation issues have already been banded about for many years in different guises. The issue of the level of community participation in the WMA concept, decision making and planning has

been identified by people at all levels as one critical to the potential success of any initiative. The speed at which community members become engaged in the process and then committed to it is dependent upon a number of factors:

History of government and donor agency interventions: Different organizations have different agendas and objectives. Different organizations having influence on communities at different times can often send mixed messages which lays the groundwork for future conflicts and considerable confusion.

Box 3. Top Down Directives

The SDC have recently (October, 1999) released a directive that makes it a mandatory requirement for every community household to cultivate at least 5 acres for food production and cash crops, to plant trees and to stop setting fires. As necessary as this decision might be, such a directive is made irrespective of availability of land, community land use plans and potential effects on the local environment. In turn, the directive is self contradictory as it is impossible, in practical terms, to clear virgin land for cultivation without setting fires.

Project based initiatives: a history of project based initiatives at community level sponsored by an agency(ies) external to a community exercising a top down approach has commonly led to what could be termed as a 'naomba' mentality. Oftentimes in the past projects have been 'given' to villages with little encouragement for any depth of input from the community members themselves as to the appropriateness or sustainability of the project. This has led to little sense of ownership of the project by the communities. Village members then have the tendency to view future projects in the light of those that have past, assume that their input is unnecessary and look to see what they can extract from the project over the short term. This is often evidenced at the initial stages of project assessment when community leaders produce a 'wish list' of projects for their community in the anticipation that 'someone else' will be providing for them. It takes time for a community so influenced to release this bias toward anyone attempting to facilitate a genuinely participatory process at the community level.

Richness of natural resource base: in general, the richer the natural resource base the easier it will be to convince communities of the benefits to be drawn from sustainable community management of those resources. This makes working on CBNRM with communities with marginal natural resources more challenging. This situation is further exacerbated if the natural resource wealth between communities participating in a natural resource management area (NRMA) is unevenly distributed.

Number of stakeholders: the greater the number of stakeholders, the more complex the issues and the more time will be needed to unravel the hopes and fears, plans and ambitions of all those involved. This time is needed if community members are to understand the environment their partner stakeholders are coming from and vice versa. e.g. for a partnership with a private sector entrepreneur the community will need to understand private sector needs such as security of tenure, return on investment, personal security (especially in the case of tourism), and levels of exclusivity. The Private Sector will, in turn, need to understand and respect community process and needs.

Poverty: Whilst a community remains in poverty the integrity of process at the community level is very fragile and vulnerable to the impact of easy yet short term 'fixes' such those offered through the adoption of corrupt practices. The more a community is obliged to focus on immediate and urgent basic issues on a day to day basis (i.e. the need to spend the majority of a day focused on water collection, fuel wood collection, subsistence farming etc.), the more difficult it will be to persuade them to become involved in a NRM program that requires them to look and plan forward. One way to resolve this is to tie in the natural resource issues with the 'big picture' issues that face their community and which are the underlying causes of their poverty. In this way the community will have more control over their direction which can energize them to make significant changes to the way they perceive their natural resources.

Leadership and levels of education: communities require individuals with certain basic levels of education in order for them to manage the various elements of a NRMA. The level of education between communities is not even and this impacts on the speed at which participants can attain sufficient skills to manage their natural resources as a NRMA. Management of a NRMA also requires additional expertise such as accounting, bookkeeping, contractual negotiation with the private sector and conflict resolution both internally and externally. In addition, communities may have to consider changes to the personnel they have representing them in Village Government and Natural Resource Committees because of their lack of appropriate education. It can take time for communities to both realize this as an issue and then to act on it.

Representation: community representation in natural resource issues often times has an internal cultural bias where specific and important groups within the community, who have considerable potential to influence any NRM program, are not appropriately represented. This includes, but is not confined to, representation of women and representation by age. Without these groups being included from the outset there is a high chance that a considerable number of community members will feel excluded from the process which can put pressures on the program at a later date.

Facilitation: facilitation at the community level often hinges on the skills of a single person or a small core of people. If these individuals do not have an appropriate grasp of the complexities involved in community facilitation they can easily lose the trust and respect that is absolutely vital to them if they are to be able to carry the communities with them. One careless, glib comment at the early stages can render them totally ineffective. There is a tendency to focus on capacity building at the community level when there is an equal need for capacity building of facilitators, key players in this process (see section 3.3)

Cultural complexity: Some areas where CBNRM areas are proposed communities are culturally homogenous. For example, the proposed Loliondo Community Wildlife Management Area is comprised exclusively of Maasai communities. In other areas the communities are more culturally heterogeneous. For example, the proposed Makao Community Wildlife Management Area is comprised of a mixture of increasingly marginalized hunter/gatherers such as the Hadzabe, pastoralists such as Maasai, and sedentary farmers such as the Wasukuma and the Iraq. The more heterogeneous the community groupings the more complex the issues surrounding the establishment of a NRMA will be and the more time will be required to ensure all stakeholders are fully aware and engaged in the process.

Project approach and time frame: large intergovernmental funded projects come with specific work plans, results frameworks and time frames. People working at the community level often chant to themselves the mantra 'community based, community paced'. Community awareness raising and engagement is not an easily predictable process and, in the past, project demands have often clashed with community capacities creating pressures for the project to 'roll on regardless'. This has had the effect of leaving the communities behind effectively disengaged from the process.

Donor agendas: donor sponsored initiatives often have their own specific agendas for wanting to establish a NRMA. Take, for example, an NGO that has wildlife management as its main priority. This NGO may have a mandate to conserve wildlife that it has sold to the people who contribute their funds. It is obliged to keep to that mandate if these funds are to continue to flow in. In the past the NGO has supported popular but conservative conservation activities to protect wildlife. In areas outside of government-protected areas this NGO may recognize that the creation of a NRMA with a focus on wildlife is the only credible way forward if the long-term sustainability of the wildlife resource is to be maintained. This brings conflict within the NGO as it is now required to work with people while its mandate remains wildlife. Wildlife conservation or community development? The pressure is on the NGO to pay lip service to the community issues in order for it to secure critical land areas as WMAs in the name of the communities. This pressure is intensified if the perception is that time is at a premium and unless the process is completed quickly the wildlife resources will be significantly threatened. There is a danger in

these circumstances that the process does not integrate the community members sufficiently and that the whole thing could unravel again at a later date. A risk worth taking, perhaps, from the understandable perspective of the NGO.

Politics: politicians are often themselves torn between making a decision that makes sense over the long term for their constituents and one that makes sense over the short term for them to get voted back into office. Hidden agendas can also be an issue in politics. (see section 3.2)

It is clear that working at the community level involves many levels of complexity which will differ depending upon the circumstance of each community. In order to make headway it is preferable to reduce this complexity as much as possible as early as possible. This calls for thorough assessments at the community level to establish exactly what influences are and have been at play in the targeted communities as well as what levels of internal capacity and experience the communities have. For this assessment to be done there has to be appropriate CBC expertise in country. If this CBC expertise is not available then there is a need for additional and intensive training (see section 3.3).

3.2 Institutional and Legal Aspects of CBNRM

3.2.1 CBNRM Management Institutions

The organizational and institutional structure for the ICWMA were provisionally developed in a Village Government Workshop (attended by FZS, SEPDA, the District Commissioner and other District Council Representatives) and a stakeholders workshop. Decisions made at these workshops are later presented to the participating community members at a general assembly for discussion and ratification. The organizational structure for the management of the ICWMA is described below but the information regarding this structure differed dependant upon the source (FZS/SRCP documentation & the ICWMA interim committee). Both have been described.

- ICWMA Council

32 members of which at least two have to be women (SRCP/FZS documentation)

OR

- Executive Committee

4 people from each village (total 16) of whom at least one should be a woman (IKONA Interim Committee)

- ICWMA Board

13 members, of which at least four are women

OR

- ICWMA Board

comprised of four village governments (IKONA Interim Committee)

- ICWMA Management

To be divided up into four sections; finance, tourism, conservation planning, security and law enforcement. These report to the Village Government and Council and have links to the SRCP the existing Village Game Scout structures

All major decisions made within this structure are to be put before the respective village assemblies for ratification. The process as to how these institutional structures were derived, their length of tenure etc. were not described. However, it was stated that these institutions would not have their membership appointed until the ICWMA had formal 'ownership' of the land that comprised the WMA. It was decided that an interim committee of five individuals (one from each village and an expert) would be formed that would manage the processes required for the establishment of a constitution for the WMA. These people will not be automatically members of the subsequent Council or Board.

Theoretically communities at all levels are "empowered" by Local Government legislation to participate and make "decisions" concerning their own welfare. The village is also expected to plan for its development and forward the plans to DC. At the village level the topmost organ is the Village Assembly (VA), which is composed of members of that particular village. Under the VA is the Village Government (VG) with seven substantive working committees.

The eighth committee, according to the Prime Minister's decree (1996), is the Environmental Committee (EC) . Members of all committees are elected by the VA during the General Meeting (GM).

There is also the Ward Executive Committee (WEC) composed of VG Chairmen. The WEC serves as a bridge between the District Council (DC) and villages with developmental and security functions. The DC is an organ whose members are Councilors from every ward in the District. The DC is charged with responsibilities of development, conservation and management of natural resources and thus formulating and passing relevant by-laws which have to be ratified by the Minister for Regional Administration and Local Government (MRA & LG).

3.2.2 Natural Resource User Rights

Natural resources which are not in PA's fall under the custodianship of the DC. The overseers are functional officers–Natural Resources, Forestry, Water, Wildlife, Bee Keeping, Fisheries, Lands—who are administratively under the District Executive Director (DED) while technically/professionally under their respective Ministries. As such conflicts could easily emerge whenever there are misunderstandings.

Box 4. The Need to Change Wildlife Legislation

The Wildlife Conservation Act No. 2 of 1974 requires review and amendment. Existing definitions, such as Game Controlled Areas, were designed to preserve game alone, to the detriment of human welfare, and must be replaced. Human settlements and activities, which were not addressed, have threatened the long-term viability of otherwise perfect wildlife spill-over areas (Maige, 1995)

The focus on Wildlife has meant that broader natural resource management issues have not featured prominently in CBNRM programmes so far. Forestry, water, land-use planning and similar or related issues, which 'belong' to other departments or sectors have yet to become integrated within the CBNRM process.

Natural resources within PA's fall under the jurisdiction of institutions backed by “appropriate” legal frameworks. As shown above, natural resources outside PA's fall under respective Districts with “inappropriate” legal frameworks and laws to govern their conservation, management and consumption. Natural resources outside PA's do not, to date, have well defined legal framework and ownership prescriptions. Unfortunately, it is also true to say that legal frameworks in PA's do not cover all natural resources—only Wildlife (particularly game) and forests (particularly trees) are covered. Although currently under one Ministry (MTNR) these are managed by different institutions—WD, TANAPA and Division of Forestry and Bee Keeping (DF) (see box 4 for the justification of the above argument.)

3.2.3 Binding Policy Issues

Natural resources are broadly governed by more than eight policies—Wildlife Policy, Forestry Policy, Water Policy (under formulation) Water Policy, Bee Keeping Policy, Fisheries Policy, Land Policy and Environment Policy. All policies have elements involving communities in the management of natural resources existing in their vicinity. Looking critically at the policies, they have the following characteristics:

- most are sector oriented, sometimes disregarding impacts to or from other sectors.

- in broad terms, stakeholders, including villagers, were not involved in the policy formulation process and thus the elements of a top down approach are apparent.

- there are no clearly defined mechanisms for:

partnerships with other stakeholders and players

community participation at, and communication to, grassroots and higher hierarchical levels of responsibility

conflict resolution at all levels

monitoring and evaluation

3.2.4 Conflict Management

The draft constitution for ICWMA outlines the methods for co-operation and conflict resolution among the four villages but there is no clear direction as to whether other villages can join. Furthermore, there is sparing note for answerability and collaboration with hierarchically higher organs like the two wards and SDC. The conflict resolution outlined does not address the potential for external influences and investors licensed by the Government, such as miners and hunting operators, who are likely to want to exploit the same natural resources valued and targeted by the communities. Moreover, the constitution is not tied to existing ordnance such as SDC by-laws, the laws on Land, Wildlife, TANAPA, and Forestry Ordinance It's strength is questionable.

3.2.5 Institutional Linkages

Institutional and legal frameworks existing within natural resources management and general governance do not provide adequate premises for CBNRM. Proof of this pudding can be seen from the village perspective when another committee (NRC) has been formed 'illegally' despite the PM's decree to establish an EC. It may seem like playing with words, but to conservatives these terms can be regarded differently providing them with an opportunity to disrupt or stall the process of CBNRM implementation. At village levels this does not present a problem so long as the process has been demonstrably democratic

CBNRM calls for harmonized and well coordinated partnership approaches. This is crucial because of differences of approach to managing natural resources and the variety of interested parties advanced by communities, sectors, donors, and facilitators (SRCP, CCS, FZS, etc.). In view of the diversity of policies, laws, plans and implementation models existing there is likelihood for conflict to arise over unintended gaps where issues slip through and, again

unintentional, jurisdictional overlaps. Such a situation has been noted in the wildlife sector where approaches are grossly different albeit the cross-sectoral need for community based conservation (CBC). On close examination, it is apparent that the SENAPA (CCS), WD (SRCP) and FZS collaborative endeavors currently ongoing are based on personal initiatives and understanding rather than operating within legally binding frameworks. Existing institutional linkages are not elaborate enough to provide sufficient anchorage for smooth implementation of CBC initiatives.

A close partner to institutional linkage issues is the dissemination of information and promotion of project initiatives. There is little if no circulation of information across and between institutions on CBNRM issues which serves to further exacerbate differences of opinion and approach. In addition, field operatives easily feel isolated from any mainstream issues and information, especially of an international nature. There is a need to focus on mechanisms to first generate appropriate materials collating lessons learned and then to improve mechanisms to disseminate this material to all relevant players. There is also a need for Tanzania to engage more firmly in the regional and international forums and to develop opportunities for field managers to gain important experience from CBNRM initiatives in other areas. The concept of self-promotion also needs considerable development. Donor funded organizations need to justify their use of donor moneys on project activities, similarly Government funded organizations need to justify their activities to the public. In addition, awareness raising is also a function of promotional activities.

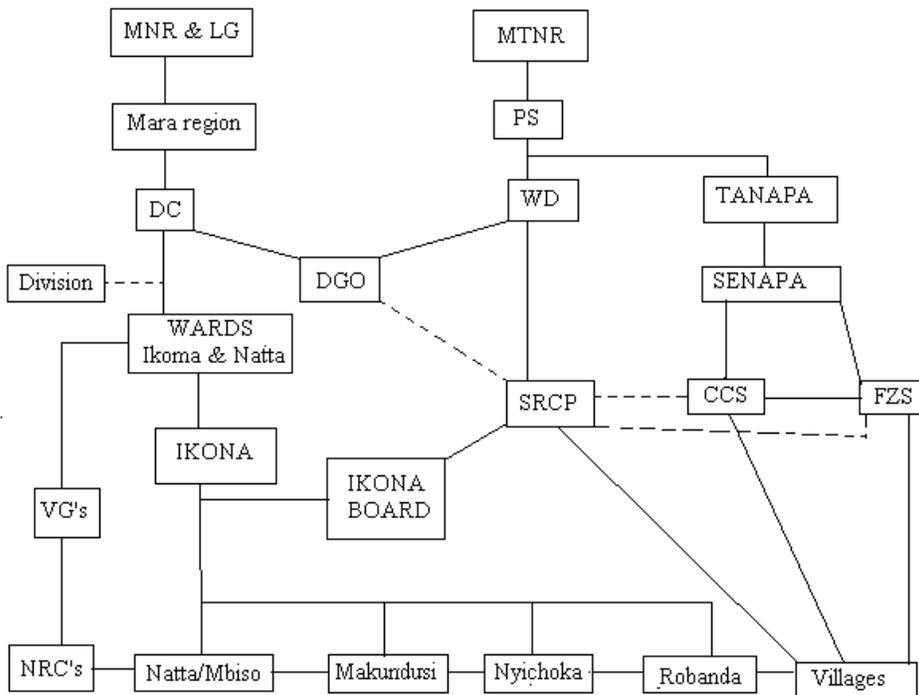
3.2.6 Land tenure

In rural areas, villages supposedly 'own' land by virtue of long-term establishment and birthright. Individual households 'own' pieces of land for economic ventures and construction of houses. In the ICWMA villages these pieces of land are not clearly demarcated like most villages although, in villages where land areas are demarcated, no title deeds or certificates of occupancy are issued and there is no formal land registration process. No single village within the ICWMA has zoned its area for various uses (agricultural, residential, pastoral, etc.) and thus clear zones for CBNRM development have not been appropriately identified. This is evidenced by the current agricultural development by village members of land in close proximity to the proposed ICWMA boundary in Robanda village. Lack of a participatory zoning process for this village land may make it difficult to prevent encroachment into the ICWMA at a later date.

Box 5. Tenure Rights of Communities for CBNRM

The tenure rights of communities over natural resources and the role of the state in recognising and supporting those rights continues to be a paramount issue of development. The resolution of the concomitant social, economic and political side issues may well mean the difference between sustainable development and accelerated economic and environmental impoverishment (Talbot and Khadka, 1994).

Figure 1. Hierarchical administrative relationship among and above the villages forming the ICWMA



Key: _____ direct/formal relationship
 _____ indirect or informal relationship

DGO – District Game Officer

Recent legislation related to land apparently recognizes only three types of village land—that used for settlement, agriculture and grazing. A village can only secure tenure over land that has these three categories of usage. This, in the eyes of the SRCP, leaves large areas of land in a grey area

where, as it is not used by the villages, it could be reverted to state control and sold to a private sector bidder. This is an issue of interpretation. The villages see this land as theirs, even though they do not use it for settlement, agriculture or grazing. Significant conflicts could be generated in the future if this issue is not clarified. Within the communities SRCP are working with large tracts of land which could fall into this grey area. Some are as large as 50 percent of the perceived village area. SRCP are managing this situation by identifying this ‘non-village’ land as land to be set-aside for a WMA. The ownership of this land would depend upon which communities were accepted as partners in the WMA agreement. Several communities would share joint ownership under a ‘certificate of land registration’. By developing the area as a WMA under the management control of a community(s) then the community have the right to own this land. SRCP see this as a mechanism to protect the villages from losing this land completely.

SRCP have also been developing this concept, with the assistance of FZS, in their facilitation of the Loliondo WMA. They have come across resistance from the Maasai communities in that area as they perceive that the land being earmarked by SCRCP to be a WMA is used and owned by them for emergency grazing access. In addition, lack of clarity of the exact terminology and interpretation of the law as it stands has lead to a great deal of confusion amongst the different players. There is, consequently, considerable reluctance to agree to any terms of tenure that may undermine their traditional rights.

Box 6. The Race for Land

The village of Makundusi Nyakitono in Fort Ikoma have recently ‘sold’ land to a hunting operator (VIP) under questionable circumstances. VIP engaged the Musoma Regional Commissioner (MRC, subsequently retired) as a director of VIP. The MRC, in his official capacity, then engaged the village to release land to VIP raising expectations of compensation for the ‘sale’ to very high levels. Using normal methodology the village gave written approval to the District who, in turn, wrote to the Region. This all purportedly happened in the unusual time span of one day. The Regional Lands Office then visited the site and, without reference to the village government or members, placed beacons demarcating 5,000 Ha of land. VIP now claim to have title deed to this land but have never produced documentation to verify this when asked. Makundusi Nyakitono village do not consider that they have yet been adequately compensated for this ‘deal’ and relations between VIP and the villagers are now extremely poor (Source: SRCP—not confirmed with VIP, RC or others involved.)

Actions required to support CBNRM processes in issues relating to the security of land tenure and the allocation of user-rights cannot be underestimated. There is need to take proactive steps to address this crucial challenge for advocating CBNRM. The public land ownership, or village property rights, of natural resources need to be made statutorily communal by describing areas as proprietary units. Talbott and Khadka (1994) testify a similar case in Nepal

3.3 Facilitation for the CBNRM

3.3.1 CBNRM Funding Sources

The majority of funding for facilitation of this CBNRM initiative at the community level has been provided by FZS. To date they have provided funding for the training of a PRA team, PRA fieldwork, a full time community field officer, workshops, seminars and a study tour. The amount spent to date and the total amount budgeted for this initiative is unknown.

SRCS have provided staff and equipment support for their role in this initiative for which funding is provided by the Tanzanian Government and NORAD. SRCP have also provided capacity building opportunities as part of their previous program of involvement with the communities. This has included the training of VGS and the training of specific management skills for natural resource management such as accounting, bookkeeping etc.

CCS contribute to this process although the level of financial input to facilitate the CBNRM process remains unclear. SENAPA/CCS activities are funded from a Support Community Initiated Projects (SCIP) fund which is budgeted to receive 7.5 percent of the recurrent revenue for SENAPA although budgetary constraints sometimes mean that this amount isn't always available. 1998 saw an input of 80 million Tsh into the SCIP fund from SENAPA. CCS have their own policies for the release of funds to support village level projects which includes a PRA to assess where their assistance would be of most value. Villages are also required to contribute 25 percent of the total project cost before any funds are released. CCS appear to have no formal mechanism for the release of funds to support CBNRM initiatives (see Appendix V for projects supported by SENAPA as of 1996)

3.3.2 Capacity Building Processes

FZS have taken the lead role in performing capacity building activities for the CBNRM process. A PRA team was initiated which included in its membership representatives from FZS, SRCP, CCS and a community member. This PRA team of 12 members had 9 days of training in August 1998 followed by a week of fieldwork at Robanda village which constituted the formal PRA for this village. FZS also supported the ICWMA Interim Committee to conduct a study tour to group ranches in Kenya in order to broaden the awareness of these individuals as to the potential opportunities available to their communities. The FZS approach to capacity building has been to initiate the process by providing a training opportunity to specific individuals and then sending them to train others who work alongside them in the performance of their role. Their success at energizing others to participate in the processes they have learnt gives FZS an opportunity to assess to what level the training provided has sunk in and how competent their field personnel are at communicating with other community members. The concept is a good one but the

execution would require further assessment to see whether it had enjoyed an effective level of success.

There is a school of thought that considers the facilitation process to be one that requires the skills forged of appropriate training and long experience at the community level. Using newly trained and inexperienced personnel to initiate, guide and coach the CBNRM process in its initial stages could lead serious omissions or errors early in the awareness building process. This could, in turn, make it difficult to maintain the trust and respect required of a successful facilitator. Of course, it is not easy to find such experienced facilitators readily and in the absence of such individuals it is often necessary to start from scratch.

This identifies a potential need for access to a cadre of skilled and experienced community facilitators within Tanzania who are capable of initiating the CBNRM process. These facilitators could work with counterparts selected from the community and pass on their skills so as to not leave a vacuum when they eventually depart. There are many individuals who have years of experience as extension workers in different fields working for different institutions who could be appropriate for this role. If skilled facilitators can be identified and made available then the problems and risks inherent with inexperienced facilitation could be greatly reduced. In turn, specific CBC facilitation training should be made available in order to ensure that the supply of appropriate personnel is maintained. Care needs to be taken when assessing potential candidates for the facilitation role that they are able to make the transition from the previously 'top-down' approach to a more appropriate facilitation of a bottom up approach. Training in this case would be focused on identifying the differences between the previous 'policeman' oriented role and the new facilitation role.

It has to be noted at this point that a considerable amount of capacity building had been performed by SCRP at the community level prior to the initiation of the CBNRM initiative so certain members of specific communities already had an established skills base which could be drawn upon. This aspect of prior influences brings into focus two issues pertaining to capacity building which need to be drawn into the picture.

Firstly, it is important that any community appraisal performed prior to the start of a CBNRM initiative takes full account of the types, levels and qualities of capacity building exercises that have been performed in the past. How much this built capacity has been utilized and capitalized upon and how much of it actually remains that is valid also needs to be assessed.

Secondarily, it is important to assess exactly who has and who is receiving the capacity building focus and whether there has been any provision made for the training of others. There is often an understandable focus of training on the members of committees assembled for the specific purpose of natural resource management. Unfortunately committee members move on and when

they do the skills they brought to their role are often lost. There is a need to ensure that the training process is ongoing, even to the extent of ensure that trainers are trained to be available to replace skills lost by changes of personnel.

In addition specific capacity requirements at the villages level need to be assessed and provided for. This would include the financial managers, accountants, bookkeepers and local level legal guardians.

3.4 Economic and Environmental Impact

3.4.1 Benefits

Box 7. Robanda Village Natural Resource Income 1998 (Tsh)

(Formal income passed through NRC account)	
Sand	21,000
Sengo Safaris	1,350,000
Hunting fees	232,350
Fines	5,000
NRC collections	1,359,000

The potential beneficiaries from this process are many. The benefits are also varied and have both a monetary and non-monetary value. Actual benefits have yet to be realized as the ICWMA is still in the development stages. However, lessons learned from previous benefit sharing initiatives are of validity. Additionally, the concept of revenues and benefit sharing have been aired at the community level and their feedback has been included. Benefits are described from the perspective of the beneficiary below.

Communities: Monetary: financial income derived from the following sources; concession agreement fees (e.g. annual payments and bed night fees), photographic fees, guide fees, hunting fees (from quota allocation), salaries from employment in private sector enterprises, fees for raw material extraction (sand, stone, wood, etc.), sale of skins and meat and fines (imposed for illegal setting of fires, extraction of wood, charcoal, etc). Non-monetary: employment, safeguarding ecosystem, protection of environment, access to natural resources for traditional use practices, attraction of investment, increase in household incomes, diversification of income opportunities.

Wildlife Department: Monetary: game fees from hunting of animals on quota. Non-monetary: increased awareness and understanding of natural resource issues, improved management of wildlife in areas peripheral to game reserves, improved relationships with local communities,

reduction in illegal natural resource use (poaching), reduction in wildfires, attraction of investment (see also Section 4).

SENAPA: Monetary: potential increase in park revenues from the marketing of the ICWMA and the additional visitors to the national park that this will encourage. Non-monetary: increased awareness and understanding of wildlife issues, improved management of natural resources in areas peripheral to national park, improved relationships with local communities, reduction in illegal natural resource use (poaching), reduction in wildfires, attraction of investment.

SDC: Monetary: receipt of percentage of revenue paid to communities for natural resource access and use in ICWMA. Non-monetary: increased awareness and understanding of natural resource issues, improved management of natural resources in community areas, increased involvement of communities in development processes and self governance, improved environmental management

Central Government: Monetary: collection of VAT payments from ICWMA enterprise, increase in PAYE tax base, increase in corporate taxes from private sector players. Non-monetary: reduced pressures on natural resources in areas of strategic national importance, improved natural resource management at the community level, improved community awareness and development, attraction of investment

Private Sector: Monetary: opportunity to increase incomes from having a secure and long term lease agreement. Non-monetary: opportunity to increase marketing because of a secure and long term lease agreement, good relations with community members, low external impacts on natural resource base in concession area

3.4.2 Benefit Sharing Mechanisms

Distribution of financial revenues derived from the ICWMA were discussed at a stakeholder workshop held in May 1999. A provisional proposal was made for revenues to be shared as follows:

Central Government	5 percent
Serengeti District Council	15 percent
Communities	80 percent

This issue was discussed at the workshop but, it appears, not in depth as there was no mention of how the community portion of 80 percent would be shared between the participating communities. Also the mechanisms for disbursement of funds within the communities were also

not clear. There was also no mention of the income to government from tax revenue collection and game fees imposed by the Wildlife Department. SRCP have stated that user rights for wildlife at the community level have yet to be developed by the Wildlife Department but benefit sharing of income from consumptive use of wildlife (hunting) will probably be part of the tenure agreement (Memorandum of Understanding) between the Wildlife Department (formal managers of state owned wildlife) and the 'community association' that owns the ICWMA (see section 3.2).

There remain considerable concerns about the detail in the benefit sharing mechanisms.

Communities: How are revenues to be divided equitably between communities? Factors such as differing qualities of natural resources and the size of land contributed by a community to the NRMA contribute to this equitability issue. What if gold is found in one area of the WMA associated with just one of the four communities? Do all four communities benefit equally? To date the communities have resolved to divide any benefits from the WMA equally but there is no clear picture as to how this should be managed and what formulation should be used to arrive at an equitable conclusion. There may be a need for an evaluation of natural resources and other assets that communities bring to the joint agreement. The constitution, which is in draft form, would set out the parameters for revenue distribution of this nature and would need full community involvement in its ratification to ensure it was fully representative.

Control: prior experience has shown that control mechanisms over bank account and accounting procedures at the community level have to be very well organized and transparent. This requires capacity building of the people identified to manage the financial activities of ICWMA. A lack of transparency leads to people succumbing to temptation, making mistakes and then having to be replaced. This requires another round of capacity building. There is also a current tendency for the Robanda NRC financial managers to prefer to handle cash because the mechanism for using the bank account at the District Micro-finance Bank is unwieldy (considerable distance from community, need to have a minimum number of signatures etc.) which creates delays in disbursing funds for project initiatives. Of course, the handling of cash also increases the opportunity for error.

Another issue that requires clarification concerns what roles and responsibilities the various stakeholders have in the ICWMA agreement that justifies their agreed stake in the revenue sharing issues. This is discussed in section 3.2 & 4.0

3.4.3 Winners and Losers

At this stage of development of the ICWMA no clear winners and losers have been identified. However, discussion with the various stakeholders identified concerns about specific groups that might be disadvantaged by this process

Community: Traditional hunter-gatherers in the community are likely to be considerably disadvantaged by the ICWMA as the range in which they are able to hunt will be radically reduced.

Private Sector: There is concern from the smaller, more flexible, operations that they may be disadvantaged once the WMA has been established as there will be a tendency to select the operators who offer the largest purse. They feel that there is a need for a balanced assessment of what specific operators bring to the table which is not only focused on financial benefits. There is also the need to assess whether one big operator who signs a concessional agreement for the entire WMA is better than having several operators with concessions in different sections of the WMA and who could utilize different seasons. Specific circumstance will have a large part to play in the resolution of these issues. However, the security of the community has to be the primary consideration in all these negotiations. If their ability to receive income from the WMA is seriously compromised at any stage this will potentially cause them to reassess the validity of the WMA concept. From the perspective of the community there may be a need to skew the balance to security of income rather than maximization of income.

An additional conflict that could arise from the different benefit generating activities performed by the private sector in ICWMA is that between hunting and photographic tourism. The two are compatible but only if the relationship is managed with care.

3.4.4 Mechanisms to Address Age, Gender and Equity

To date an overt attempt has been made to address gender at the community level but none to address age and equity other than those already described. Gender issues were raised at the initial PRA and opportunity made for female representation in the ICWMA management structure.

4. The Way Forward

In promoting successful CBNRM we have to face facts: key issues; constraints and conflicts and how to overcome them; and opportunities arising from implementation or trial experiences. In trying to summaries this discourse, one should note that the debate is moving beyond the traditional agendas of wildlife managers, foresters, hydrologists, community development workers, ecologists or land planners. New premises are sought which focus on a multidisciplinary approach whereby the Government is obliged to surrender some of its obligations to allow the sharing of responsibilities with communities. Such strategy divorces a focus only on wildlife for protecting or conserving natural resources. The parameters for national sustainable development and economic uplift of communities are being redefined.

Numerous hurdles have to be crossed before the ‘ideal’ CBNRM model is reached. Such hurdles include:

- Inadequately streamlined and harmonized legal and institutional frameworks for CBNRM control and administration

Potential solution: Review and reform

- A bias of CBC knowledge to the “policing” attitudes, a legacy of the top down approach, accompanied by similarly biased interpretation of “extension work” or facilitation

Potential solution: Retrain

- Conflicting, overlapping and gap creating mandates and approaches used by many government institutions, facilitators, donors and other CBC players

Potential solution: Review, educate and harmonies

- Lack of clear and concise tenorial rights for communities and individuals over land and natural resources

Potential solution: Rework to provide clear, simple and understandable legal framework

- Absence or inadequate knowledge on what is entailed in CBNRM vis-à-vis the traditional approach to the ‘protection’ of natural resources

Potential solution: Continue collecting, collating and promoting lessons learned

- Inadequate political will in spearheading institutionalization of CBNRM and an immature professional approach which favors personal advancement and gratification over community or national development

Potential solution: Provide independent overview to publicly promote issues of transparency

- Diversities or disparities existing between individuals, communities and even sectors in terms of education and awareness; economy and wealth; availability of natural resources and other factors which call for coherent and thorough participatory approaches to assessments at all levels

Potential solution: Provide comprehensive guidelines for participatory processes and provide facilities for appropriate CBNRM focused education

- That so called “national” aspirations have consistently sidelined community aspirations and priorities and may continue to do so

Potential Solution: Invest policy statements directed to community empowerment with full legislative backup

- Involvement of private sector in licensed hunting, tour operations, hotel management, and others, has not contributed positively to the development of communities

Potential solution: Assess constraints to private sector/community linkages to pave the way to providing an enabling environment

The entanglement of poverty in inadequate local and national planning providing for participatory CBNRM processes creates constraints for the establishment of sustainable natural resource management initiatives

Potential solution: Thoroughly evaluate and plan for the impact of poverty on CBNRM

- An overwhelming problem is posed in the need to find a mechanism for the equitable sharing of the resources from CBNRMA's, Villages, Districts and Central government, private sector along with the communities and the individuals within them would all like to share the benefits obtained, equitably

Potential solution: Put sustained focus on this issue until a solution is developed

- There is a general failure to recognize that consumptive use of wildlife has limits. Recent economic cost-benefit analyses suggest (Rihoy, E.–1995) that non-consumptive options may provide better, sustainable, returns.

Potential solution: Commission study to evaluate consumptive wildlife use so as to appropriately balance its' benefits with other, non consumptive options. Also, increase range of non consumptive options

- There is also a failure to acknowledge that human beings form one integral component of the environment. The dawning of awareness that humanity is totally dependant on the environment and that this same environment has a direct influence on humanity and their economy is happening too slowly to guide the CBNRM process with any sense of urgency

Potential solution: Actively promote 'big picture' issues nationally and locally, spearheading a change in attitudes by linking poverty, population growth and other critical parameters firmly together with the benefits of a healthy environment

There is a long way to go before these hurdles are fully overcoming. There is also the pressing need to revisit, review and streamline institutional frameworks along with their associated policies and legislative backstopping in order to ensure that the governance of natural resource issues can be made simpler and more holistic. Currently, overlapping authorities, jurisdictions and mandates create a very confused bureaucratic playing field for the communities, their partners and advisors providing a foundation for CBNRM which is, potentially made of sand.

There are underlying key factors that are stimulating broad changes of approach which, if harnessed appropriately, could drive a developing dynamic with more urgency. These include:

the wide spread poaching, uncontrolled resident hunting, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, habitats and water sources and threat of species extinction which are apparent throughout the nation are recognized, at all levels, as a serious threat to future national security

the growing inability of the state to police all PA' s (38,8 percent of land area–URT, 1998) throughout the country and the increasing pressures on existing PA's from the often burgeoning populations on their periphery

the fact that the now widely recognized that issues such as population growth, poverty, land use conflicts, the need for equity and other similar fundamental issues of critical importance to the development of Tanzania need to be included in natural resource management planning.

Pilot projects have provided a variety of approaches to the development of a new natural resource management strategy. Within these approaches positive indicators can be found that demonstrate the potential for this change of direction. These include:

- an increase in wildlife numbers; notably in areas of expanding human populations
- a decline in poaching and unlicensed hunting
- an increase in the arrests of wrongdoers (poachers, setters of fires, etc.) by community members, usually the VGSs
- an increase in revenues from natural resources at the community level, derived from concessional agreements (e.g. camping site fees and the sale of different items such as grass, stones, beef, vegetables, crafts, etc.), which supplements regular incomes¹.

Communities' lives and culture are embedded in natural resources as their basis for survival. As such they have every potential to be conservators as they are both custodians and rational utilizers of natural resources. Many communities also have a deep respect for their natural environment and have developed traditional means in settling conflicts². There is growing awareness of the need for CBNRM, not only within communities but also with district authorities. This awareness needs to be harnessed and directed.

CBNRM is pioneering a change of mind set from traditional, conservative conservation thinking to a more holistic approach that realizes the integrated nature of natural resource management activities with all other management activities. This paradigm shift of approach will need to encompass all levels and all sectors and will not progress evenly. Bottlenecks will develop where capacities to re-educate essential players are limited, as well as where there is ingrained resistance to the changes that these new concepts will bring. This is especially true at the District Government level. The roles of government representatives at the District level will change considerably and along with this so will established power structures. This has the potential to

¹For example, from 1994 to 1996, Robanda village received over Tshs 5 million (Tibanyenda & Mwanauta, 1996) while income for 1998 was Tshs 2,967,350/-.

²'Anchago' - fine for the Waikoma and Wanatta peoples or use of 'Laigwanak', traditional leaders, for the Wamaasai people

significantly delay or even derail the whole process. There is a specific and urgent need to address financial and personnel capacity issues at the District level as this is the immediate government interface to the community level and where the concept of CBNRM is hinged. Formal authority and responsibility for the development of a WMA will fall specifically upon the District Game Officer and this individual's role will change to reflect this. Integral with the development of a WMA, however, is the need for cross department and cross sectoral co-operation and integration at the District level (e.g. land use planning) which requires a level of ability, capacity and financial/physical resources which are often not available at the District level.

Considerable expectations will also be made of NGO's (both local and international), CBO's and other supporting agencies independent of the Tanzanian Government in providing support to the various roles required to develop and maintain WMA's at the community level. There is currently insufficient capacity in local NGO's and CBO's to provide adequate support to the WMA process if it is initiated over a wide range of areas. Similarly, accessible and resource rich areas potential demand for the initiation of WMA's may be intense and available agencies may not be able to provide sufficient support.

The private sector role is also somewhat of an unknown. Private sector interests are currently focused on business management issues which, to date, have not involved negotiation and agreement brokering at the community level. Private sector involvement in community level concession agreements and the like will require them to restructure their management capacities to include a focus on community level involvement and dialogue. Responsible investors are only likely to consider this a viable investment if they are ensured of the opportunity for secure and valid long-term agreements. To them this new direction is largely an unknown quantity and they will also need access to support and advisory structures.

Different pilot projects have demonstrated that the changes in approach to the management of natural resources in management structures such as Wildlife Management Areas which empower community members to manage their own natural resource base can and do work. However, the changes affects all level of government and her personnel and will involve a complex process of events the full scope of which have yet to be realized. Continued focus needs to be applied to identify and ameliorate gaps or weaknesses in this process if it is to be successful within the time frame dictated by the current rate of attrition of natural resources in Tanzania.

Recommended Roles/Responsibilities for CBNRM³

Area	Government ⁴	Villagers	Private Sector	Facilitator ⁵
Policy Development	Formulate Policy, strategies and guidelines Oversee and monitor implementation	Deliberate on relevant issues Contribute elements/issues affecting their welfare	Deliberate on relevant issues Contribute issues affecting the business environment.	Enhance interactive dialogue
Awareness	Develop overriding principles Promote concepts Publish information Encourage participation Provide Training	Provide what is already known	Support awareness and training programmes Contribute information	Conduct comprehensive PRA Determine capacities, gaps, needs and priorities Enhance partnership/ collaboration Conduct awareness for a
Community Participation	Enact laws for CBC Integrate in National institutional/legal frameworks rights and responsibilities for CBC Provide training	Fully participate in designing, planning, execution and evaluation Form representative committees.	Support community participation.	Invigorate and build upon indigenous systems Promote partnership Mobilise village leadership and villagers.
Collaboration	Establish favourable institutional settings Reduce dependency syndrome Clearly define roles and responsibilities	Plan and execute collaborative activities e.g. WMA Form co-ordinating committee/Board	Involve in participatory activities Enhance & market alternative sources of income	Co-ordinate all stakeholders Assist planning of collaborative activities Conflict management & resolution
Capacity building	Develop training programmes for professionals Institutionalise participatory approaches Demonstrate support to CBC	Identify training needs Develop training programmes and priorities Develop plans for NRM	Support local training programmes Support group initiatives e.g. small projects Establish collaborative ventures	Facilitate identification of training needs Facilitate community level training Assist in development of plans for NRM

³ Also after the Policies on Wildlife, Forestry, Bee keeping, Fisheries and Environment.

⁴ Government include Ministries responsible for NR, Local Governments and Land.

⁵ Involves NGOs/CBOs, Government Agencies, Consultants.

Area	Government ⁴	Villagers	Private Sector	Facilitator ⁵
Natural Resources ownership	<p>Enact laws recognising community rights to NR</p> <p>Formalise equitable entitlement to benefits obtained</p> <p>Conduct legal studies to improve NR ownership</p> <p>Harmonize laws to reduce conflicts and overlaps and minimize gaps</p> <p>Clearly legislate land ownership</p> <p>Provide technical support to define village & NRMA boundaries and land use zoning</p>	<p>Inventorise all NR within village jurisdiction</p> <p>Prioritize NR and allocate respective values</p> <p>Institute an organ to oversee NR</p> <p>Participate in defining means and ways for sharing benefits</p> <p>Participate in zoning village area and land use</p> <p>Participate in demarcating boundaries and zoning NRMA</p>	<p>Support inventory of NR</p> <p>Support legal studies to improve NR ownership</p> <p>Participate in demarcating and zoning villages and NRMA</p>	<p>Assist inventory of NR</p> <p>Assist in prioritizing NR and giving them values.</p> <p>Assist in defining ways and means for sharing benefits</p> <p>Involve stakeholders to collaborate in zoning the village areas.</p>
Conservation and Development	<p>Harmonize and review NR laws to guide conservation and community development</p> <p>Institute organs that will oversee rational utilization of resources</p> <p>Make national plans that focus on human development</p> <p>Promote founding principals of conservation and sustainable development</p>	<p>Plan for development that doesn't compromise NR</p> <p>Propagate and manage NR sustainably</p> <p>Increase awareness for sustainable development</p> <p>Set aside conservation areas.</p>	<p>Support conservation and development projects</p> <p>Facilitate organs that oversee sustainable development</p>	<p>Demonstrate conservation and development techniques</p> <p>Assist to make plans aiming at sustainable development</p> <p>Promote awareness for sustainable development</p>
Monitoring and Evaluation	<p>Monitor implementation of CBNRM policy</p> <p>Conduct regular evaluation of CBNRM nationwide</p> <p>Institute development index and apply it regularly</p> <p>Publish evaluation reports regularly</p>	<p>Conduct regular monitoring on NR status</p> <p>Evaluate regularly: Activities using NR. Benefits obtained</p> <p>The methods for sharing benefits.</p>	<p>Support monitoring and evaluation</p> <p>Participate in monitoring and evaluation</p>	<p>Assist with establishment and management of monitoring and evaluation exercise</p> <p>Gauge development levels among households and villages.</p>

Appendix I. Individuals Interviewed

Serengeti Regional Conservation Program

Project Manager Job Mbaruka

Technical Officer Wildlife/Assistant Project Manager John Muya

Serengeti National Park

Community Conservation Services Warden E. Kisamo

Tanzania National Parks

Community Conservation Warden (Tarangire) J. T. Porokwa

Community Conservation Education Officer T. R. Ole Mako

Department of Wildlife

Commander, Serengeti Zone Anti-Poaching Unit (Bunda) M. Frederick

Project Manager Ikorongo/Grumeti Game Reserves W. Jonathan

Frankfurt Zoological Society

Country Representative Dr. M. Borner

Projects Director J. Ole Kuwai

Serengeti District Council

District Commissioner L. T. Sabaya

District Executive Director
Nyamuhanga T. A. W. R

District Lands, Natural Resources & Environmental Officer J. M. Kanyabwoya

Cartographer D. Dyson

District Administrative Officer G. Rugemalira

District Game Officer M. Warento

Mara Farmers Initiative Project (MaraFIP)

District Co-ordinator D. M. Ngowi

Health, Sanitation and Water (HESAWA)

District Coordinator S. Masked

Sengo Safaris

Managing Director	G. Lewis
Director	Mrs. D. Lewis
Camp Manager	J. Malewo

Dorobo Safaris & Dorobo Fund

Director	D. Peterson
Director	T. Peterson
Director	M. Peterson
Community Facilitator	D. Ngoitiko

Robanda Community Representatives and Members

Village Chairman	S. Nyigoti
Village Executive Officer	B. Maakondo
Village Government & Environmental Committee member	J. Ikora
Village Government member	J. Magori
Village member–farmer	E. Nyambeho
Village Game Scout	J. Kisiroti
Commander, Village Game Scouts	M. Manginare
Village member	Y. Kisiri
Village Environmental Committee member	J. Samare
Village member–farmer	W. Daniel
Village member–farmer	M. Mbogo
Village member–farmer	W. John
Village Game Scout	N. Gerecha
Village Member -farmer and businessman	N. Mechama
Village Government member and Village Game Scout	K. Magori
Village Game Scout	R. Gaugeri
Village Game Scout	S. Magige
Village Government Member	K. Mosoka
Village member–farmer	S. Mahewa

Village Government Member	M. Murumbe
Village Game Scout	P. Kibune
Village Member–farmer/livestock keeper	M. Nachota
Secretary Piggery Project	P. Mazanza
Village Member–farmer	M. Mago
Village member–businessman	Petelonia
Village member–farmer	N. Gerecha
Village member–businessman	J. Machaba
Village Game Scout	T. Maaghota
Village member–farmer/businessman	F. Ally
Village member–farmer	M. Gaugeri
Village Game Scout	M. Japan

IKONA Wildlife Management Area Interim Committee

Chairman (Robanda Village Chairman & District CCM Chairman)	S. Nyigoti
Member (Secretary of SEPDA–NGO)	J. T. Masina
Member (Nyichoka Village Chairman)	M. Marongori
Member (Makundusi Village Chairman)	J. Kwiro
Robanda Environmental Committee	
Chairman	S. Bamagi
Secretary	J. Wambura
Treasurer	J. Mkome
Member	M. Shitabara
Member	Mrs. M. Sitoche
Member	J. Samare
Member	M. Mego
Member	J. Elias

Inyuat E Maa

Chief Executive Officer	P. Toima
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Appendix II. Itinerary

Date	Place	Activity
08.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting and setting the Agenda at AWF • Meeting and discussions with Dorobo Safaris & Dorobo Fund
09.11.99	Arusha/Seronera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traveling to Seronera
10.11.99	Seronera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with Tourism Warder SENAPA • Traveling to Ikoma Fort, Mugumu • Discussions with SRCP Project Manager • Discussions with District Officers
11.11.99	Mugumu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with District Project Officers
	Ikoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with Sengo Safaris
12.11.99	Ikoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with Ikona WMA Committee • Discussions with Project Manager–Ikorongo and Grumeti GRs, District Game Officer, Commander Anti-poaching, Serengeti zone.
13.11.99	Ikoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with SRCP Project Manager • Meeting at Robanda village.
	Seronera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with CCS Warden
14.11.99	Seronera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions with FZS officials • Traveling to Ngorongoro NCAA
15.11.99	NCAA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courtesy call on NCAA Acting Conservator • Setting the Agenda with Acting Chief Manager, Community Development. • Discussion with Vice Chairman of Pastoralist Council
	Enduleni	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with villagers, PC Members and Councilor
16.11.99	Olbalbal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with villagers, Olaiwanan, village Chairman and PC Chairman / NCAA Board Member
17.11.99	Nainokanoka	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with village chairman (Nainokanoka, Bulati, Olaiwanan (elders and Youth), stores Secretary.
18.11.99	NCAA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with Acting Conservator (head of personnel & Administration) Assistant Conservator (Research & Planning), Principal Extension officer, Head of Extension and Extension & Services officer • Meeting with the Manager of Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge • Traveling to Arusha.
19.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report writing
20.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant's meeting • Report writing
21.11.9922	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report writing

Date	Place	Activity
22.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Report writing
23.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Report writing
24.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Report writing
25.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Report writing

Appendix III. Evolution Of Community Based Conservation (CBC) In Tanzania

Year	Activity	Reference
1959	Establishment of Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highland forests, important watersheds • Short grass plains, important wet season grazing area for migratory herds • Olduvai Gorge and other prehistoric sites • 26,000 Maasai pastoralists, 14 villages, 6 wards • 285,000 herds of livestock 	Chauisi, 1995 Kijazi 1995
1985	Initiation of the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SRCS)	Melamari, 1995 & Maige 1995
1987	Selous Conservation Programme (SCP) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain the integrity of the SGR as a world heritage site • Provide pragmatic and long lasting solutions for the problems of illegal off-take and habitat loss • Over 80,000 people, 33 villages, 3 districts (Morogoro, Songea, Tunduma) 	Krischke, <i>et al</i> , 1995
1988	Piloting Community Conservation (CC) in Ololosokwan, Soitsambu and Oloipili villages, Loliondo Division.	Kisamo 1999
1989	The SRCS into the Serengeti Regional Conservation Projects (SRCP)	Ikona WMA
1990	Appointment of first time Community Conservation Warden (CCW) in Tarangire	Committee, 1999
1991	Establishment of the community conservation services (CCS) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To coordinate and monitor the activities of CCWs • To provide advice and support 	Melamari, 1995
1991	Establishment of Community Conservation Coordinating Committee (4C) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal steering committee 	Melamari, 1995
1991	Support of CBC initiatives in Tarangire & Loliondo	Dorobo Safari 1999
1991	Cullman Wildlife Project (CWR) established	Robin Hurt Safari, 1995
1992	Oliver's camp CBC Initiative	Oliver's camp, 1995
1992	Establishment of Serengeti Conservation Education Programme (SCEP)	Kisamo, 1998
1993	Mkomazi Game Reserve outreach programme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasis on environment and development; the principles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o to concentrate on villages bordering MGR o to collaborate with local organization 	Simons & Nicolassen 1995

Year	Activity	Reference
1994	Friedkin Conservation Fund established	Tanzania Game Tracker Safaris, 1999
1998	Wildlife Management Area concept evolved from Wildlife policy	Mbaruka, 1999
1998	Community Based Conservation Management (CBNRM) concept surfacing	Mbaruka 1999