

**STUDY ON OPTIONS FOR PASTORALISTS TO SECURE THEIR
LIVELIHOODS**

CURRENT POLICY MAKING PROCESSES IN TANZANIA

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Policy – making process

In order to influence policy, it is important to understand policy and the policy processes that result in certain decisions at various levels. In general terms, a policy is a statement of guiding principles and goals in addressing a certain issue. In the public arena, the policy would ideally be a means for citizens to hold public institutions accountable for their actions concerning issues of public interest. However, this is not always the case as the policy processes are often quite complex. On the one hand, policy making is seen as an objective logical process by “policy makers” who are expected to act rationally and dispassionately in the “public interest”. Most government policies are perceived as being formulated in the public interest, which then makes it difficult to challenge them, as that would be interpreted as working against the public interest. In reality however, many such policies arise from a centralized system that often promulgates policies in which “the poor are seen not as beneficiaries of policy, but as agents of environmental destruction.”¹ Furthermore, often policy serves more to legitimize what is taking place, than to direct what might take place.

This popular notion of policy is in contrast to the view that sees policy processes as political processes that are embedded in power relations and institutional politics.² This view sees the policy making process as involving not only “policy makers”, but a range of stakeholders, each of which must lobby to advance their interests within the policy. The implication of this then is that the eventual policy outcome is a result of several factors, including power relationships (the politically stronger carries the day) among the stakeholders. In this case, overlooking the role of power in any policy engagement is likely to lead to failure.

Even where a policy has been formulated, it may not be implemented. The implementation of policy is often influenced by politics, internal dynamics of the implementing institutions, as well as their structural positioning. Individuals also have a key role on either catalyzing or inhibiting institutional change, which means that policy engagement must also focus on micro-politics of how decisions are made within an organisation and the consensus required for different kinds of actions. Often, trusted and sympathetic individuals are key to effective communication and learning processes.

1.2 Experiences with current policy lobbying and advocacy by pastoralist NGOs

The plight of pastoralists has been the subject of lobbying and advocacy since the colonial times, undertaken by various local, national and international NGOs. However, progress in pastoralists’ engagement in the policy process has been slow, as a result of which negative

¹ Brown and Amanor, 2002

² Brock and Harrison, 2006

perceptions about pastoralists and pastoralism persist, and policies inimical to pastoralists continue to be formulated. Some of the factors that have led to lack of success include: Lack of conceptual clarity about pastoralism: generally there has not been a clear and common vision about what it is about pastoralism that needs to be addressed in policy. There are many dimensions of pastoralism, including cultural, economic, environmental, political, social and technical all of which are given different emphasis by different organisations. For example, although there are numerous NGOs and CBOs working with and for pastoralists, most of them lack a unifying factor other than fact they are “working with pastoralists”. As a result even the measures that they propose to improve the situation of pastoralists are often inconsistent.

Divisions within the pastoralist lobby have fragmented the voice of pastoralists, and have reduced their ‘political weight’. Currently the main actors at national level are the umbrella organisations PINGO’s Forum and TAPHGO, both encompassing dozens of other NGOs, and CBOs, but practically pursuing the same general strategy. This has often given the impression of competition between the two organisations, since they work with the same target group and depend on more or less the same sources for financial support. At lower levels, the many NGOs and CBOs working on pastoralism are often split along ethnic or clan lines,³ with many of them being too small to have any effective impact.⁴

Limited engagement of pastoralist NGOs and CBOs in the policy process at national level, but also inability to mobilize and organize at local level. The case study on Mbarali⁵ illustrates the limitations of pastoralist NGOs in dealing with national issues, especially in a proactive way. Most NGOs and CBOs, because of focusing on very narrow objectives like providing basic services to pastoralist communities, they have failed to recognize the political dimension of policy making processes, and have done little to create the necessary political awareness and momentum among the pastoralists, rendering them to be perpetual objects rather than sources of policy. As a result, many pastoral communities have remained in a state of despair and totally disengaged from the political processes.

Failure to build strategic alliances with officials who matter in government, and instead adopting an adversarial approach in engaging with government. This has reduced the number of sympathizers among government officials, of pastoralism and pastoralists.

The tendency to present pastoralism as a ‘minority’ and ‘Masai’ issue. While this approach has sustained the interest of western-based donors and researchers, this goes counter to the current political philosophy in Tanzania, of promoting nationalism rather than promoting narrow ethnically or geographically-based interests. Furthermore, much of the information generated so far on pastoralism, has tended to be geared to the academic interests of western researchers

³ Walsh, 2007

⁴ Sorensen, 2006

⁵ Walsh,2007

and has remained within the academic elite, but has not been appropriately packaged to be accessible to government policy makers at national and lower levels.⁶

Hesse and Odhiambo identified two main reasons for lack of effectiveness of pastoralist NGOs: (i) the government has little economic or political interest in promoting pastoralist interests, and (ii) there is no vibrant and effective civil society organisation presently capable of engaging with the policy apparatus to represent and defend pastoralist interests. They argue that “although substantial money and resources continue to be invested in pastoral areas with the objective of building capacity of pastoralist people to drive their own development agenda, relatively little attention is paid to the political and social dimensions of pastoral civil society empowerment.”⁷

The use of wrong strategies by the pastoralist lobby has meant that while a lot of effort has been made; say for example, in generating information about the wisdom of the pastoralist mode of livelihood, little has changed in terms of policy and practice, to the advantage of pastoralists.

2 THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN TANZANIA

In principle, policies are usually proposed as a response to addressing and overcoming identified problems. The whole purpose is to try and ensure that root causes of the problem are identified and subsequently addressed in the design of policy. Generally, ideas may originate from individuals, communities, organisations, public or private institutions and other interest groups such as Trade Unions, Chambers of Industry, Commerce or Agriculture, professional associations, Farmers Organisations and NGOs. These ideas are then worked up to become policies.

The policy development process in Tanzania is supposed to use a bottom – up approach and to be participatory and consultative so as to ensure that people’s views are accommodated. The process starts with recognition of a problem that needs to be solved. Having identified a problem what follows is identification of stakeholders upon who this problem impacts the most, and the roles of different stakeholders in addressing the problem and reaching a solutions. All key stakeholders i.e. government and its institutions as well as key actors in Regions, Local Government Authorities and local communities have the right to take part in the process. Stakeholders participation is advocated right from the early stages of the exercise to make sure ideas are shared and supported by all stakeholders. Participation may be effected through various methods including interviews and dialogue with various people (individuals or groups), workshops and round table meetings. The mass media may also be closely involved through publishing special articles and features in newspapers, discussion in radio and television

⁶ Odhiambo, pers. Comm.

⁷ Hesse and Odhiambo, 2002, pg 3.

programmes. The participatory approach is advocated in order to ensure policy papers are comprehensive, relevant and addressing stakeholders' views.

Participation is supposed to be broad based, i.e., to include stakeholders at all levels. However, in practice not all stakeholders can fully participate in the policy process. Although officially all policy formulation must involve a certain degree of stakeholder consultation which ideally should provide the opportunity for all interested parties to air their views and provide an input into the process, in reality it is the government that decides which stakeholders to consult. Furthermore, consultations are mostly in terms of reacting to what has already been proposed by government, which is then presented as a draft policy document to a 'stakeholders' workshop' that is organized to react to the draft. More often than not, the draft is in a language that may not be easily accessible to the general public, or the stakeholders may not have been given enough time to digest and consult those that they represent before giving their views. A further limitation of this approach is that there is no way of ensuring that stakeholders' views are actually incorporated in the final document, or if they are incorporated, that actions will match the policy. At any rate, the formal process of policy making presents an opportunity for well organized civil society organisations including pastoralist NGOs to present their views and suggestions on any policy under formulation. The problem so far has been the fragmented nature of these NGOs such that there can not be an organisation which can be said to represent the consensus view of the pastoralists, and often government officials make random choices as to who to consult among pastoralists when formulating policy.

There are two main levels of policy making: national and local government level:

2.1.1 National level:

At national level there are macro or cross cutting policies, sector policies as well as sub sector policies. Macro or cross cutting policies are those policies whose implementation involves several ministries or cuts across several sectors. The Tanzania National Vision 2025, The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) and several other economic policies provide the overall framework for the formulation and implementation of other (sector) policies. The responsibility for formulating these policies lies with organs like the President's Office, the Vice President's Office, the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Finance or Ministry of Planning, Economy and Empowerment.

The design and formulation of sector policies is the responsibility of respective sector Ministries. These Ministries have the mandate to formulate sector policies and to monitor their implementation and impacts. The approach used in the formulation of sector policies is supposed to be participatory. Ministries may form Task Forces or Committees under supervision of the Policy and Planning Divisions to review the performance of their sectors and prepare the framework and policy statements. The Task Forces or Committees normally constitute the Technical teams. The technical teams are usually composed of ministry staff together with other staff who may be drawn from various implementation organs including local government authorities, research and training institutions, NGOs, occasionally from the private sector and

farmers' organisations. The technical teams are supposed to bridge the gap between policy makers and implementers, so as to ensure the smooth implementation of the policies. The technical teams will solicit views from major stakeholders e.g. ministries, institutions, the private sector and NGOs and later organize workshops to confirm their stands on various issues raised. A series of workshops are set for editing, finalization and preparation of a final copy to be presented to the government for approval. This is another opportunity which can be exploited by pastoralist NGOs in presenting their inputs to the process of policy making either through participation as members of the Task Forces or by making formal submissions to such Task Forces. This, however, assumes that the pastoralist NGOs are in close and constant contact with the centers of government decisions, in order to always follow what is going at any one time. A Department within a sector Ministry may also formulate a sub-sector policy within the framework of a sector policy, on a particular aspect as the need arises. The Livestock Policy that has just been completed, the Crops Policy and the National Food Security Policy that are currently under preparation are sub-sector policies within the framework of National Agricultural and Livestock Policy of 1997 and the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) of 2001. The process and institutional framework of formulating sub-sector policies is similar to that of formulating sector policies.

After having been considered at Ministerial level, sector and sub-sector policies are then sent to higher policy making organs namely the Cabinet Secretariat where they are discussed in depth before being forwarded to the Inter – Ministerial Technical Committee (IMTC) which comprises of Permanent Secretaries from all government ministries. The main interest here is to make sure the proposed policy is in harmony with other policies that are currently operational in other sectors. From the recommendation by the IMTC, the policy paper is submitted to the Cabinet. The submission can be accompanied by appropriate research documents for government, Cabinet, and Parliament members to read alongside the policy paper.

The Cabinet discusses the policy paper submitted by the Sector Ministry and takes a common position, which becomes a blue print for implementation. Once the policy is approved by Cabinet it is submitted to Parliament for information, although Parliament may comment on the policy and advise the government should there be need to improve the policy. The Cabinet may also feel (or upon request from the Sector Ministry) that the proposed policy contravenes existing laws or there is a need to enact a law to implement the policy. The Cabinet may then decide to refer the decision to the Parliament to either enact or amend the existing law(s). The Parliament then debates the Bill submitted by the Government and may either approve or reject it. However, before the Bill is presented to the full Parliament, it is first considered by the relevant Parliamentary Committee (pastoralist issues are under the Parliamentary Committee for Natural Resources and Environment) which reviews it in detail and advises the Parliament on any shortcomings that may need to be addressed before it is passed. The Parliamentary Committee may receive views, suggestions or objections on the Bill from any interested person or organisation. This is another area where opportunity exists for pastoralists organisations, if well informed and well organized, to influence members of Parliament on specific policy proposals from government that may have an impact on their livelihoods. Once the Parliament has enacted a law and the Act assented by the President, the judiciary interprets that law. Implementation of the law can be effected once subsidiary legislation (or Regulations) is in place and gazetted

by the relevant Minister. The Figure below illustrates the formal process of policy making at national level.

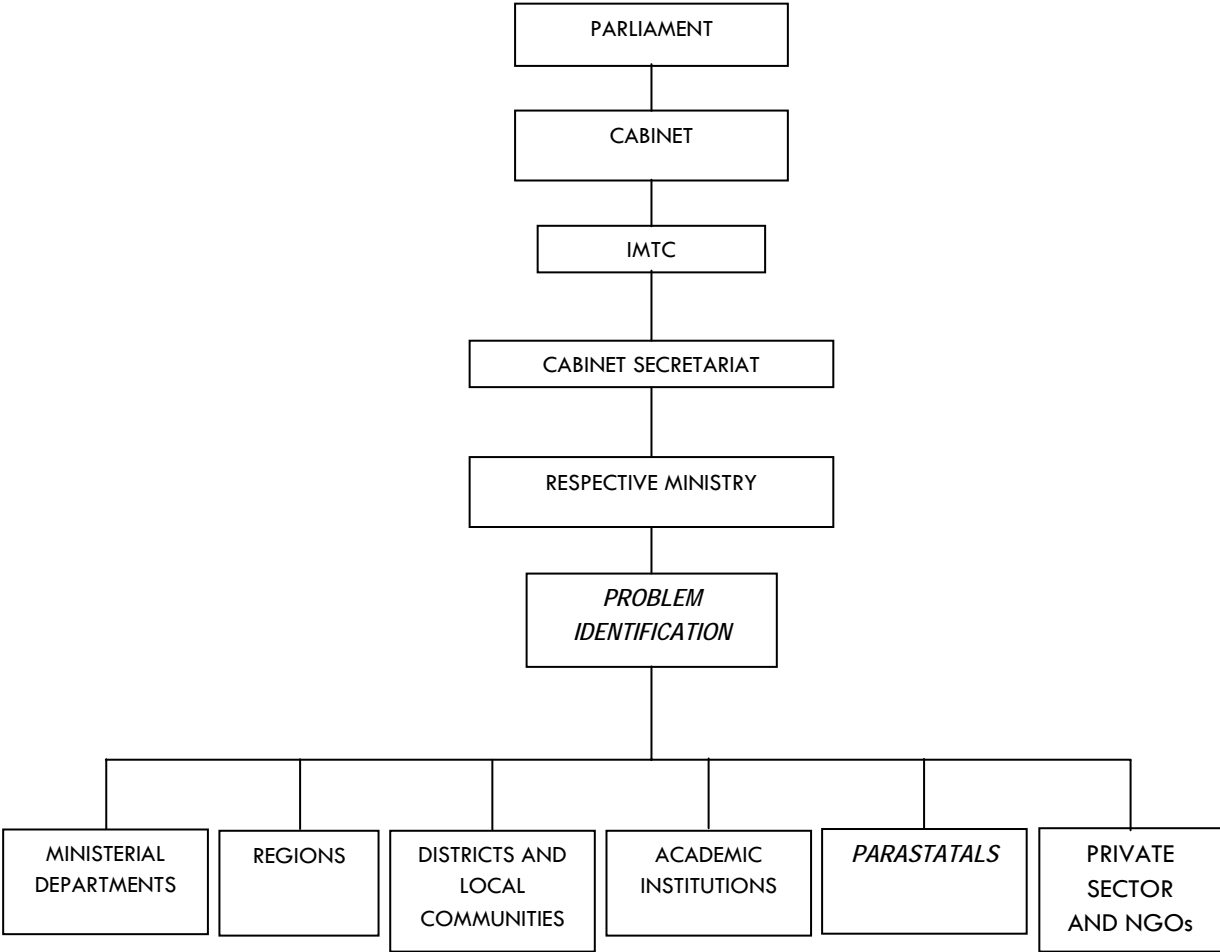


Figure 1: The Policy Development Process in Tanzania

2.1.2 Local Government level:

Following the government’s decision to decentralise some of its functions to lower level, through the Local Government Act of 1982 and the Regional Authorities Act of 1997, the Local Government Authorities at District, Municipal and Village level are empowered to formulate their own policies that may be passed as legally-binding by-laws. A by-law may be for addressing a particular issue or problem, for facilitating or regulating certain activities. Many local authorities, for example, have by-laws for regulating the movement of livestock in their respective areas, for regulating the exploitation of natural resources such as water, land and forests, as well as by-laws for facilitating the collection of revenue from various sources in the form of taxes, levies or cess.

Usually, the idea of formulating a by-law by a village or ward is raised by a staff member or a member of the community in a public forum. The idea is presented to the relevant village government committee for further discussion and endorsement, before being submitted to the

village government and eventually the Village Assembly, for approval. A draft village or Ward by-law is presented to the Ward Development Committee, where amendments may be made before submission to the full District Council for final approval after which it may be applied by the concerned village.

Likewise, at District or Municipal level, the proposal for a by-law may come from one of the technical departments of the Council, or from members of the public directly or through their Ward Councilors. The proposal has to be discussed by the relevant Council Committee before it is presented to the full Council for approval. A District by-law must be approved by the Minister responsible for Local Government before it can be applied.

The Local Government Act also empowers the Minister responsible for Local Government to pass by-laws that may apply to all or some of the local government authorities depending on the issue being addressed.

All policies (including unwritten policies) and by-laws are eventually operationalised through the day to day decisions and actions of leaders and staff at the various levels of the local government authorities, which may support or infringe on pastoralist livelihoods in various ways. These decisions and actions are reflected in the development programmes and strategies that are pursued by the local government authorities. By and large, these have reflected the inbuilt bias against pastoralism even in the predominantly pastoralist areas. For example, in Kiteto District, where the predominant livelihood is pastoralism, with livestock contributing 54% of the District GDP, and numbering about 340,000 cattle, goats and sheep, the decisions and actions on the ground do not reflect this. The District does not have a single Veterinary Officer, while the few extension officers are posted at the level of the Ward. Only 19 out of 50 villages have any access to extension services. Out of the 66 staff required, only 32 are on post, leaving a deficit of 34 staff. The situation is the same for most of the other pastoralist Districts. Furthermore, a review of the District Agricultural Development Plan and Budget (DADP) for 2007/08 to 2009/10 for Kiteto District Council shows the District Mission as “(to provide) quality service to its people through preference made by the people themselves and so involving them in planning and implementation of development activities in accordance with the requirements of good governance. This is in line with the National Poverty Eradication Strategy, which aims at involving the people, especially the poor in identifying, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating poverty eradication programme”.⁸ Yet in a community where the majority is livestock keepers, about two-thirds of the DADPs budget for 2007/08 is directed at supporting crop production!

One of the major challenges identified in the Plan is that “...due to uncontrolled grazing, uncontrolled livestock movement plus grazing on cultivated land and lack of proper land use management plans, has resulted into escalating of land use conflicts by different land users

⁸ Kiteto District Council DADP 2007/08 – 2009/10 pg 16

competing for access to land". The historical fact is that land use conflicts have not been brought about by uncontrolled movement of livestock, but by the uncontrolled migrations of crops farmers from other Districts into Kiteto District! It had been a policy of the then Arusha Region to regard the pastoral areas of Simanjiro and Kiteto to be expansion areas for surplus people from the densely populated Districts like Arusha and Meru.⁹ More recently, the District has seen an influx of immigrants from other areas like Babati, Kondoa, Kongwa, Kilosa and Same Districts, all seeking to open farms in areas that were exclusively for grazing, and these are the ones that have exacerbated land conflicts.

2.2 What drives policy in Tanzania?

In principle, government policies are supposed to address issues that improve the welfare of the people, and for a country that is committed to eradicating pervasive poverty, policies are expected to be pro-poor. However, given that the country has embraced economic liberalisation; many policies have been formulated to facilitate economic liberalism in all its dimensions. Some of the forces that currently drive policy decisions include:

2.2.1 Commercial/Economic interests

The government is currently promoting the commercialization of agricultural production, including that of livestock. The National Livestock Policy of 2006 for example, seeks to promote the commercial production of beef and dairy cattle, sheep, goats, poultry and pigs. The desire to commercialise goes hand in hand with steps to strengthen the private sector, which is supposed to drive the commercialization process. The government has accordingly facilitated the formation of the National Private Sector Forum, the Investors Round Table of Tanzania, the Tanzania Business Council, and Regional Business Councils in all the Regions of Tanzania. All these are forums that are expected to negotiate with the government to ensure that commercial interests are well accommodated in national policies.

At the local government authority level, District Councils and village governments have adopted policies that are meant to attract private investors to their areas. Often such policies relate to allowing the exploitation of the natural resources (land, forests, wildlife etc) by these private investors, in return for payment of 'royalty fee' to the District or village. In Ngorongoro and Monduli Districts, for example, private tourist operators and professional hunters are now allowed to acquire large tracts of land, to set up tourist camps and to enter into contracts with village governments, even without the involvement of the relevant District Authorities. The promotion of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) under the Wildlife Act is also meant to facilitate the exploitation of wildlife through the collaboration of the local communities.

⁹ Ole Lengisugi, 1997

(ii) Environmental Conservation interests

Environmental conservation has been a major factor in the promulgation of policies that have impacted negatively on pastoralists. The Wildlife Policy of 1998, the National Environmental Policy of 1997, the Wildlife Act of 2003 and the proposed Grazing Areas Act, all seek to protect from degradation and to regulate the use of the natural resources that have traditionally been used by pastoralists.¹⁰ These policies have, by and large, worked to the detriment of pastoralists, who have consistently been blamed for environmental destruction of the natural rangelands, and for which the government is determined to stop.

2.2.2 Political interests

Often, political imperative drives the formulation of a specific policy. This is sometimes in response to an intensive, broad-based and highly visible lobbying on a particular issue. The National Gender Policy was in response to intensive international and national lobbying that brought the issue of gender to the attention of policy-makers. Walsh¹¹ argues that the decision to evict pastoralists from Mbarali, while justified by the need to conserve the environment, in actual fact it was driven by the need for the government to be seen to take decisive steps to address the critical power shortage which was becoming too politically sensitive. In fact, the evictions in Mbarali as described by Walsh demonstrate the convergence of conservation, commercial and political interests that reinforced each other and provided the impetus for the government's decision. The implication is that in order for government policies to be favourable to pastoralists, the government must be made to see the economic or commercial, political or conservation value of pastoralism.

3 THE IMPACT OF POLICIES ON PASTORALIST LIVELIHOODS

Historically, pastoralists have been marginalized socially, politically and economically. Sorensen (2006), documents how colonial and post-colonial policies have marginalized pastoralists and hunter gatherers over time. Many policies pursued by the colonial government and the Tanzanian government have resulted in the loss of the resource base on which pastoralists and hunter gatherers had relied on for generations¹². Most of the policies were and still are based on the underlying notion that pastoralism is not the most efficient use of land. Rather, other forms of land use have always been given priority over pastoralism (ref. the cases of Serengeti, Ngorongoro, Mkomazi, Ihefu, Basotu, Yaeda Chini etc). As a result, over the years and up to now, pastoralists have continually lost land to other users, as their lands continue to be converted to farm land by small and large scale farmers and to conservation in the form of game parks, game reserves and game controlled areas. Even in the predominantly pastoral Districts like Kiteto, a disproportionate amount of the budget is allocated for crop production rather than to

¹⁰ Mattee and Shem, 2005

¹¹ Walsh, 2007

¹² see for example, Ole Ndaskoi ,n.d. The Root Causes of Maasai Predicament

livestock.¹³ In the case of Mbarali, research has proved that it is the increase on the abstraction of water during the dry season for agricultural purposes that has caused the drying up of the Great Ruaha River and Mtera Dam, yet, it is the pastoralists who have taken the blame and paid by being evicted from the area.¹⁴

Likewise, reviews of other policies¹⁵ reveal the low appreciation of pastoralism by government officials and the wish for pastoralists to settle and to modernize livestock production. Likewise, most policies favour other land uses rather than pastoralism. The net effect of these policies is the alienation of land on which the pastoralists had depended for their livelihood, as large areas of land have been given over to alternative uses of land, and the pastoralists have become economically marginalized. The growing pressure on the shrinking pastoral resources has resulted into (sometimes violent) land conflicts often exacerbated by vested political interests.¹⁶

The decline of pastoral lands is leading to increased numbers of pastoralists to move out of pastoralism and to diversify into other economic activities, including crop farming petty trade, and urban wage employment mostly as watchmen.¹⁷ However, outside pastoralism, the pastoralists remain on the fringes of the national economic activities. Those that remain in pastoralism are becoming increasingly vulnerable to stresses, including drought, disease outbreaks, unpredictable market forces and political pressures from more powerful interests.

4 A MAP OF EXISTING SOCIAL NETWORKS WITH A COMMON INTEREST IN ISSUES OF CONCERN TO PASTORALIST LIVELIHOOD

Pastoralist livelihood issues revolve around ensuring access to productive resources especially land and water, access to support services, especially livestock extension and health services, markets and infrastructure, access to social services, especially health, education and potable water, and participation in the decision – making processes and structures. From this perspective, there are many organisations working on these issues. However, there are those organisations that are working directly to support pastoralists, such as pastoralist NGOs, but there are other organisations, whose work is relevant to the livelihood of pastoralists, or who may be supporting pastoralists only as part of their work.

These organisations may be categorized into those that are working at local - village, Ward, District - level, and those that are working at national level. Sorensen (2006) lists more than 60 organisations, most of them small to medium scale, working in various localities, and concerned in

¹³ Kiteto District, DADP and Budget, 2007/08 – 2008/09

¹⁴ Walsh, 2007

¹⁵ Mattee and Shem, 2005, Ole Nasha, 2004, Sorensen, 2006

¹⁶ Macha, pers. Comm..

¹⁷ Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003.

various ways with improving the welfare of pastoralists and hunter gatherers. Most are involved in improving access to social service, like education, health and water, promoting alternative income generating activities especially for women, and promoting the cultural identity of pastoralists and hunter gatherers. Many of these organisations lack the capacity to create significant impact on the welfare of pastoralists, or to have any influence on policy makers.

The two pastoralist NGOs working at national level, are TAPHGO and PINGO's Forum, which act as umbrella organisations for the many smaller pastoralist and hunter gatherers NGOs and CBOs, many of which belong to both umbrella organisations. Both organisations see their mission as to strengthen the capacity of the local NGOs in governance, lobbying and advocacy and to sensitize communities on their rights, to strengthen networking among the local NGOs, and to influence national policies in favour of pastoralists and hunter gatherers.

While the two organisations have had some success in influencing national policy, most notably the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) in pastoralists favour, many people believe that their inherent weaknesses have rendered them less effective. The two organisations are dominated by Masai from the northern part of the country and may not be seen to represent the interests of all pastoralists in Tanzania. The Il-Parakuyu Masai in particular do not have strong affiliation to these organisations.

The location of the two organisations in Arusha rather than in Dar es Salaam at the centre of policy making also means that they are not always up to date with current policy processes in the country. As both organisations pursue virtually the same mission, they often compete for attention and resources, and consequently, they have not been able to present a solid united front for pastoralists and hunter gatherers in negotiating with the government. Walsh (2007) notes that the Mbarali evictions highlighted the weaknesses of the pro-pastoralist advocacy at both local and national level.

On paper there are more than twenty named groups or associations of livestock keepers in Mbarali District, some of them formally registered. However, many of them are largely inactive and loose associations based on locality and/or common ethnicity, with relatively limited objectives focusing mainly on the provision of livestock services. The principal exceptions are said to be a well-organised group in one of the agro-pastoral Maasai villages of Usangu, and a couple of cooperatives that are not ethnically based but focus on modern dairy production and marketing. Earlier efforts to bring all of the groups in Mbarali into a single organisation MUWAMBA, (*Muungano wa ushirika wa Wafugaji Wilaya ya Mbarali*) failed once the German advisors who facilitated it had departed.

The livestock keepers of Usangu and the wider region are indeed sharply divided by ethnic affiliation and socio-economic class. The relatively wealthy dairy producers that I interviewed in Rujewa expressed their approval of evictions from the Ihefu and thereabouts, while a village chairman in Utengule-Usangu Ward noted that some local livestock keepers were happy to have more grazing for themselves once their Sukuma and other competitors with large herds of

cattle had been removed. The Il-Parakuyu Maasai of Usangu, who have lived for many years in their own registered villages, were not significantly affected by the evictions, and at least some of those Maasai who were taken refuge with relatives. The Maasai of Idodi and Pawaga in Iringa District are reported to have stolen many of the cattle of the Sukuma who followed the Great Ruaha valley down to Mtera. Under circumstances such as these, there was little scope for a unified local or regional response to the evictions. This was especially so because many of the Sukuma and Barabaig who were forced to move with their herds were already politically marginalized and played relatively little part in village and district government – often because of the residential choices that they made, preferring to live and farm outside of established settlements. Nonetheless, many of the younger herders who left Mbarali have also left their elderly and other relatives behind to continue farming, keeping their options open as to whether the whole extended household will eventually move or not.

Civil society and pro-pastoral organisations at national level were also slow to take up the cause of the Sukuma and other evictees from Usangu. We can surmise that the divided pastoral politics of Tanzania were in part responsible for this. The Sukuma are, after all, environmentally irresponsible agro-pastoralists in the eye of many other pastoralists as well as mixed farmers in the country, and have never been particularly welcome in the pro-pastoral lobby, with emphasis on the politics of identity and the cultural distinctiveness of pastoralists as a minority group.¹⁸

Other organisations working at national level which, although they are not pastoralist organisations, are working on issues pertinent to pastoralists include:

4.1.1 Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC)

Started in 1995, this is a membership organisation based in Dar es Salaam that is involved in providing legal counseling and representation for marginalized sections of the community, including women and children, and in lobbying against laws and policies that are detrimental to any section of the society. LHRC strategic plan focuses on two areas: policy engagement and community empowerment. The Centre has consistently spoken out against social and economic injustices and as a result has gained recognition as a credible and professional organisation. It has solid management, and the human and financial capacity to work in most parts of Tanzania. The Centre has also accumulated a lot of experience on policy engagement and could be an ally of the pastoralist lobby in engagement with the government.

4.1.2 Haki-Ardhi

This is also a membership organisation that is based in Dar es Salaam, with the purpose of lobbying for and defending the security of land tenure for the ordinary people in Tanzania. The organisation has programmes on creating public awareness on land rights and good governance, covering several Districts in the country. The organisation also conducts research on various issues pertaining to the use and ownership of land, bio-resources and the like. The

¹⁸ Walsh 2007, pg 14

organisation has only a small core staff, but relies on members who volunteer to undertake various activities for the organisation. Given its focus on land rights, this is another potential organisation that pastoralist NGOs could team up with in the effort to secure land rights for pastoralists.

4.1.3 Oxfam

Oxfam has been operating in Tanzania for several decades supporting both relief and development work. Oxfam International in Tanzania constitutes Oxfam Great Britain, Oxfam Ireland and Oxfam-Intermon of Spain. Oxfam Great Britain and Oxfam Ireland have been supporting pastoralist programmes, including training on pastoralist systems and policy options for those involved in pro-pastoralist lobbying, promoting collective titling of pastoral lands and promoting access to education for pastoralists.

The Joint Oxfam Livelihoods Initiative for Tanzania (JOLIT) involves all Oxfam organisations and aims at generating and sharing practical experiences on 'best practices' for improving livelihoods of rural communities, including pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. This programme has a lot of potential for providing practical case studies for influencing decision makers with regard to appropriate policy options for pastoralists.

4.1.4 FARM-Africa

This organisation was founded in the 1980s and has been supporting rural development including pastoralism in several African countries including Ethiopia, Kenya and more recently, Tanzania. Its mission is "to improve the livelihoods of pastoral peoples and demonstrating the viability of a diversified pastoralist way of life in order to improve government and donor policy and practice".

FARM-Africa has introduced the 'Mobile Outreach Approach' which allows teams of staff to provide support to pastoralists from mobile camps that are moved around with the pastoralists, and allows staff to better understand pastoralists' needs and to provide technical advice and information in a way that fits into the traditional pastoralist way of life.

More recently, FARM-Africa, in collaboration with the African Union, have developed the African Union Pastoralist Policy Framework that, among other things, will form the basis for continental commitment to the political, social and economic development of pastoral communities. The organisation therefore provides an opportunity for national pastoralist organisations to put pastoralist issues on the agenda of international organisations, and for giving them stronger political leverage.

4.1.5 Haki Kazi Catalyst

This is an NGO based in Arusha that is engaged in policy dialogue particularly on issues related to human rights and good governance. It has been particularly successful in 'demystifying' various government policies and strategies so as to make them accessible to the general public through simplified easy-to-follow publications. The organisation is also very much involved in training activities on lobbying and advocacy skills. Haki Kazi is another potential organisation

for collaboration with pastoralist NGOs, for it is well experienced when it comes to informing the public about various government policies, strategies and programmes so that the public may be actively involved in discussing their merits and demerits.

4.1.6 The Department of Pastoral Systems Development, Ministry of Livestock Development

The new structure of the Ministry of Livestock Development was approved in April 2006. It includes a new Department of Pastoral Systems Development, which is responsible for range management and animal feeds development. Range management includes all natural resources for livestock like pastures, water, salt licks, infrastructure like stock routes and markets, livelihoods and resolution of conflicts with other land users.

This Department seems to provide a window of opportunity for addressing pastoralist issues by both the government and pastoralist NGOs. Indeed having a separate Department dealing with pastoral issues makes it possible to develop a policy to guide the Department in its work. Pastoralist NGOs could start working with this Department to begin to develop a framework for an eventual pastoralist policy especially now that there is already a framework proposed by the African Union.

4.1.7 Tanzania Natural Resources Forum (TNRF)

TNRF is a collective of civil society organization with a common interest in improving natural resource management in Tanzania by addressing the issue of governance.

TNRF works to improve accountability, transparency and local empowerment in natural resource management, by bringing together a diverse range of stakeholders and interests to share information, build alliances and to pool resources towards a better and devolved natural resource management.

In the view of TNRF, improved management of natural resources encompasses the following:

- More accountable and transparent governance institutions.
- A responsive and better functioning policy and legal environment that enables sound management and fully supports local people's rights.
- People who are empowered, skilled and accountable resource users and managers.
- Formal enterprises operating profitably, through fair partnerships with rural people for better rural livelihoods and sustained local and national development.
- Well managed ecosystems which generate sustainable services and values needed by a diverse range of people and interests.

TNRF works to achieve their vision by facilitating the flow of information amongst TNRF members, using various communication tools like meetings, seminars, the internet, and others that reach the general public including rural communities.

TNRF also facilitates collective action among the member, through Working Groups, that study and analyse specific issues, and develop solutions based on the experiences and insights of the group members. Currently there are six Working Groups on different themes.

TNRF is also active in dialoging with the government on various issues relating to natural resource managements in order to create a common understanding of issues, and to influence the government towards improved natural resource management.

Some of the themes TNRF is working on are directly relevant to pastoralism and pastoralists. These include: Community based tourism, Human and wildlife conflicts and Rangelands and livelihoods.

4.1.8 VETAID

VETAID is an international NGO that works with pastoral and agro-pastoral communities to reduce poverty and improve food security.

The goal of Vetaid is to strengthen livelihood strategies of resource-poor communities by increasing the contribution made by their livestock, by promoting their rights and by partnering and building capacity of local organizations.

In Tanzania Vetaid is working to support sustainable pastoralist livelihoods. The aim is to reduce poverty for pastoral communities through developing a secure livelihood based on livestock trade. Specifically the Vetaid initiative aims to:

- Improve land use in marginal pastoralist areas through land use planning,
- Support the emergence of livestock keeper groups that can link with meat processing companies,
- Increase livestock off takes from pastoralist areas, and
- Develop a framework that can facilitate the export of livestock and livestock products.

4.1.9 The Foundation for Civil Society

The Foundation for Civil Society is non-profit organization registered under the Companies Act, a brainchild of like-minded development partners working in Tanzania.

The goal of the Foundation is to contribute towards the development of a vibrant, effective and innovative civil society sector that allows citizens to engage in the decision-making processes, and promotes human rights and overall improvement in the quality of life for all Tanzanians.

The Foundation, therefore, provides financial and other forms or capacity building to civil society organizations, particularly to enable them to support the citizenry to:

- Access information and understand policies, laws and their rights,
- Engage effectively in policy formulation, and
- Contribute to social development and to constructively hold the government and the private sector accountable.

In this respect, the Foundation has funded a number of initiatives by some of the pastoral NGOs.

4.1.10 Policy Forum

This is a network of over 60 NGOs registered in Tanzania, and is registered as non-profit company in Tanzania. It draws together NGOs with specific interest in influencing policy processes to enhance poverty reduction, equity and democratization.

The goal of the Forum is to increase civil society participation in decisions that impact on their daily lives. Currently the Forum is working in three clusters, local governance, budget tracking and active citizens' voice. Each of these thematic areas has a Working Group that analyses issues, generates information and shares with other members, and with the general public. Sharing of information is mainly through newsletters, other publications and radio programmes.

The Forum's governance structure includes the General Assembly involving all members, as the supreme decision making organ, the Steering Committee and a small secretariat.

The Forum provides an opportunity for pastoralist NGOs to participate as members, and to put pastoralism as one of the possible thematic areas for the Forum to work on. Currently only Ujamaa Community Resource Trust seems to be a member from the pastoralist lobby.

5 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Experience so far of pastoralist NGOs in influencing policy suggests that there needs to be a change in approach if they have to be more effective in influencing policy in their favour. The following strategies will need to be adopted by the pastoralist NGOs:

In engaging with the government, pastoralism needs to be couched more as an economic or environmental issue rather than a livelihood issue. This is likely to draw the attention of government more easily, and it can still provide an opportunity for protecting pastoralist livelihoods, as long as the government sees the economic and environmental justification. This will somehow change the perception of government (and others) that the issue of pastoralism is something to do with defending the interests of a particular ethnic group.

A stronger national platform needs to be created for engaging with the government. Such a platform should be composed of key actors in and around the area of pastoralism, and should include activists, researchers, development specialists and even government officials and other professionals who can, in way or another, contribute on the subject. What is important is for this platform to be seen by the government as a professional and credible organisation worth listening to. This is also likely to elevate pastoralism from a parochial issue of concern to the Masai only to a national issue deserving national attention. The approach used by TNRF or the AWF which uses 'Working Teams/Groups' on various conservation issues/themes can provide a good model. Furthermore, Haki Kazi Catalyst (2002) developed a proposal for forming the Tanzania NGO Forum for engagement in the policy process, which also offers very useful suggestions for the pastoralist lobby.

Pastoralists are marginalized also because very few of them are involved in the local political structures, especially at Local Government level. Pastoralist NGOs must endeavour to put more effort in creating a higher level of political awareness among the pastoral communities, and to encourage more and more pastoralists to get into politics, so as to defend their interests within existing political machinery. Pastoralist communities wherever they are must be seen as a political force to be reckoned with.

The pastoralist lobby must have a stronger presence in Dar es Salaam, perhaps by forging stronger alliances with those activist organisations based in Dar es Salaam, but with a national reach. In this way not only will they be in a better position to follow what is going on in government but they will also be more visible to the government and the rest of the society.

There has to be a more pro-active and consistent action to influence policy makers and politicians. Regular seminars, round table discussions and workshops involving government officials and other stakeholders, where data and information on pastoralism are presented and discussed in an objective and dispassionate way can be very effective in changing perceptions in the long run. Rather than pastoralists waiting to be invited by the government during policy making, they should instead be inviting the government officials in anticipation of future policy decisions.

While diversification out of pastoralism seems to be a bad sign, but the reality calls for pastoralist communities to be empowered to get more into the economic mainstream by engaging in various other economic ventures, rather than being spectators in their own areas. Tourism offers many economic opportunities in the pastoralist areas, but these are all captured by non-pastoralists. There is no harm in some of the pastoralists moving out of pastoralism to invest in other economic activities that will guarantee them decent income and increase their economic and political influence.

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