

**The Case Of NGORONGORO Conservation
Area Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region
Tanzania**

**Appendix 4 of the EPIQ Assessment of
Lessons Learned from the Community Based
Conservation in Tanzania**

August 2000

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1. Ngorongoro Conservation Area – An Overview

Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) is not a community based natural management (CBNRM) area. The 14 communities within the management reach of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA), the administration charged with managing the NCA, have no input to management decisions concerning and impacting on them. It is outside the scope of this assessment to do more than scratch the surface of the many and complex issues concerning the communities that have arisen in the course of the NCA's existence. The snapshot that this assessment has managed to obtain is a consequence of many interviews with NCA community members and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority employees and managers. Recurrent themes were apparent, echoed from community to community. Also apparent was the recognition, at all levels, of the need for a change so as to ensure communities become more thoroughly integrated in resolving the issues confronting the future of NCA. This assessment attempts to draw lessons from the experience gained over the past 40 years and presents these lessons as they were described. Misunderstandings of the processes involved are almost inevitable considering the time available to the team to gather available information. Our intention is to find ways to move forward in other CBNRM endeavors using the experience gained and the lessons learned from the sometimes painful history of NCA.

Below is a brief description of the NCA with a focus on the community perspective. A comprehensive overview and history of the NCA from the NCAA perspective is available in the NCA General Management Plan (NCAA,1996)

Box 1. Oligwanani (Traditional Leader)

"I was born on Engitati in Ngorongoro Crater where I spent my youth. I remember the rhino. There were so many. They outnumbered the buffalo. They were everywhere. We rarely killed the Rhino and when we did it was because they threatened us in some way. We loved living in the crater together with the wild animals, listening to the lions roar. Then we were moved to where we are now. When I look at the crater I feel a deep sadness. Once control of the crater was given to someone else the rhinos started to disappear. Now they have almost all gone. Is this what they call conservation?"

2. Establishment

The NCA is an area of some 8,292 km² located in Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region. There are 14 villages in the NCA distributed between 6 wards with a combined population of some 42,000 people. The Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance No. 14 of 1959 came into operation on July 1st 1959 when the NCA was started as a pioneering experiment in multiple land use. At this time the Maasai who had previously been living in what is now the Serengeti National Park (SENAPA) agreed to move into the newly formed NCA. Prior to the establishment of the NCA several years were spent in negotiating the terms and conditions for the Maasai to move out of the Serengeti into the NCA. Agreements with the then colonial government stated that compensation would be in two phases. Phase I would establish water sources (either by dam, bore hole or pipeline) in agreed locations. Phase II would establish veterinary centers in strategically agreed places and veterinary drugs would be supplied. This compensation was considered adequate by the Maasai leadership at the time as it ensured that they would be able to maintain the health of their cattle, their primary economic asset and a focal point of their culture. The compensation was never completely honored. In Phase I, 75 percent of the agreed work was completed. In Phase II, 50 percent of the agreed work was completed.

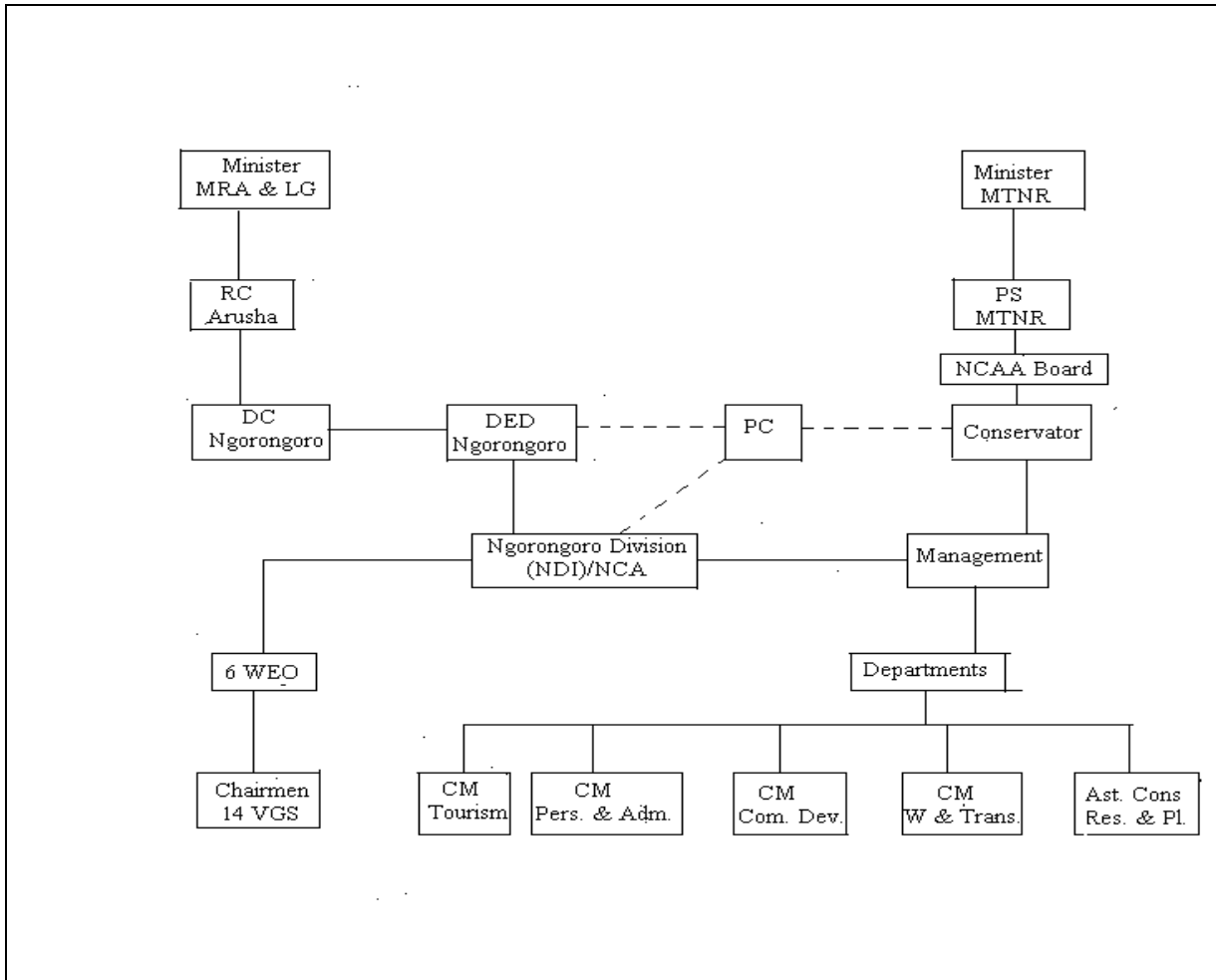
Once the NCA was established the NCAA then proceeded to vacate the Maasai, by negotiated agreement, out of the Ngorongoro Crater to peripheral areas within the NCA. Older Maasai remember with sadness their days in the crater (see Box 1) where they used to live harmoniously with a few buffaloes, many rhinos and hippos all of which often mixed with their cattle at night. Maasai do not hunt wildlife and only killed problem animals when they were a threat to their livestock. The crater had good permanent streams and water sources which were clear all the year round.

3. Administration

The first administrative body for the NCA was the Ngorongoro Conservation Unit (NCU) which was started in 1961. This was an administrative body comprised of 11 individuals, of whom 5 were traditional Maasai leaders. Management issues and conflict resolution pertaining to the communities were routed through these leaders from the administration and vice versa. Such an approach fully involved the Maasai in the day to day running of the NCU. Because of the 'poor' performance of the NCU it was replaced with the present day administrative structure of the NCAA in 1975 under the Game Parks Laws (No. 14) which 'elevated' the status of NCA to an autonomous body. The senior authority of the NCAA is the Conservator, an appointee of the President. Overview of the activities of the NCAA is provided by a Board of Directors comprised of 12 members. The Chairman of the Board is also a Presidential appointee and the Secretary of the Board is the Conservator. In 1975 only one of the Board of Directors was a Maasai from the NCA, which has been cited as one of the major factors for the deterioration in community relationships and the problems that followed.

The administrative structure as it was prior the current appointment of the board did not provide for the smooth and efficient channeling of issues concerning the NCA communities. Figure 1. clearly shows the conflicting scenario existing in Ngorongoro Division where the NCAA and the District Administration both have jurisdictional mandates. Currently there appears to exist a 'gentlemen's agreement' in the administration of the Division that is dependant upon the individuals in the roles of authority. The Pastoral Council (PC) currently hold a solely advisory role whereby any resolutions made by the PC are not binding see Section 5). The Chief Manager of Community Development is answerable to the Conservator although his duties are directed to Maasai development. This can be observed below in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Administrative Framework of Ngorongoro Division/NCA



Key:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| MRA & LG | Ministry of Regional Administration & Local Government |
| MTNR | Ministry of Tourism & Natural Resources |
| RC | Regional Commissioner |
| DED | District Executive Director |
| PC | Pastoral Council |
| NCAA | Ngorongoro Conservation Authority |
| VG | Village Government |
| CM | Chief Manager |
| Com. Dev. | Community Development |
| W & Trans | Works & Transport |
| Pers & Adm. | Personnel & Administration |
| Res. & Pl. | Research & Planning |

4. Alienation

From the community perspective the Maasai felt completely disenfranchised from the NCA, even Tanzania, for approximately 30 years. They were not included co-operatively in any decision-making and the impact on the communities of decisions that were made was not monitored. As a consequence relations between the Maasai and the NCAA deteriorated to the point where the Maasai felt persecuted. Community development activities and livestock services practically stopped and security became a serious issue. On the other side of the coin it also has to be realized that the focus of the NCAA at that time was on conservation during a period when cash flow was extremely low. In addition the Maasai themselves were so immersed in their traditional ways that they resisted any development activities that they perceived as a threat to their culture (e.g. the construction of schools). The issues and conflicts were many and complex. Suffice it to say that this was not a good chapter in the NCAA history as far as community relations were concerned. It has also left a simmering legacy of mistrust and low levels of respect from the communities for the people now having the task of managing the NCA.

5. Representation

In 1990 the AD HOC Administration Commission identified the stand off between the NCAA and the NCA Maasai communities and recommended the formation of the Pastoral Council. This was eventually created in 1994 and has the following representative structure:

- Village Chairman from each village Total 14
- Counselor from each ward Total 6
- Traditional leader from each ward Total 6
- a woman from each ward Total 6
- a youth from each ward Total 6
- NCAA Conservator Total 1

It meets four times a year just prior to scheduled meetings of the NCAA Board of Directors. The role of the PC is as an advisor to the NCAA on all issues pertaining to community development, management interaction and communication. In practical terms, however, Maasai representatives with whom we talked were of the opinion that the PC has had very little influence on the management strategies and styles of the NCCA to date. There are two main reasons identified for this:

- the PC has no legal authority; the PC has a formal constitution which is in draft form and the legal registration is in process. Up until this moment in time, however, they have no formal or authoritative mechanism to air grievances to the NCAA other than through the Ngongoro District Council, a system which has not served them well.
- the PC has no representation on the NCAA Board of Directors; again, this is about to change as the Chairman of the PC is now a member of the current new Board of Directors appointed late this year and will participate in the Board meeting at its next sitting. In fact, of the new NCAA Board of Directors, the Chairman and three members are now Maasai, two of these members coming from the NCA Maasai communities.

6. Legal Issues

The scenario for Maasai representation on the NCAA Board of Directors and to the NCAA is thus in a state of flux. There is still a great deal of cynicism within the Maasai in general about the process for legal recognition of the PC as they feel they continue to be ignored by the authorities, in this case the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Without the legal status of the PC being resolved then community representation by the PC Chairman at the NCAA Board of Directors has observer status only. Still toothless.

The legal environment for Maasai participation in the management of the NCA, from the community perspective, is complex and disabling. Many community members we talked with had never seen the Ngorongoro Ordinance and were unaware of their legal rights under this ordinance (we were unable to obtain a copy). An oft-repeated request was that the Ordinance be made available to them in simple language, preferably in Kiswahili.

The Ngorongoro Ordinance is, in fact, currently under review in order to bring it in line with the new Wildlife Policy directives, a process reportedly involving the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Ministry of Justice, the Attorney General's Office, TANAPA, NCAA and the local people. However, local participation to date has been limited to letters sent to specific individuals inviting them to meet with lawyers so as to have an opportunity to make recommendations on potential ordinance revisions. The participatory process, if it is as described, appears weak. Community representatives have objected by letter to the method of their involvement and plan to obtain a court injunction to stop the process if their objection is not recognized. The members of the NCA communities do not, in fact, know the content of the Ordinance to be reviewed. They have never seen the previous governing law and are therefore unable to make effective or constructive comment.

From the NCAA perspective the process appears more participatory. They have prepared and sent questionnaires to villages both inside and adjacent to the NCA to obtain a cross section of opinion concerning changes to the ordinance. They are also planning a major stakeholders meeting that will include comprehensive NCA community representation. They are planning to refocus their strategy on the people aspects of NCA management and fully admit that the awareness of the existing ordinance and legislation is not good. They intend to pin point the important aspects of the Ordinance and translate it into Kiswahili before the planned stakeholders workshop.

7. Communication

The above issues illustrate that there is a serious void of communication between the NCAA and the NCA Maasai communities. This communication failure multiplies the potential for misunderstanding and resultant conflict considerably. Several reasons for this communication failure have been identified.

- Representation: Insufficient mechanisms to facilitate representation of both the NCA community point of view to the NCAA and the NCAA point of view to the NCA communities led to a break down in communication and mutual understanding. As described above, this point has been identified and steps are ongoing to resolve issues of representation
- Representatives: The NCAA personnel utilized for facilitating communication between the NCA management authorities and the Maasai, have not been appropriately trained for their new role. In the past the NCAA community focus has been on community development projects where there has been a tendency for the NCAA management to decide what projects are best suited to benefit the communities. The NCAA community development team have thus been operating from a top down perspective which has not encouraged community ownership of the projects. In recent years there has been a shift of attitude to a more participatory process but this has yet to reach the point where the NCAA management are fulfilling the role of facilitating a community development process which is guided and owned by the communities–bottom up. It will take time and training to change entrenched attitudes and develop appropriate skills, especially at the implementation level.
- Transparency: In the past there has been little effort to communicate the planning, decision-making and financial processes of the NCAA to the NCA communities. The NCAA have, essentially, controlled the domain in which the NCA communities reside without allowing them a window through which to view and partake in the process. An example of this is given below (Section 8).

8. Finance

Community representatives claim that they have no idea as to the working capital generated by the NCA, on average, in a year and have no access to the annual budget or annual audited accounts. They also claim to be unsure of the distribution of income to the main stakeholders (the NCAA, local government and central government), although it appears that the Ngorongoro District Council receive 25 percent. The communities, for their part, receive funding through the NCAA these funds being held, managed and dispersed by the NCAA with no access to this financial process by the communities. Essentially, the communities do not know how much money is generated, how it is distributed and whether this is equitable. They also do not have access to any accounting concerning moneys spent on their behalf on community development programs. The entire process, which is managed by the NCAA, is a closed door to the communities. The disbursement of funding may well be equitable and the use of moneys for community development activities may well be fully accounted for but while the communities have no access to this process they are going to assume differently.

Requests for assistance with community development projects and allocation of funds from the NCAA have been proffered on the behalf of the community by the PC. As a consequence of this representation the PC were assured the following budgetary allocations between 1992 and 1999.

- 1992/93 fiscal year 260 million Tsh
- 1993/94 fiscal year 460 million Tsh
- 1994/95 fiscal year 500 million Tsh
- 1995/96 fiscal year 500 million Tsh
- 1996/97 fiscal year 500 million Tsh
- 1997/98 fiscal year 500 million Tsh
- 1998/99 fiscal year 500 million Tsh

Community representatives claim that although some of this money has been released it has never been the full amount budgeted. In addition they claim that a large proportion of this money is used to pay for the NCCA Community Development Department administrative costs. The PC have requested end of year accounts and project reviews to justify expenditures but this has never materialized.

Several examples were cited by community representatives where, in their opinion, projects were managed in such a way that there is a suspicion that funds were used improperly. This included projects concerning the supply of grain to community grain stores, the supply of water to specific communities and the building of schools. Whilst both the financial and physical accountability of such projects remain firmly within the domain of the NCAA and the beneficiaries have no access to the process, accusations such as this will continue to be rife.

One of the issues that was echoed by community representatives from different villages in the NCA was the need for a bank account to handle disbursements from the NCAA that was under the firm control of the communities. They expressed the desire to manage their own development activities rather than to continue with the present system of having them managed by outsiders. They also felt that some form of external and impartial overview body could greatly assist in the resolution of potential future conflicts between the NCA communities and the NCAA. It was considered that the management focus of the NCAA was still too centered on conservation issues and anticipate that the conflicts that this may still bring with the communities would benefit from independent arbitration.

The NCAA, for their part, agree that the issue of transparency is an important one. They also agree that there is the need to take the step of assisting the PC to open their own account to enable them to manage their own development activities. This issue is being pursued as part of the Ordnance review process by NCAA legal department. The NCAA also agree that they have had problems meeting the budget parameters for community development agreed with the PC. The main cause of this is the difficulty in budgeting income from the tourist-focused market on an annual basis. Major fluctuations between what was budgeted as income and what was received have been experienced in the past.

The scenario for the funding of community development programs from the NCAA perspective is that they receive a budget with a list of projects in priority order from the PC. These projects are then funded by the NCAA in order of priority dependant upon money available to the community development program after other NCAA budgetary priorities have been satisfied. Community development projects are reported in writing by the Chief Manager of the Community Development Department. Annual audited accounts are also “published and made available.”

It needs to be recognized that the current NCAA have inherited a situation that will need considerable focus on from their side to change. In the past the NCA communities had very little capacity to, and possibly little interest in, managing the financial aspects of the NCA. Community capacities are still low and there will need to be thorough community capacity assessments made and capacity building programs initiated if these communities are to play a

sustainable role in the management of the NCA (see Section 10). The NCAA financing mechanisms for community development programs are currently under review and part of this review process will look at the issues of communication and transparency as tools to reduce future conflict.

9. Ngorongoro District Council

The Ngorongoro District Council (NDC) receive 25 percent of annual income from the NCAA which is paid after the audited accounts have been passed and then only if it is available after budgeted priorities have been met. There is a formal agreement between the NDC and the NCAA that the NDC cede jurisdictional control of Ngorongoro Division to NCAA. This allows the NCAA to program its own community development activities in line with its policy statement 'to conserve natural resources whilst maintaining the interest of the indigenous people'. The NDC, for their part, retain an interest in the NCA (Ngorongoro Division) in the education, health and veterinary sectors where they supply teachers and nurses and pay their salaries as well as supplying drugs for the dispensaries.

The community assessment of NCAA and NDC relationships, especially on jurisdictional issues, is not as clear. They claim that the communities are often played off between the NCAA and NDC in a jurisdictional football match where the communities are the ball. In other words a request is made to the NCAA for assistance only to be told that it is the jurisdictional responsibility of the NDC. When the NDC are approached on the same issue they are informed that it is the jurisdictional responsibility of the NCAA). There is a need for the formal jurisdictional responsibilities allocated to the NCAA and the NDC to be published and made available to the NCA communities.

10. Capacity Building

In the past the traditional Maasai culture has itself been a barrier to building the capacity of individuals to perform sophisticated management roles on the behalf of their communities. Only until recently, for example, has there been a change in the opinion of the Maasai toward the value of education. They have, rather belated, realized that they cannot continue to live in a vacuum if they are to have an influence on the tides of change that are battering their community structures. One senior traditional leader stated, for example, that he deeply regrets running away from school when he was a youth and he has almost certainly passed this sentiment on to the younger members of his community. Consequently, historically, the NCAA will have had a considerable challenge to encourage the Maasai communities to use any schools they built. This in itself will have reduced the enthusiasm of the NCAA to embark on school building programs. Add to this the general feelings of animosity between the NCAA and the communities then the lack of capacity building in the first thirty years of the NCA existence is understandable, if not condonable.

In recent years, however, a focus has been given by the NCAA to the basic educational needs of the NCA communities. As a consequence Maasai children in the NCA now enjoy improved access to both primary and secondary schooling. The first secondary school in the NCA is being built Endulen Ward with financial support from the NCAA with each ward being expected to contribute Tsh. 2 million and other donors availing support in terms of funding. The NCAA is currently sponsoring 3 students from each Ward to attend secondary school each year, i.e. 18 students from NCA per year are sent for secondary education with financial support from the NCAA. The NCAA have every intention of utilizing NCA community school leavers of a sufficiently high standard as employees in their ranks.

Another recent NCAA initiative has been the training of 144 community members as militia to assist in the provision of security in the NCA. This initiative appears to be still very low key and these trained individuals operate at the village level on what appears to be a voluntary basis. They do, however, accompany NCAA security patrols when they visit their areas in order to provide detailed information about the area that only a resident can provide. When on these patrols the militia personnel are armed and are paid a small overnight stipend.

Vocational training has also been given by the NCAA to 18 women and 12 men, a total of 30, from selected communities which has focused on instilling such skills as carpentry, masonry and tailoring. This training has been performed at the Hai Vocational Training Center in Kilimanjaro District. Community representatives have expressed disappointment at the lack of vocational training given to community members as this was an issue on which the NCAA had made some promises.

Study tours have also been made to Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe between 1997 and 1998 for counselors who were members of the PC at that time. The same members have attended wildlife awareness weeks in Mwanza and Arusha. They also anticipate attending a similar event in Mugumu this year.

Local guides have been trained in the NCA to accompany walking safaris organized by the private sector. After this basic training these guides were then sent to attend a National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS) course in Kenya which taught basic leadership skills.

There will be considerable challenges confronting the NCAA in confirming to a new policy environment promoting greater community involvement in natural resource management (NRM). The NCAA recognize that there will need for a strongly intensified focus on capacity assessment and building exercises at the community level. They have already set the wheels rolling to address this issue which will formally start in December of this year (1999). They also realize that the GMP, which was approved in May 1996 prior to the Wildlife Policy Review changes, will itself need review in order to bring it in line with the directives made at policy level.

Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) which have been initiated this year follow the recommendations made in the general management plan and are focused on general awareness raising and resource assessment. The review of the GMP will need to assess the appropriateness and thoroughness of the existing PRA program in light of the considerable changes the NCAA will have to make to facilitate the greater inclusion of the communities in the management process.

11. Participation

Our interviews with community leaders revealed several areas where they felt the communities needed specific participatory access to the way the NCA was managed. These are summarized below:

- planning
- decision making
- implementation

The NCAA Community Development Departments' recent use of Community Based Conservation (CBC) participatory techniques and initiatives with the NCA communities have been acknowledged as very positive.

An example of participatory process from the NCAA perspective can be gleaned from the mechanism used for the formulation of the NCA GMP. Box 2 contains quotes from this document

Box 2. Community Extension Consultancy

"As part of the course, the staff (NCAA) identified groups within the NCA.....During the community planning training workshop, NCAA participants divided into three subgroups and met with three organisations to receive their input.....then NCAA met with identified groups..... to inform them of the planning effort and to hear their suggestions..... (Reference: Page 123)

Participation has not been the strong suite of the NCAA in the past. The Community Development Department have focused on community needs from the perspective that 'they know best' and have supplied services to the communities accordingly. Again, this attitude is being revised but along with the attitudinal change will have to come significant personnel assessment and retraining exercises. Participation has to be from both sides.

12. Recruitment

Another recurrent theme from the NCA community members interviewed was the need for increased recruitment of community members into the staff of the NCAA. They claim that the additional income to families would enable them to take better care of their cattle. They also recognize that employment will generate a positive feedback loop in the fact that as community members become more reliant on salaried income they will have greater respect for those factors influencing the generation of the funds to meet those salaries. The inclusion of community members in the NCAA working teams and managerial positions will also encourage people to work together seeing their objectives as common objectives.

13. Land

According to NCAA representatives the NCA Maasai communities are unable to own land. Their village boundaries are recognized at the community level but tenure of that land is the express domain of the NCAA as outlined in the NCA Ordinance. Any changes to land status have to fall within the Ordinance guidelines and conform to the GMP. As the NCA communities do not have access to the Ordinance they are unaware of the legal status of their community lands. The NCA is a unique situation and land ownership and control will, at some stage, become an increasingly thorny issue

Conflicts have arisen over land use in the past and these have often been resolved by moving the offending community or forbidding access to specific areas. e.g. the movement of communities out of the Ngorongoro Crater. Land use plans at the community level have not been developed and there are ongoing conflicts over land use for agriculture that continue to simmer without any real resolution. Immigration of people into the area is also out of the control of the local communities. It is the NCAA who are vested with the authority to control immigration to the NCA and, according to the communities, there has been no eviction of people from outside who have entered the area illegally to establish homesteads.

Agricultural use of NCA land has been a contentious issue for a considerable amount of time. The Maasai claim that the local climate is less favorable to livestock which suffers reduced milk yields and is made more vulnerable to disease. The reduced availability of milk and livestock obliges them to supplement their food supply by cultivation. They also claim that the increased health care has allowed their human populations to grow reducing the number of available livestock per person.

The NCAA, understandably, want to conserve the natural environment as much as possible, especially in areas that are considered wildlife corridors and they have tried to discourage cultivation. Cultivation is, in fact, illegal under the 1975 Ordinance but this has been temporarily lifted in the past as an emergency measure by the Prime Minister. It has been recognized from studies that the real threat of cultivation comes not necessarily from the NCA communities who use it to supplement their pastoralist lifestyle but, rather, from outsiders who have no connection to the community control structures and who farm larger acreages.

This is a classic case where the enlistment of community members as stakeholders in the NCA could provide the control mechanism that the NCAA do not have the funding, facilities or manpower to provide.

14. Private Sector

There is little interaction between the private sector and the local communities. Private sector interests in the NCA are mainly comprised of hoteliers and tourist operators. Tourist operators in turn interface mainly with the NCAA and the hoteliers. Recently there have been a few initiatives made to increase the involvement of the NCA communities in the tourist industry. These have mainly taken the form of cultural bomas and support services to walking safaris (Donkeys to pack equipment and guides).

The hoteliers are even more distanced. They pay concession fees to the NCAA, which contribute towards the financial support directed through the Community Development Department, and a levee to the NDC. Direct involvement, however, is very limited. Some of the lodges have contracts with NCA Maasai to provide beef, pork, lamb and goat but it appears that most of this meat is purchased in Keratu and doesn't provide direct income for the NCA communities. One lodge claims that it purchases excellent quality potatoes from one of the NCA villages which, considering the furor over agriculture, was quite surprising. Perhaps there is an opportunity for well-controlled intensive agriculture in specific zones of the NCA which will resolve several conflicts at once.

The hotels employ Maasai but not normally from the NCA communities. They claim that their level of education is inadequate as a certain basic level is needed in order for them to communicate and interact with their guests. There was also an opinion expressed that there was a problem with finding trustworthy people from the NCA area and that problems have been experienced in the past. It was admitted, however, that these problems were more easily resolved by utilizing local leaders to investigate and prosecute any wrong doing than by involving the local police.

15. Summary

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area is not an example of CBNRM as the community have, to date, had no involvement in the management decision making for the NCA. This assessment thus looks at the issues and conflicts from the management and community perspectives with the objective of drawing out lessons contributing to a fuller understanding of what is needed for the appropriate involvement of communities in CBNRM.

The NCA occupies 8,292 km² in Ngorongoro District, Arusha region and consists of 14 communities in 6 wards, comprising of approximately 42,000 people. The existing communities comprise of Maasai moved out of the Serengeti National Park by the colonial administration. The NCA has seen a period of perhaps 30 years where the local communities have been completely disenfranchised from any control over their own development and the development of the NCA. This has left a legacy of mistrust and low levels of respect for NCAA management decisions and staff. NCA is managed as an autonomous body where all management decisions are made by the NCA Board of Directors and implemented by the NCAA. Community representation considered that the NCA was being run, essentially, by outsiders and that community access was required to NCA management in planning, decision-making and implementation.

The NCA communities have no direct control over their own socio-economic development and existing social services do not adequately serve the interests of the residents. An initial traditional reluctance by the NCA communities to utilize social services provided by the NCAA reduced service provision although attitudes, especially toward education, are changing. Communities are represented at the NCAA by a Pastoralist Council but as it has no legal authority, or formal representation on the NCAA Board of Directors, there are very limited mechanisms for community participation and conflict resolution.

Traditionally NCA communities have lived in harmony with their environment—they do not utilize animal products other than that from their domestic stock. They do require clean, secure water sources, annual grazing access, veterinary services and access to fuel wood and construction material. The communities have no natural resource user rights, all natural resource use within the NCA being under the direct administrative control of the NCAA. Considerable conflict has developed over rights to farmland by the NCA communities, the NCAA conservation mandate making the NCAA hesitant to allow the precedent of agricultural development to be formally initiated. Livestock numbers per capita have decreased mainly because of an increased incidence of disease and an increasing reliance on non-traditional dietary supplements is pressing the need for agricultural development. Although food security issues have forced NCA communities to consider other food sources in order to supplement their

traditional diet the immigration of sedentary farmers into the NCA represent a greater threat to NCA environmental integrity.

NCA communities have no right to land ownership and there is no land use planning although village boundaries are recognized at the community level. Any changes to land status have to fall within Ordnance guidelines and conform to the GMP. Conflicts have been resolved in the past sometimes by extreme measures, such as moving communities out of the Ngorongoro Crater.

There is no formal facilitation for participatory community based natural resource issues all community contact being through the Community Development Division of the NCAA. In the past conflict resolution was informal through either the conservator as a sitting member of the PC (which does not have legal stature), or through the Ngorongoro District Council (NDC) as members of the PC were also ward representatives with legal access to the council. However, this never worked satisfactorily. New routes for conflict resolution are now being explored through the ratification of the legal standing of the PC and formal representation on the NCA Board of Directors.

The NCAA is currently in a state of flux as it is redefining its management parameters in view of the changing policy environment in the natural resource sector. Changes are being planned that will effect their administrative structure and their degree of management engagement at the community level. The Ngoronogoro Ordnance is currently under review in order for it also to reflect Wildlife Policy Directives and to allow for more participation of the NCA communities in the management issues of the NCA. The General Management Plan, which was last reviewed in May 1996, will also soon be reviewed in the light of the new policy directives.

16. Lessons Learned

The follow lessons can be gleaned from the CBNRM appraisal of NCA

- The damage that can be done by adopting entrenched, inflexible stances toward NRM that alienate the human factor of the environment
- The need to create a financially, legislatively and jurisdictionally transparent, enabling and equitable environment where all stakeholders can identify with and participate in clearly defined roles
- The need to ensure that all stakeholders are equitably represented with clear and unambiguous lines of communication between them
- The need to consider the establishment of a body with a 'dispassionate view' external to sources of conflict that can play an arbitratory role
- The need for skilful and experienced people to play a facilitatory role enabling all stakeholders to participate in the resolution of any issues which have a direct or indirect impact on them
- The need for specialist training facilities for facilitator capacity building
- The need for specialist training facilities for community capacity building
- The need to monitor, evaluate and report on the implementation of resolutions in order to reduce and manage potential conflict

Annex I. Individuals Interviewed

Ngorongoro Conservation Area Administration

Acting Conservator, Head of Personnel & Administration	N. Shaluwa
Assistant Conservator, Research and Planning	S. Lelo
Head of Extension Services	S. Hallu
Principal Extension Officer &	
Acting Chief manager Community Development	Y. Msuya
Extension Officer	I. Lessela

Enduleni Village

Villagers	E. Sembeta
	N. Makiro
	M. Kereku
Eyasi Belt Zonal Co-ordinator	S. Ole Telele
Member of Pastoralist Council	
Executive Secretary Ngorongoro Pastoral Development Organisation	
Co-ordinator, Ngorongoro Pastoral Association	W. Ole Seki

Olbalbal Village

Traditional Leader	O. Nduyoto
	S. Papei
	P. Krisharie
Village Chairman	

Councillor

Chairman, Pastoralist Council

Member, NCAA Board of Directors

M. Shaudo

Nainokanoka Village

Traditional Leader

M. Ole Tano

K. Lormunyei

Village Chairman, Nainokanoka

L. Chichilai

Village Chairman, Bulati

L. Ole Seliyan

Stores Secretary

E. Mbayi

Pastoralist Council

Vice Chairman & Councillor

F. Saipa

Department of Wildlife

Principal Wildlife Officer

E. Tarimo

Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge

General manager

T. Mkandara

Annex 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 Ikoma 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, Laigwanak (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
22.11.99	Arusha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report writing

Date	Place	Activity
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

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