# Community and government: planning together for climate resilient growth

Issues and opportunities for building better adaptive capacity in Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro Districts, northern Tanzania

Ally Msangi, Joseph Rutabingwa, Victor Kaiza and Antonio Allegretti

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Tanzania Natural Resource Forum

## About the authors

Ally Msangi. Senior Economist, Longido District, Tanzania. ally.Msangi@yahoo.com

Joseph Rutabingwa. District Economist, Monduli District Council, Tanzania. josephrutabingwa@gmail.com.

Victor Kaiza. Principle Agricultural Officer, Ngorongoro District, Tanzania. Kaiza47@hotmail.com; kaiza63@hayoo.com. (Corresponding author)

Antonio Allegretti. PhD candidate, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester, antonio.all84@libero.it; antonio.allegretti@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

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- Building capacity to act on the implications of changing ecology and economics for equitable and climate resilient development in the drylands.

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International Institute for Environment and Development
80-86 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8NH, UK
Tel: +44 (0)20 3463 7399
Fax: +44 (0)20 3514 9055
email: info@iied.org
www.iied.org

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Photo credit: Peter Cacah

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# Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| A-CBG | Agriculture Capacity Building Grant |
| A-EBG | Agriculture Extension Block Grant |
| ALAT | Association of Local Authorities of Tanzania |
| ASDG | Agricultural Sector Development Programme |
| CMT | Council Management Team |
| DADG | District Agriculture Development Grant |
| DADPs | District Agriculture Development Plans |
| DALDO | District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer |
| DbyD | Decentralization by Devolution |
| DIDF | District Irrigation Development Fund |
| IFMS | Integrated Financial Management System |
| LGA | Local Government Authority |
| LGCDG | Local Government Capital Development Grant |
| LGDG | Local Government Development Grant |
| LGRP | Local Government Reform Programme |
| LGTP | Local Government Transport Programme |
| LLGA | Lower Local Government Authority |
| MoF | Ministry of Finance |
| NCA | Ngorongoro Conservation Area |
| NMSF | National Multi-Sectorial Framework |
| PFM | Participatory Forest Management |
| PMO-RALG | Prime Minister's Office – Regional Administration and Local Government |
| RCC | Regional Consultative Committee |
| SWM | Sustainable Wetland Management |
| VEO | Village Executive Officer |
| TASAF | Tanzania Social Action Fund |
| TSC | Tanzania Strategic Cities |
| WDC | Ward Development Committee |
| WEO | Ward Executive Officer |

# Contents

# Summary

**Planning for climate resilience growth is increasingly important for the natural resource dependent economy of Tanzania. Central government does not have the knowledge, reach, skills or resources needed to plan for the range of livelihoods within Tanzania; but local governments, if granted the authority and resources, could plan with communities in the flexible, timely and appropriate manner that climate variability demands. Research conducted in three pastoral and agro-pastoral districts in northern Tanzania identified the constraints being faced within formal and customary planning processes. The roles of communities and local governments urgently need to be rethought, bringing their skills together to achieve greater climate resilience.**

Tanzania's National Climate Change Strategy recognises the need to support climate change adaptation (URT, 2012). Tanzania's economy, heavily dependent on natural resource based investments, is highly climate sensitive. A recent study indicates that current climate variability, droughts and floods already create significant economic costs, in excess of 1% of GDP, reducing long-term growth and affecting millions of livelihoods (Watkiss *et. al.,* 2011). Unless Tanzania strengthens its adaptive capacity at all levels and across all sectors, future climate change could result in greater economic costs, possibly in excess of 2% of GDP by 2030.

Nowhere is strengthening adaptive capacity more necessary than in the drylands of Tanzania. The effects of climate change will hit dryland communities and economies earlier, and more severely, than other areas of Tanzania. This is largely because climate change exacerbates existing structural causes of poverty and inequality. An historical legacy of limited and often inappropriate development have left the drylands of Tanzania with weaker institutions for governance and planning, less effective social and economic services, and greater levels of poverty than other areas of the country (Coast, 2002; Homewood et.al, 2009).

Despite having strategies not only to adapt to climate variability, but also to exploit it to their advantage, pastoralists and agro-pastoralists frequently lack the opportunities and skills to influence planning and development processes in the dryland areas that are the focus of their livelihood strategies. At the same time government planning, implemented through formal processes and channels, rarely involves the 'traditional' institutions that have evolved to manage resource variability. The resulting disconnection between 'official' and 'traditional' systems undermines the ability of both sides to respond adequately to climate variability and change.

Research to identify how best to resolve this disconnection, and identify approaches for a more effective planning process, was carried in Tanzania as part of a wider initiative to mainstream climate change adaptation into development planning. A study was carried out to assess the strengths and weaknesses of government and community planning with respect to building resilience to climate variability and change across the three districts of Longido, Ngorongoro and Monduli, each contains a large number of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. Research was conducted through a combination of community-level meetings, individual interviews, desktop research, a final focus group discussion and a validation workshop.

The study revealed a complex formal planning process in Tanzania that is unable to respond to community seasonal priorities or even to periods of disaster. It is underpinned by cumbersome, delayed and inflexible budgetary allocations, requires community contributions (cash/labour) even during periods of drought, and tends to be more focused on infrastructure investments than livelihood needs. The collision of national and community priorities was found most likely to occur at the district government level, where local government representatives (who often want to respond to community needs) are bound by strict national guidelines, which ironically are themselves often constricted by the broader international policy environment (MDGs). This, despite the decentralisation process that has been underway in Tanzania since

1998, and the promotion of 'bottom-up' planning approaches. Communication and knowledge gaps from each side, obstructive local politics and poor levels of representation undermine the planning process as a whole.

By contrast the study found that community planning for natural resource use was far less rigid, and closely responded to seasonal needs in line with the grazing calendar and periods of disaster. Customary institutions continue to play an important role in monitoring and negotiating use of water sources, dry season grazing areas, salt pans, etc. The on going and accelerating context of land privatisation is weakening rangeland management processes however and creating considerable social change among pastoralist communities, often affecting women and children the most. Climate variability was also found to be strongly impacting mobility patterns and livelihood strategies.

With both government officials and communities acknowledging the hugely adverse impacts of land and resource scarcity on livelihoods, the study proceeded with identifying potential improvements to the planning processes. At the multi-stakeholder workshop participants agreed that if the districts are to build the adaptive capacity of local livelihoods and the economy, government planning has to better integrate the community planning processes that are better at responding to climate variability. Four core areas were identified as requiring improvement:

- Resolving the misunderstandings between local people and government officials;
- Planning for drought;
- Strengthening local participation; and,
- Devolving authority over financial management.

As Tanzania's natural resource based economy looks to strengthen its ability at all levels to adapt to climate variability, it needs to address the slow process of decentralisation. The local government system offers the best institutional framework for building climate resilient livelihoods and economies in Tanzania. The governance and management of natural resources needs to happen in ways that harness the local adaptive knowledge capable of exploiting or lessening the risks of climatic variability, and knowledge which is already implemented at the local level. Central government agencies rarely have the knowledge, reach, skills or resources necessary to be effective across all communities and ecosystems, particularly in a country as large as Tanzania. Local government, on the other hand, if granted the authority and the necessary resources, are in a far better position to respond in a flexible, timely and appropriate manner. This is particularly true in Tanzania's drylands.

# 1 Background

Current climate observations for Tanzania indicate rising temperatures, increasingly variable and shifting rainfall patterns, shrinking water resources, and changing vegetation composition and patterns (URT, 2012). This increased climatic variability has significantly affected local livelihoods: livestock mortality in northern Tanzania as a result of the 2009 drought was put at over 80%, undermining local and national food security and longer-term development (Melewas & Allport, 2010). Globally, rising temperatures are projected to cause more frequent and more intense extreme weather events—such as heavy rain storms, flooding, fires, hurricanes, tropical storms and El Niño events (IPCC, 2001).

Although down-scaled climate projections of future climate change in Tanzania indicate huge uncertainty in predicting future trends with respect to rainfall and extreme events such as drought and floods (Watkiss et. al., 2011), the impact of an increase in the frequency and intensity of droughts and floods is likely to be more severe in the drylands of Tanzania. Covering about 33% of the country's land area, and supporting millions of livelihoods, strengthening adaptive capacity in the drylands of Tanzania is thus of critical importance.[1] Failure to strengthen the drylands capacity to adapt to climate change will not only result in a lost opportunity, but will also incur significant costs later for the rest of the country—creating a double loss.

Fortunately, resilient productivity and adaptability to the disequilibrium within ecosystems are already part of dryland communities' livelihoods and institutions. Pastoralists, in particular, are 'masters of adaptation'. Unlike crop farmers who are dependent on regular and predictable rains, pastoralists have strategies not only to adapt to climate variability, but to exploit it to their advantage. Through mobility, the selective breeding of livestock, and the maintenance of institutions for the management of resources under common-property tenure regimes, pastoralists are able to feed their livestock on the most nutritious pastures in the rangelands (Krätli and Schareika, 2010; Krätli et. al., 2013). The proven effectiveness of pastoralism is demonstrated by the persistence of pastoral systems characterised by different production strategies centred on livestock mobility, not only in Sub-Saharan Africa but also throughout the Mediterranean, the near east, the Maghreb, central Asia and the Siberian ecosystem (Homewood 2008).

Despite their inherent adaptability, in Tanzania today, pastoralists and agro-pastoralists lack the opportunities and skills to influence planning processes in support of their livelihood strategies. Government planning implemented through formal processes and channels does not sufficiently involve the traditional institutions that have evolved to manage resource variability. On the contrary, pastoralists have been passive observers

[1] Using average annual rainfall according to the classifications used to define the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya (receiving 200–550mm rainfall and 500–850mm, respectively) 33.5% of Tanzania would be classified as drylands.

**Box 1: Project Summary: Promoting adaptation and climate resilience growth through devolved district climate finance**

The districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro in northern Tanzania are seeking to establish a devolved district-level finance mechanism to draw down national climate finance to fund public good type investments that promote climate resilient growth and adaptive livelihoods. The establishment of this mechanism is in anticipation of the creation of the National Climate Change Fund, as specified in the National Climate Change Strategy (2012), and Tanzania's opportunities to access global climate finance (e.g. the Green Climate Fund, the Least Developed Countries Fund and the Adaptation Fund) as well as bilateral funding sources for climate adaptation and mitigation.

Funded by the UK Department for International Development/UK-AID and with technical support from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Hakikazi Catalyst, the current 15-month phase of the project (June 2013 to September 14) will deliver four outputs:

1. A devolved district-level climate finance mechanism to draw down national climate funds for climate resilient development;
2. District and inter-district level plans for public good type investments that promote climate resilient growth and adaptive livelihoods;
3. Information systems and a monitoring framework to inform planning and assess adaptation success;
4. A mechanism to enable project findings to inform national actors (government policy makers, donors).

Currently, there are few models for the decentralisation of climate finance. This project will provide practical experience and a tested model for effective and robust disbursement of funds to promote adaptation to climate change, in a way that can be replicated throughout Tanzania.

(and victims) of privatization processes involving their own land and resources—at times leading to displacement in the name of conservation (Brockington, 1999; Brockington, 2002; Brockington & Igoe 2006). Tanzania's rural planning based on the ***Opportunities and Obstacles to Development*** approach is participatory in its involvement of local people in the definition of their priorities,[2] but it does not involve them in the final decisions nor does it sufficiently devolve authority over local decision-making.

A further problem is that traditional and formal planning processes do not complement each other. Government is either unaware or not sufficiently supportive of community-level planning mechanisms, while local people are uninformed of, or ignore, government planning procedures. Lynn (2010) highlights the lack of "*effective dialogue between conservation and land use decision-makers and the land users themselves*" as a major blockage to improving the situation of local pastoral communities. As a consequence, formal planning does not benefit from the participation of local communities that have learnt over time how best to exploit the ecological and economic dynamics of dryland environments. The disconnection between citizens and government over local development planning and implementation is undermining the capacity of Tanzania to respond to climate variability and change.

To address these issues, and as part of a wider project to mainstream climate change adaptation into development planning in three contiguous districts in northern Tanzania (see Box 1 and Figure 1), a study was carried out to assess the strengths and weaknesses of government and community planning with respect to building resilience to climate variability and change.

[2] URT (2007) The Opportunities and Obstacles to Development. A community participatory planning methodology – Rural Process. Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government.

# 2 Study objectives and methodology

The study was commissioned by the Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (TNRF) as part of a one year project (2011–12) to build the capacity of local actors in the districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro to design a longer-term action-research programme that would test approaches and mechanisms for mainstreaming climate change adaptation into their development planning. The preparatory phase was implemented in partnership with the local government authorities of the three districts, relevant national institutions, customary leaders and civil society, with technical support from the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). The 1st phase of the longer-term action-research programme – entitled *Promoting adaptation and climate resilience growth through devolved district climate finance* – has subsequently been funded by DFID and is being implemented (June 2013 to September 2014).

The one year study had three objectives:

1) Assess the impact of climate change on rural livelihoods and how communities are responding and adapting to these changes, thereby identifying factors that undermine community planning and local capacity for adaptation.
2) Understand the formal government planning system and its ability to address changing climatic conditions and support local capacity for adaptation.
3) Examine the level of collaboration between community and government planning processes, specifically the challenges to and potential opportunities for achieving resilience and adaptation.

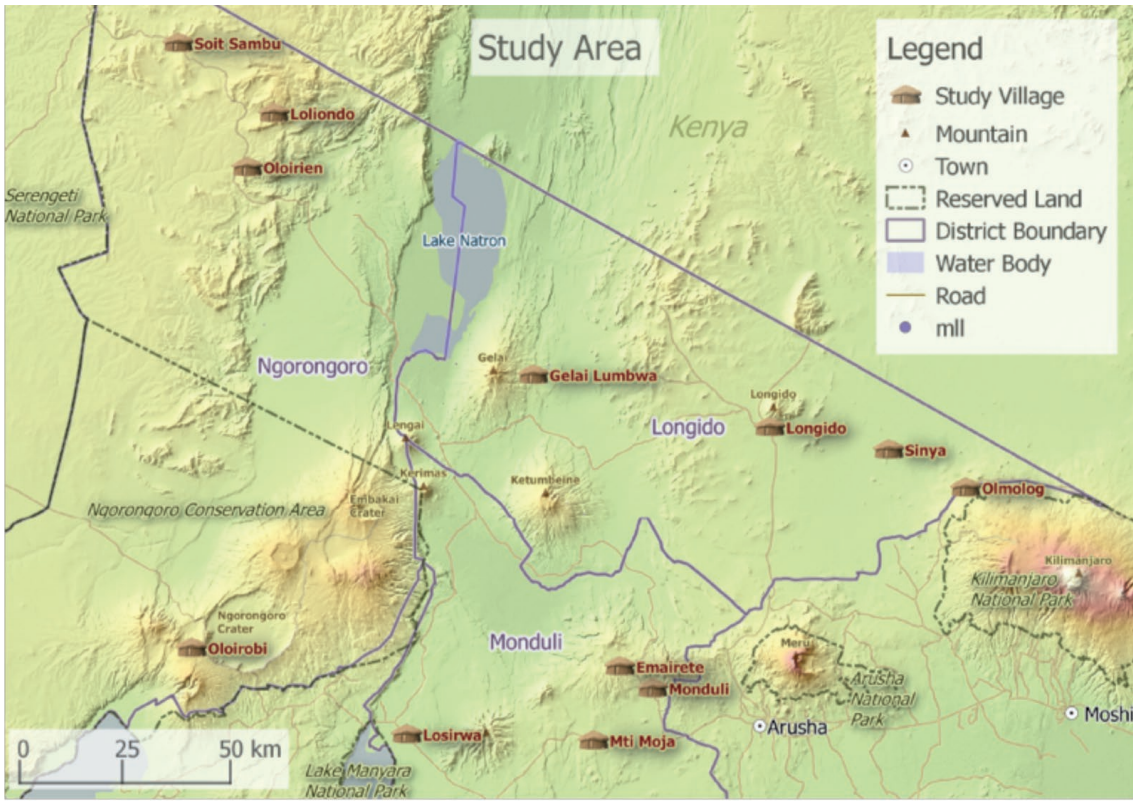
Field research was carried out between March and April 2012 across the districts of Longido, Ngorongoro and Monduli.[3] See Figure 1.

The districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro are physically diverse with varying altitudes, rainfall patterns, soils and vegetation. The majority of the population living in these three districts practice either pastoralism or agro-pastoralism. Longido district has the highest proportion of pastoralists – 95% of the population (URT Longido DADPs 2010/2011), followed by Ngorongoro district – 80% of the population keeps livestock while 13% engage in farming, (URT, Ngorongoro DADPs, 2011/2012). Monduli district is the most diverse: 40% of the population depends entirely on livestock keeping, 40% are agro-pastoralists and the remainder depend on other business activities (URT, Monduli Socio-economic Profile, N.D.).

Research was conducted through a combination of community-level meetings, individual interviews, desktop research, a final focus group and a validation workshop.

[3] The research team consisted of: Ally Msangi, Senior Economist, Longido District; Joseph Rutabingwa, Economist, Monduli District; Victor Kaiza: Principal Agriculture Officer, Ngorongoro District; and Antonio Allegretti, an independent consultant acting at Lead Researcher. Emmanuel Sitayo facilitated the community-level meetings.

Figure 1: The study area – Districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro




Research on the traditional planning process consisted of nine community meetings (men and women) in the three districts (three villages per district). Each meeting involved approximately thirty individuals, including men and women of all ages, local leaders (village chairmen and village executive officers) and representatives of different ethnic groups. Meetings lasted between two and three hours and focused on collecting data and information about the traditional planning process. The meetings also served as an opportunity to hear community opinions on what factors and processes affect their capacity to adapt to changing climatic conditions. Focus groups discussions were held with community leaders (including ward executive officers and councillors) as well as individual interviews with community members.

The following villages were selected for community meetings:

- **Longido District**: Olmolog, Sinya, Gelai Lumbwa
- **Ngorongoro District**: Oloirien, Soit Sambu, Oloirobi
- **Monduli District**: Emairete, Mti Moja, Losirwa

Information on the formal planning process was mainly collected during three focus group discussions (one per district) and individual interviews with government officials. Informal conversations and desktop research also helped to inform the research findings. A final meeting was held between the authors to discuss the main issues identified during the research, as well as an analysis of the fieldwork.

Research findings were presented and discussed at a multi-stakeholder workshop in Arusha in May 2012 to validate the findings and enable a broader discussion on the implications, challenges and opportunities of climate change for drylands planning in Tanzania at district and national levels. This paper includes outputs from the workshop, including recommendations formulated both by the research team and the workshop participants.

*Maasai boma on the shore of Lake Natron*

*Taking the sheep and goat herd to water, Ngorongoro*

# 3 Government planning findings

## 3.1 The government planning and budget cycle calendar

The government planning and budget cycle in Tanzania has defined steps, deadlines and procedures to facilitate the achievement of its policy objectives. These are outlines in Table 1 below.

Following parliamentary approval of the budget in June, the 1st quarterly disbursements of funds are made to districts. This is supposed to happen on the 1st July. In practice, disbursements can often be delayed for one or two months, and districts are obliged to use any funds remaining from the previous year to pay staff salaries and running costs. Once districts receive their allocations they channel funds to wards and villages enabling the implementation of activities prioritised nine months earlier in October. Throughout the year, the implementation of activities and expenditure against budget are monitored and scrutinised by the councils via monthly and quarterly financial and performance reports.

## 3.2 Limitations of the government planning process

The field and desk research identified two major drawbacks of the formal planning and budget cycle with respect to its adaptability to extreme weather events and changing climatic conditions in the drylands of northern Tanzania:

- Rigid and top-down approach to planning and budgeting; and
- Insufficient community-participation and over-sight.

### a) Limitations caused by rigidity and a top-down approach to planning and budgeting

Local government officers and community representatives identified the following limitations during the research, and during the multi-stakeholder workshop at which research findings were debated.

i. ***Fixed planning cycle is not sufficiently in tune with the seasons***. The annual planning cycle (Table 1) does not sufficiently take into account the significance of climate variability and seasons on the dynamics of people's livelihoods and Tanzania's economy. The formal government planning cycle starts in July during the cold, dry season with the preliminary identification of development priorities by communities. The planning is completed at district level in December with the prioritisation of activities. This coincides with the start of the short rains. Activities, however, are not funded until the following July, after the long rains (March to May), by which time earlier prioritised activities may no longer be relevant (e.g. the short and long rains may have failed). The government planning cycle is not sensitive

Table 1: Tanzania budget cycle for 2014–15[4]

| PERIOD | ACTIVITIES | RESPONSIBLE ORGANS |
|---|---|---|
| July–August | Communities identify their priorities through a series of meetings at village and ward level as specified in the government's planning methodology for rural and urban areas – the Opportunities and Obstacles to Development (O&OD). | Villages/Communities |
| August–October | The Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission prepares the budget guidelines. These include the Local Government Capital Development Grant allocation ceiling for the coming year. | Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission |
| November–December | The Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission disseminates the guidelines and the allocations to all line Ministries, the Regional Secretariats and the Local Government Authorities. | Ministry of Finance and Planning commission (MoFPC) |
| 07 January | Ministries, Regions and District authorities start to discuss how to establish their budgets according to the ceilings they have been allocated. | MoFPC |
| 08–28 January | Ministries, Regions and Local Government Authorities submit their proposed budgets to the Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission. | Ministries, Regions and LGAs |
| 29 January–11 February | Ministry of Finance and Planning commission analyse the budget Inter Budget and enter data in the Integrated Financial Management System (IFMS) system | MoFPC, LGAs, Regions Other departments |
| 12–20 February | The national budget is consolidated. | MoFPC |
| 27 February–05 March | Submission of Budget to Cabinet Secretariat and Cabinet for discussion | MoFPC |
| 6–9 March | Completion of budget data entry into the IFMS followed exporting data using Planrep (Planning and Reporting) software printing to be presented to the Parliament committees for discussion and consultation | Ministries, Regions and Ministry of Finance |
| 10 March | Submission of Budget to the Parliamentary Office | Ministries, Regions, MoFPC |
| 11 March – | Discussion of Budget by Parliamentary Standing Committee | Parliament standing committees |
| 09 April–12 June | Parliamentary session to discuss Budget | Parliament office, MoFPC |
| 12 June | Parliament to discuss consolidated Budget for Financial year 2014/2015 | Minister responsible for planning, Minister responsible for Finance |
| 12–27 June | Consolidated budget to be discussed and approved 2014/2015 budget | |

[4] This is the formal process, as it should happen. In practice there may be delays in the process.

to climate conditions on the ground despite the critical importance of rainfall on crop and livestock production and wildlife, which are major economic sectors in the country.

ii. ***Inflexible budgets and a centralised funding mechanism***. District budgets are largely funded from central government sources without devolution of authority over the allocation of funds. The reallocation of funds from one budget category or activity to another is prohibited. The guidelines issued annually by the national government strongly emphasise the importance of budget rigidity: "*To ensure that budget is executed as planned, avoid budget deviation resulting from reallocating funds to non-contingent activities and also avoid applying for funds outside the approved budget by parliament.*"[5] The process is also sectoral in approach, providing little room for cross-sectoral planning and expenditure in support of local livelihoods and economies that are systemic and holistic in character. This rigidity limits districts' capacity to respond flexibly to changing conditions on the ground due to climate or other factors.

These budgetary restrictions are designed to ensure local government accountability to the Treasury on how the funds are spent. According to the Longido District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer, the rigidity of budget has a twofold effect. On the one hand, it prevents the waste of financial resources. (He noted that, in the past, budget flexibility has resulted in poor monitoring and control over financial resources, leading to inefficiencies). But on the other hand, budget rigidity does not allow for prompt interventions when the climate is unstable.

Box 2 presents excerpts from the interview held with the Longido District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer (DALDO).

iii. ***Community contributions***

Communities are required to contribute at least 20% (in cash, as labour, or in the supply of materials) of the budgeted cost of 'productive projects' – i.e. projects designed to increase the production potential of community livelihoods— such as a dam for irrigation or a dipping facility for livestock. In the absence of community contributions, the project is either delayed or not implemented. For example, in the 2010/11 Longido District Agriculture Development Plans (page v) it is noted that in 2009, "*among the challenges which made the delay of the implementation was*

**Box 2: LGA staff opinions on the budget process**

Are you allowed to reallocate funds from one activity to another? *No, you have to ask for permission. Once I was asked to purchase power tillers with funds allocated for the purchase of seeds. I addressed the regional office but they refused to write a letter to the Ministry as they were aware of the strict guidelines and procedures that do not allow such reallocation of funds unless long procedures are undertaken.*

Is there any way the district can include an emergency fund in the budget in case of environmental extreme events? *No way. You cannot change the allocation of funds before six months has passed, and then you can apply. But it still takes more time until your request is approved. In the past, people used to do that and inform the treasury later on, but then the treasury strengthened control and monitoring because money was going into people's pockets. Now the system works much better. In the past, people were using money without control.*

Can there be any compromise between flexibility and accountability? *No. Let me just give you an example: with a more flexible budget, money allocated to development activities would be easily reallocated to activities such as meetings in the council and that would be deleterious for the work done at the local level.*

*I do like the idea of lobbying and advocating so that national and local governments can include emergencies and contingencies in the budget, but the treasury would never allow it because money would go into people's pockets. I think this is the best system.*

*Source: John Lukumai, Longido DALDO, 22nd March, 2012*

[5] Guidelines for the Preparation of the Plan and Budget for 2011/2012 within the Five Year Development Plan Framework, page 56.

*extreme drought, whereby the community failed to contribute properly and timely in the implementation of the planned project*". Similarly, the Monduli District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer explained that in 2009, farmers in Tukusi village lost almost all their harvest and were unable to contribute to the construction of a dip. The failure of the community to contribute meant that contractors had to be paid with district funds.

Community contributions are intended to strengthen community collaboration and ownership of planning and project development. But in a future marked by increasing climate variability, the system may not be sustainable unless there is some in-built flexibility.

iv. ***Cumbersome granting guidelines***

Districts receive seven Block Grants and numerous development funds (See Box 3), each with their separate instructions, restrictions and conditions. Furthermore, many of these grants are subdivided into further 'sub-grants' each with their own objective and conditions on how the funds are managed. For example, the Agriculture Sector Development Programme (ASDG), which is granted through the LGDG scheme to the Agriculture and Livestock Department, is further subdivided into the District Agriculture Development Grant (DADG), Agricultural Extension Block Grant (A-EBG) and Agricultural Capacity Building Grant (A-CBG). The Ngorongoro District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer recalled a situation in 2008 where limitations on the use of the Agriculture and Livestock Block Grant created a challenge. Farmers in the district requested maize seeds prior to the short rains because market prices for seeds were very high. The district, however, was unable to respond to the request because seeds are usually given by the Food and Agriculture Organization, which meant that none of the departments had a budget for such expenditure.

In the 2011–2012 National Guidelines for the planning and budget cycle, it was noted that the multitude of grants and funding sources available to Local Government Authorities are a potential burden and source of confusion such that "*a large number of projects have remained uncompleted and some projects are not reported on time*" (page 33). The Ministry of Finance, with PMO-RALG, has pledged to improve the situation by progressively harmonising all grants.

v. ***Delayed funding.*** Funds are disbursed by the Treasury to districts on a quarterly basis. However, due to delays these funds often do not reach the districts until the 2nd quarter and activities

## Box 3: Block grants and other development funds

### Block grants

- Education Block Grant
- Agriculture and Livestock Block Grant
- Road Block Grant
- Health Block Grant
- Water Block Grant
- General Purpose Grant
- National Multi-Sectorial Framework Grant for HIV and AIDS.

### Other fund mechanisms

- Participatory Forest Management (PFM)
- District Irrigation Development Fund (DIDF)
- Sustainable Wetland Management (SWM)
- Local Government Transport Programme (LGTP)
- Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF)
- Child Survival and Development through UNICEF Grant Support
- One UN Supported Projects from UNDP and Tanzania Strategic Cities (TSC).

planned for the 1st quarter are postponed or are not implemented. These delays limit the ability of local government to respond in a timely manner.

vi. ***Unbalanced focus on infrastructure.*** Planning is largely focused on investments in infrastructure such as schools, clinics, water and roads. Such a focus is justified on the grounds that in the districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro the basic foundations of development are inadequate. Access to water, health, education, veterinary services, markets, communications and energy are below the national average, and this is slowing the development of the area (Coast, 2002; Homewood et al., 2009). Planning, however, also needs to pro-actively support the livelihood strategies of local communities that are well-adapted to managing climate variability and periodic droughts and floods. Currently, relatively few resources are devoted to supporting people's livelihood strategies and the funds that are invested are more focused on direct inputs to production (seeds, water provision, livestock dips) than on governance issues concerning the management of natural resources that are constantly changing due to variable climate conditions. In the drylands, where conditions are highly variable and unpredictable, managing access to and control over critical resources such as dry season water, or facilitating the timely movement of livestock away from a drought area, are critical for building climate resilient livelihoods and economies.

## b) Limitations caused by insufficient community-participation and over-sight

i. ***Communications and knowledge gap***

Government officers and community members often do not understand how each other perceives and carries out planning. For example, during the meeting held with district technical staff in Monduli, government officials said that communities don't fully understand the nature of their problems and how best to solve them.

The village of Mairowa was cited as evidence of where the community was experiencing a water shortage and requested an infrastructure project to increase the water supply; yet the problem, as explained by the Monduli district water engineer, was not a lack of infrastructure but rather the mismanagement of the existing water sources. According to the water engineer this inability of communities to articulate their own needs can mean that they propose simple 'shopping list' plans with unreliable estimates, and end up with projects that fail to provide for their real needs.

On the other hand, there appears to be little effort to build the capacity of local people to articulate a more strategic vision of their development. The government planning process based on the Opportunities and Obstacles to Development does not explicitly address this issue. Furthermore, communities view the government's approach as disconnected to their needs. Section 5 and Boxes 5 and 6 below provide further examples.

ii. ***Local politics and conflicting agendas***

Political issues, especially at the ward and village level, can influence the prioritising of projects so that community needs are not properly met. This issue was mentioned in both Longido and Ngorongoro districts. While the role of the ward is to prioritise projects identified at village level, ward councillors may prioritise development projects in their villages of origin, or in the villages where their major electoral constituents reside. As noted during the Monduli district focus group discussion, such practices are possible because there is a lack of accountability within the planning process. Once village plans are sent to the wards, although there are provisions in place obliging ward-level councillors to report back to their village constituents on decisions-taken at ward level, the councillors do not always adhere to the rules. A similar lack of accountability exists throughout the planning and decision-making process with higher level authorities failing to account to lower bodies for their decisions and actions. This undermines the participatory nature of the planning process.

iii. ***Quality of participation and representation***.

The government O and OD planning process, though participatory in its approach, does not sufficiently invest in building the capacity of local people to manage the planning process. The communities are not necessarily aware of the objectives behind the planning tools and the significance of ensuring the participation of different members of their society. Although they are informed, they are not involved in deciding

*Ngorongoro District Council staff meeting*

when the planning is to take place to ensure it fits in with their own plans and calendar of activities. Furthermore, due to a lack of resources the implementation of the O&OD process can be limited to a few activities involving just a few community representatives. As a result, certain segments of society are not adequately consulted (e.g. women and children, local leaders).

## c) Overall results related to government planning

Of the multiple layers of government that take part in the planning process, the district council is the level at which national and community priorities collide. On the one hand district councils attempt to respond to community priorities, while on the other hand they are bound by strict guidelines issued by and reflecting the priorities of the national government and the broader international policy environment (e.g. meeting the Millennium Development Goals).

In a study of the Mwanza City Council and Kibaha Town Council, it was noted that the bottom-up approach to planning does not guarantee that local priorities are implemented. This is clearly visible in the allocation of resources: "*In Mwanza City Council, the budget and implementation reports for the past three years show that apart from the fact that the council had not taken public priorities into the plans and budgets, the national priority override local priority which emphasise education and health sector. The other sectors of livestock and agricultural production, infrastructure and water services for which the public were concerned had shown very little interest.*"[6]

According to the study authors, community priorities were ignored at the district level and national government interfered with the autonomy of local authorities, despite the policies of decentralisation initiated in 1998 with Decentralization by Devolution (D by D) and the promotion of the bottom-up planning approach through Obstacles and Opportunities for Development (O&OD). As a result of this conflict of interest, the ability of local government to implement projects and provide important services to the community is undermined. In times of climate instability, this will be an even greater challenge unless a serious effort is made to improve collaboration between government at a national and local level.

[6] Published in the Newsletter of the Association of Local Authorities of Tanzania, Issue 32 July-September 2010, p. 5.

# 4 Community planning findings

The research in the three districts of Longido, Ngorongoro and Monduli indicated that customary institutions continue to play an important role in planning at the community level. This is particularly the case with pastoralists, the dominant group in the area, where land and natural resources such as water, forested areas, salt pans and pastures are still managed by traditional leaders according to customary rules. These rules grant or limit access to resources, particularly during the dry season, depending on the prevailing climate and environmental conditions.

Unlike the government process, community planning is less rigid and without pre-determined timelines. Planning is done in response to the seasonal changes in climate and extreme events. Planning is also done in an holistic, rather than sectoral, manner to support the pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihood systems that depend on maintaining a balance between the environment (pasture, water, land), the economy (livestock, crop farming) and society (the food and cash needs of people).

## 4.1 The community planning calendar

This section presents an overview of how planning is carried out at community level in the three districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro.

**October/November** marks the beginning of the 'community planning calendar', when the short rainy season begins. At this time, farmers prepare their fields and make decisions on when to sow crops based on their interpretations of the weather. For the short rainy season individual farmers usually do not sow their whole farm. Instead, a farmer will sow only part of it in order to leave enough room to plant longer cycle crops (i.e. maize) in case of earlier rains in January (i.e. before the harvest of the short rain crops). For pastoralists, the beginning of the rainy season is a very difficult time of year. Animals are weak after the long dry season, but due to the scattered rainfall (that is more pronounced at the start of the rains), livestock have to be highly mobile if they are to access fresh new pastures high in nutrients. As the rains settle and pastures grow, the condition of livestock improves, animals give birth and milk becomes available at home for human consumption as well as for the women to sell in the local markets. Planning focuses on ensuring access to those pastures at their nutritional peak while avoiding disease. Herds may be split according to their health and ability to walk: mature animals are moved to distant pastures, while those unable to cover long distance in search of grass (milking cows and their calves, as well as ill or old animals) are kept close to the homesteads.

Throughout the months of **December, January, and February** and up to the beginning of **March** (i.e. prior to the long wet season) the rains become unpredictable, such that the quality and availability of pastures diminishes and water becomes scarcer. The condition of the animals during this period depends on the ability of pastoralists to manage the existing grazing

land and natural resources, as well as carefully planning travel to distant pastures. Herds may be further split to maximise opportunities to access different grazing areas. From December farmers tend to their fields, harvesting their short-cycle crops in March. In January they begin to sow the land again in preparation for the main rainy season with longer cycle crops such as maize and peas.

**March/April** is the start of the long rains and, in good years, grass and water steadily become plentiful. March is an important month for farmers: crops from the previous short rain season (mostly cash crops with a three-month cycle) are harvested and the sowing period continues (i.e. wheat). Herds return home to feed on the fresh new pastures. In the highlands, however, heavy rains can make travel between pastures difficult and increases the risk of cattle diseases such as malignant cataracts, east coast fever, worms, foot and mouth disease, diarrhoea, lumpy skin disease and pneumonia. **May** and **June** is a period of abundance for pastoralists, during which time they maximise the productivity of their livestock by exploiting the high quality and plentiful pastures that are found in the lowlands. The productivity of milking cows increases and all animals put on weight. Pastoralists graze their animals in the lowlands where the most nutritional pastures are to be found and where the risk of diseases is lower. Bulls, due to the improved diet, are at their most fertile and are kept in herds with females to breed. The females will give birth at the beginning of the next short rain season when conditions improve. May and June are months of mild activity for farmers, whose main activities consist of weeding their farms.

In late **June**/early **July** the rains gradually stop, pastures gradually lose their nutritional quality as they dry out and complete their growing cycles, and water sources become more scattered. For farmers the harvesting period starts (maize) while continuing to weed their farm. For pastoralists, the end of the rainy season is a very critical moment for planning. Following the rains, and depending on how they have been, there is a fixed quantity of forage in the rangelands that has to last until the next rainy season. The key planning issue is to control the speed at which this stock of forage is grazed—if it is eaten too quickly and before the arrival of the next rains in October/November, livestock will go hungry and will need to move.

**August, September** and up to **October** is the dry season. It represents a challenging time for communities in the three districts, particularly pastoralists. While farmers continue to harvest their long rain crops in August (wheat), livestock lose weight due to the decline in nutritional quality of pastures and the need to trek long distances to find water. The task at hand is to minimise livestock weight loss or death before the arrival of the next short rains in October or November. This is largely dependent on three factors: first, the extent to which pastoralists were able to build up the weight and health of their herds during the long rainy season; second, the degree to which they are able to protect designated dry season grazing areas from being grazed (or converted to other land uses) during the rainy season as these reserves represent the stock of pasture available to livestock until the next rains; and third, whether they are able to balance the number of animals grazing around permanent dry season water points with the available dry season forage.[7]

## 4.2 The flexibility, adaptability and responsiveness of customary institutions

In pastoral Maasai communities, customary institutions led by *Alaigwanak* and *Inkopir* (customary leaders) make key decisions as to when and where to move to *Ronjo* and also when to begin utilising *Olokeri* They also send off warriors to do *Eleenorè.* All these decisions are critical and still play a key role in managing natural resource use in response to the seasonal calendar described above. They are summarised below.

*Ronjo* is a temporary settlement sometimes without any traditional houses but only livestock *bomas.*[8] These are places to move to mainly during dry season, but also during wet season, in order for herders to utilise specific natural resources (grass, water, salt licks) which strengthen/stabilise the health of the herd. *Olokeri* is a communal grazing area reserved for a specific

[7] The alienation of critical pastoral dry season grazing areas like riverine forests or swamps for other uses, and legislation managing the use of public water points developed by government, NGOs or projects whereby access is either free or conditional on payment of a fee, are two factors that seriously undermine pastoralists' ability to manage dry season grazing resources in such a way so as to ensure sufficient grazing for their animals. See Cotula, 2006.

[8] A livestock boma is an enclosure to protect livestock from wild animals. It is usually made from local materials (branches of trees).

time of the year (mainly dry season) so that weak, pregnant, sick animals and small stocks can utilise it Both *Ronjo* and *Olokeri* fall under the jurisdiction of traditional leaders (the *Alaigwanak* among the Maasai), who assign grazing rights and impose restrictions on settlements (i.e. no permanent settlements are allowed).

In Sinya village (Longido), for instance, grazing the *Olokeri* and *Ingaron* (dry season grazing areas) during the wet season is prohibited so that the pastures can grow, thereby providing a grazing reserve for the dry season when restrictions on grazing are temporarily lifted for the resident community. Usually areas reserved for *ronjo* are used by residents only. For instance, the *ronjo* area used by Losirwa villagers is used by pastoralists who reside in Losirwa village only. That said, other communities from elsewhere can also be allowed to use it under certain restrictions agreed through tight negotiations.

Unlike Sinya, the village of Oloirobi, located in the highlands of Ngorongoro (where the relatively high rainfall makes the land unsuitable for grazing during the rainy season), the *ronjo* is located in the lowland plains and reserved exclusively for wet season grazing.[9] This area is managed communally and permanent settlements are not allowed. Movement between different grazing areas therefore depends on the quality of pastures and the incidence of disease rather than the availability of grass according to the wet-dry season cycle.

The specific purpose of *olokeri* is to provide a high nutritional diet to the weaker categories of livestock, particularly during the dry season. *Olokeri* are thus found relatively close to settlements and located in areas with high value pastures such as trees that provide higher nutritional diets through their pods and leaves than the surrounding grasses. Some communities have communal grazing rights to a single *olokeri*, while in other areas such as Soit Sambu, every two or three homesteads share one *olokeri*. Non-observance of the rules for the use of *olokeri* leads to sanctions applied by traditional leaders such as fines in livestock (e.g. a bull). These are paid to the custodian of the *olokeri* who has full right to choose either to sell or to keep the livestock paid as a compensation for the breaking of the community agreement.

*Eleenorè* refers to the practice of young men being sent to scout out distant pastures for their suitability. This will involve an assessment of the following conditions: the availability and quality of pastures, the availability and quality of water for the livestock, the options for negotiating access with the resident community, the incidence of disease or conflict. Eleenorè takes place at the start of the rainy season and also at the beginning of the dry season. Warriors who do *eleenore* only do it in their geographical location. If they go outside their territorial boundaries then they have to consult leaders of those areas. Moving to areas outside one's own territorial areas is subject to a lot of negotiation between leaders of the two or more territorial locations and is done using reciprocity arrangements.

Decisions regarding the movements of herds (i.e. which animals are moved, when and where), and negotiating access to communal land, are carried out by different individuals and groups within the community. The right to move to *ronjo,* for instance, is granted at a community meeting (*inkigwana-oo-enkishu,* 'meeting to discuss livestock related issues') during which community members exchange information on the condition of suitable pastures away from their own places of residence. The 'meeting of the cows' takes place towards the end of the rains (both the short rains and the main wet season) when herders assess grazing land and plan for movements. The meeting is led by a traditional leader, who in most cases (for example in Sinya) is not part of the government leadership, but in some instances (for example in Soit Sambu) may be part of the village government in the village council. Elders make the final decisions regarding the movement of animals. This traditional hierarchy is reflected in the Maasai saying, *megiròo eemurt elokonya*, translated as "the neck does not go past the head".[10] Women, however, are involved in the decision over how many and which lactating cows and their calves are to be left behind for the family.

*Engigwana-oo-Ngishu* is a central meeting (of elders, youth, neighbours) to discuss livestock issues (grazing regimes, water, diseases, cattle raids, highlands, lowlands, salt licks etc.) and to make key decisions on how to utilise and manage resources during the wet and dry season.

[9] During the rainy season highland pastures produce more biomass, are of lower nutritional quality and have a greater incidence of ticks. In contrast, the pastures in the lowlands produce less biomass, are of higher nutritional quality and have a lower tick burden.
[10] The neck refers to the youths, the head the elders.

*Young Maasai man washing at a spring, Ngorongoro*

## 4.3 Factors undermining the future of community planning

**Box 4: Community testimonies of changes**

"*In the past, there used to be a common place for grazing but then agriculture has taken over and nowadays there is no more place for grazing and therefore no reason to plan together within the community.*"

"*Everything is lost, the plough has been brought into the community.*"

"*Nowadays we don't have any traditional law. Everybody cares about his own farm.*"

"*Nowadays, with the land becoming scarcer, people want their own private areas, especially young people [who] want to secure their livelihoods. In the past, we used to collaborate for olokeri but nowadays everybody wants his own. But we don't allow that, otherwise the land will be finished.*"

*Source: Maasai elder in Emairete (Monduli) 11 May 2012*

Traditional pastoral leaders manage a planning system that is highly flexible and responsive to anticipated seasonal changes in the availability and quality of resources, and which is based on negotiated and reciprocal conditions of access. This enables the system to be highly adaptive to climate variability. Today, however, there are an increasing number of factors that are undermining these systems and challenging the ability of pastoralists to adapt to increasing climate instability.

### a) Shift from communal to individual land holdings and planning

Signs of a weakening of traditional institutions with regards to the management of village grazing land are evident in some villages. The community in Gelai Lumbwa, for example, reported that when the rains come and animals are returned early to the homestead, restrictions on the use of village grazing land are not observed by all. In Oloirien, the community perceived a weakened respect for the pastoral leaaders (*Alaigwanak*), particularly on how best to utilise *olokeri* as a protected grazing area.

The most serious issues with regard to community planning were observed in Monduli district, in the villages of Emairete and Mti Moja. In these two villages, the degree of economic diversification (in terms of farming) is greater compared to the other two districts studied. Both villages are ethnically mixed but predominantly inhabited by Maasai pastoralists. In addition, communal grazing areas have almost ceased to exist, having been converted into privately owned farms. Land privatisation has accelerated in part due to an inflow of farmers (mostly of Arusha ethnicity) from the outskirts of Arusha town to the Monduli rangelands.

Pastoralists, seeing the rangelands being converted to farmland, are encroaching on the communal land as a way to secure land for themselves. Indeed, pastoralists in Monduli were already under strain, having lost important grazing land in the 1960s to the army. The community told us that the steady loss of rangeland to farming has seriously affected the future of pastoralism in Monduli district. In Emairete, for instance, *olokeri* has disappeared and cattle routes are the only communal areas remaining. As a consequence, community planning has come to an end.

In Mti Moja, the process of land parcelling for agriculture began between 15 to 20 years ago, causing a chronic lack of pastures for livestock. In Losirwa village, the chairman reported that the community has been increasingly required to block privatisation of the *ronjo* area to individual pastoralists.[11] The councillor for Esilalei (the ward in which Losirwa village is located) also argued that the privatisation process needs to be stopped so that the village does not suffer the consequences of increasing land scarcity.

Communities acknowledge that land scarcity and land encroachment will cause severe challenges to their livelihoods in the future. One youth in Emairete stated: "*Agriculture doesn't pay! We need to go back to livestock. Livestock is our bank account.*" Communities are realising that, with increasing climate variability and decreasing land productivity for agriculture, the solution is not to further privatise land but rather to return to communally managed grazing areas for livestock. Communities such as Emairete and Mti Moja have realised that, having suffered the effects of such processes more than the other villages, they must invest more in mobile assets such as livestock rather than agriculture.

## b) Loss of reciprocal relations

Another issue that has arisen as a result of land privatisation is the impact on clan and family relations, with the undermining of pastoral mobility. Throughout the research people were eager to argue that the welcoming of guests, especially during periods of hardship, is still strong. In many cases, no agreement is reached between guests and hosts prior to moving herds and relationships (often built on ethnic and clanship affiliation) are developed and nurtured once the intended location is reached.

In Emairete, however, the inquiry into the matter raised opposite opinions. A young Maasai man argued: "*We are Maasai. We cannot refuse anybody to graze their cows on our land, not even the land that is owned privately.*" An elder, however, had a different opinion: "*In the past we used to have olokeri. It was unthinkable to refuse somebody to graze his cows in communal areas; even people from Kenya were being welcomed. Nowadays the situation is different. You have to ask for permission to graze your cows. Everywhere is owned privately and individually. You cannot move without having asked permission. Sometimes you move to a place and then you have to leave because people refuse to welcome you.*"

## c) Gender and generation impacts

The changes described above are also experienced differently within the community with women and children suffering disproportionately.

The women interviewed explained they are losing ground when it comes to livestock property rights. Despite traditionally having an important say over which milking cows are to remain at the homestead when the main herd moves, the reduction in livestock productivity is resulting in fewer lactating cows being assigned to the homestead under the management of women. They explained they have taken the opportunity to diversify

[11] In this village, land issues are even more pressing due to its proximity to the peri-urban area of Kigongoni and the town of Mto wa Mbu. Land in this area is increasingly being seen as a valuable asset that can generate income by constructing buildings for residential or business use. As a result, land tenure is changing and the urban area is increasingly encroaching on grazing land.

their earning capacity through petty trade. In more than one village, the intervention most mentioned by women that has helped alleviate the effects of increasing climate variability was the introduction of government loans to allow women to develop petty trade in milk, traditional handicrafts and so on.

Children are another group that is strongly affected by changes in climate variability. The need for greater mobility means that entire families are permanently shifting their homesteads, sometimes to locations where the children can no longer attend school. Other children are left without parental supervision during the dry season, when the men are away with the herds and the women are in charge of finding feed for the animals left at home for milk. One woman in Oloirien recalled what happened during the 2009 drought: "*The cows that we had at home were dying of hunger and we had to find some grass for them so they wouldn't die. We went to cut tree branches to feed them with the leaves, but nobody was making sure that our children went to school. They just dropped out and we couldn't do anything.*"

In challenging economic conditions, older people cannot migrate to cities to look for jobs. The youth who take on wage labour must bear the burden of sustaining their families back home and postpone having a family of their own. One 28-year-old man said during an informal conversation in Losirwa:

*"I have been working as a watchman for many years, but the money I make goes to feed my father's wives because he is poor and is not able to sustain the family alone. I wish I could get married so at least my money would go to sustain my own wife and children, but I don't know when and if I will be able while I still have to buy maize for the family."*

*Kisongo Maasai woman preparing maize for grinding, Ngorongoro*

# 5 Integrating community and government planning

Throughout the study, both government officials and communities acknowledged that land and resources are becoming increasingly scarce, and that people's livelihoods will continue to be severely affected if proper measures are not taken for improved planning. At the multi-stakeholder workshop participants agreed that if the districts are to build the adaptive capacity of local livelihoods and the economy, government planning has to better integrate with community planning processes, which respond more closely to climate variability. To do this, four core areas were discussed as requiring improvement:

- Resolving the misunderstandings between local people and government officials;
- Planning for drought;
- Strengthening local participation; and,
- Devolving authority over financial management.

## 5.1 Addressing misunderstandings

The fears communities have towards the government were clear right from the beginning of the research. In Sinya, a community that successfully conserves their grazing land through community planning, local people were defensive when faced with suggestions of possible government involvement in the planning of natural resources (see Box 5). Similar comments were recorded in Mti Moja: "*During droughts we do plan in the village with the government; we ask for food aid but we don't talk about movements because the government doesn't have grass. The only collaboration is when there is a need for food.*"

**Box 5: Sinya community attitudes to involving government in their planning**

QUESTION: Do you think the government knows about your traditional planning? *"We think they don't know, but if they know, they ignore it."*

QUESTION: Do you and the government plan together? *"We don't involve the government in our planning. If our cows are in bad health, we ask them for medicine; if people are hungry, we ask for food. But we don't talk with them about mobility."*

*"We want them to know about our traditional planning system. We want to preserve our environment, trees, grass, water, wildlife, but the government just sends people to kill animals. They even destroy the environment when they come to our village with their cars. They don't want to learn from us. What if they took our land?"*

*Source: community leader Sinya village 24 March 2012*

### Box 6: Local government perceptions of community planning

**QUESTION**: How would you include measures to tackle extreme environmental events in your planning?**"** *I would include emergency funds for events such as droughts and earthquakes, but then people would be asking for help even when it was not strictly necessary. Local people should be taught how to deal with natural disasters and use their own assets such as livestock rather than depending on government aid.*"

**QUESTION**: Do communities ask for funds to deal with possible emergencies due to climate events? "*No, they just ask for help once they get in trouble. They have their own assets, such as livestock, and should be taught how to overcome the dependency syndrome; instead their behaviour indicates their attitude is: 'why should I sell my livestock if I can get aid from the government?*"

"*When Nyerere left the presidency, I suggested people grow cash crops with a shorter cycle so that they would be able to buy food. I thought and hoped that the era of food subsidies was over, but then two lorries loaded with food were sent by the government. I remember when they entered the villages, the people laughed at me. I wanted to achieve two goals: to have pastoralists sell their livestock to buy food and farmers plant drought resistant crops such as sorghum. They refused because of the politics; politicians in this country use food aid as a political tool to increase their electoral pool among the people who live in the rural areas.*"

*Source: John Lukumai, Longido DALDO, 22 March 2012*

The research revealed that communities do not include the government in their land management planning processes because they assume the government is not only powerless in resolving issues over pasture scarcity, but fear they would work against their system based on mobility and the negotiated management of natural resources.

Local government officers perceive the unwillingness of communities to collaborate with them differently: the Ngorongoro DALDO, for example, argued that: "*People consider the role of the government is to rescue them from troubles, rather than to collaborate and work with and for them.*" The Longido DALDO explained the concept of the 'dependency syndrome', namely how communities are overly dependent on government aid when faced with extreme environmental events – see Box 6.

The Longido DALDO's comments highlight the misunderstanding and lack of trust that exists between local people and government officials that prevents them from working together. Both parties hold powerful stereotypes about the other. As a consequence, communities are unwilling to discuss their plans to move their herds with the government, and government representatives are critical in their dealings with the community.

Government, furthermore, takes a different approach to dealing with resource scarcity and pressure on the land compared to pastoralists. While communities rely on governance measures to promote livestock mobility and manage grazing land and water, the government promotes the commercialisation of the livestock sector through cross-breeding and destocking. In the Longido District Agriculture Development Plans, for example, the government recommends improving livestock breeds as a solution to poor livestock productivity.[12] The Ngorongoro DADPs also proposes interventions to improve livestock and crop production to improve profitability.[13] Nowhere in the plans are traditional livestock management approaches such as mobility, access and availability of grazing areas mentioned.

The unwillingness of both sides to plan together has led to two parallel unconnected systems that, rather than complementing each other, are often at odds with each other. As a first step to addressing this problem, participants at the multi-stakeholder workshop in May 2012 recommended building the capacity of communities to better understand formal government planning systems and educating government officials about the adaptive and flexible planning approaches of communities.

[12] Longido District Agriculture Development Plans (DADPs) 2010/2011, p.6
[13] Ngorongoro District Agriculture Development Plans (DADPs) 2011/2012, p.14

## 5.2 Planning for drought

During the last major drought in 2009, pastoralists in Tanzania and East Africa suffered major livestock losses. Much of this was a due to the failure of community and government planning systems working together.

Participants from the districts of Longido, Monduli and Ngorongoro reminded the multi-stakeholder workshop of the events that unfolded during the 2009 drought. Ngorongoro district was one of the few areas with sufficient pasture and water, and pastoralists from neighbouring districts (especially Longido) decided to move to the highlands on the outskirts of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Other areas which attracted pastoralists were Manyara in Monduli District and Simanjiro District.

Pastoralists moving their cattle suffered great losses due to lack of water. Cross-breeds in particular suffered in the harsh conditions and many died. Longido is one of the districts were Zebu-Borana and Zebu-Sahiwal cross-breeding has been widely practised producing larger animals fetching higher prices on the market than local Maasai Zebu breeds. During the drought, however, cross-breeding revealed itself as a risky strategy.

Pastoralists who reached the villages around Manyara (Selela, Losirwa and Esilalei villages) were refused access to grazing land and many of them were jailed or sent back. Those pastoralists who moved to Ngorongoro were also denied grazing rights. The anger over this was palpable during the workshop. Participants representing communities from Longido district accused Ngorongoro communities of having broken the traditional system of reciprocity and allying themselves with the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA). The Ngorongoro Member of Parliament pointed out that the case was brought to the attention of parliament, but the request to temporarily loosen restrictions to allow pastoralists to graze inside the conservation area was turned down. During the workshop, political leaders from Ngorongoro district apologised on behalf of the people of Ngorongoro and argued that, in future, such disputes should be settled at the community level.

In an earlier interview, the Ngorongoro Principal Agriculture Officer recalled how measures that could have helped pastoralists minimise their losses could not be implemented due to the inflexibility of the government plans and the impossibility of shifting financial resources from one activity to another: "*In 2008–09 we had budgeted fifteen million shillings for measures in case of drought; but [this request was] refused at ministry level because we are not allowed to plan for contingencies. They told us that such activities depend on the unpredictability of weather; their bible is 'do not change the plan!' We reallocated the money to other activities, but then the drought struck and we couldn't implement water trucking for those pastoralists who had moved their cattle and were struggling for water for their animals, so their cattle died. If we had put water trucking in the plan, we could have saved almost the 40 per cent of the cattle that were lost.*"

The consequences of the districts not having a flexible contingency fund to respond in a timely manner to drought are further highlighted by the Ngorongoro Principal Agriculture Officer – see Box 7.

**Box 7: The price of not having a contingency plan**

**QUESTION**: What do you recall of that period? "*We were collecting figures on livestock losses and the people affected to assess the need for food aid. People were frustrated; some of them lost all their cattle and were left with nothing.*"

**QUESTION:** Did you feel that you as government should have done more to deal with the situation? "*We thought we should have done something before. We should have had plans to aid people to sell their livestock at good prices prior to the outbreak of the drought. People were willing to sell but they didn't know where. Instead, in places like Losirwa, pastoralists had no choice but to sell their animals once they had already lost weight and, in some cases, were unable to walk. They sold cows for as low as five thousand shillings, the equivalent of three American dollars. The buyers were mostly neighbouring farmers in the village of Majengo, who were able to feed the animals on their farms. There was no pre-existing plan to rescue the starving cattle and people all across northern Tanzania turned to the local government for food aid".*

*Source: Victor Kaiza, Principal Agriculture Officer, 29 March 2012*

## 5.3 Strengthening community participation in government planning

The research has shown that at village level the government planning system is participatory. Village councils define priorities and propose development projects to carry out in collaboration with the district government. Plans are scrutinised by the village general assembly during which a quorum needs to be reached (each village has different limits; for instance in Gelai it is 250 individuals). Local governments try to assist local leaders in involving all segments of the community, and national guidelines are available to assist communities in identifying priorities and estimating budgets. Despite this, there are still problems that need to be resolved before the bottom-up approach is fully functional and effective (see Section 3.2 above).

**First**, despite the democratic process at the community level, local participation is left to the discretion of the local leaders (village chairmen and village executive officers) with a very limited system of monitoring by district government.

**Second**, communities may only participate in the first round of planning. Priorities identified by communities may be changed at ward level without community input (only village chairmen and village executive officers are part of the Ward Development Committee). Communities are also not involved in the review of the plan, which takes place at the district level and nor are they adequately represented during the stakeholder meeting that takes place between September to October to assess different stakeholders' plans and budgets to avoid duplication and ensure equitable distribution of resources.

**Third**, there is a lack of clearly recognisable and structured community institutions to work in close partnership with the government. Communities do have traditional institutions, but the government planning system does not formally involve them in the decision making process.

To address these issues, participants at the workshop recommended that district government identify mechanisms for the formal recognition and pro-active involvement of traditional, community-based institutions in the government planning process. The formal involvement of traditional leaders, for example, would help to mainstream indigenous knowledge in the planning process while improving the participation of local people in the decision makings.

## 5.4 Devolving financial management to local government

The nature of the district budget, with its deadlines, regulations and restrictions is perceived by district government officials to be one of the main constraints preventing flexible and timely planning and response in the context of climate variability. Reallocation of funds to emergency interventions, for instance, requires the approval of the Treasury, which can take several months to be approved by which time it is too late. The focus on relief rather than prevention is perceived as a weakness. As the Ngorongoro Agriculture Officer stated "*We are not allowed to plan for unexpected events, we only respond to disaster.*"

Furthermore, the budget guidelines developed at the national level are seen by districts as reflecting national priorities and not allowing for differences in varying geographical locations and local needs. Finally, the relevance of the current planning and budget cycle is also questioned, particularly its relationship to the seasonal calendar that drives local livelihoods and the local economy.

Key recommendations from the research team endorsed by workshop participants include:

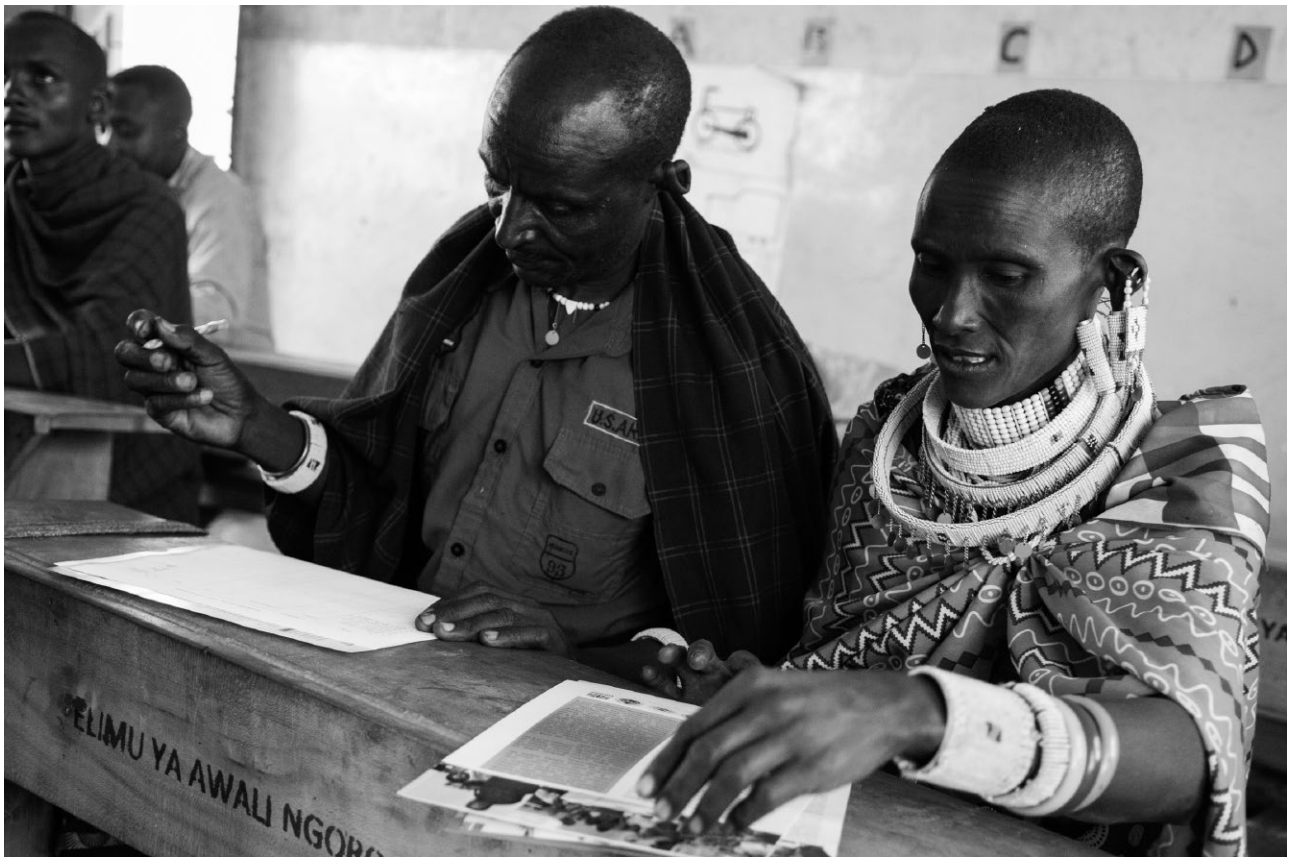
a) Allow for contingencies in the budget such that funds are available to deal with possible prolonged droughts;

b) Allow the reallocation of funds between different activities within departments;

c) Develop an integrated approach between departments to improve efficiency in the use of grants;

d) Allow for more flexibility in community contributions, such that late contributions do not delay the initiation and successful completion of projects;

e) Reduce and rationalise the number of grants and restrictions in their use.




*School hall in Ngorongoro district*

Discussion centred on the 'ownership' of the budget and how that affects the capacity of local government authorities and the community to deal with climate variability. The need to devolve authority for the management of district budgets to councils is perceived as critical in this respect in order to deal with unforeseen events straightaway. The lack of community participation in the budgeting process also creates gaps between the objectives of grants and the real needs of the community. The Monduli District Executive Director tellingly argued that once the budget is issued by the national government, it is no longer the 'people's budget' as it responds to priorities which, despite the bottom-up approach, have not in fact been set at the grass root level.

The overarching themes that dominated the field research and the subsequent discussions of its findings at the multi-stakeholder workshop in May 2012 have been governance and the devolution of power. There is widespread feeling among all those interviewed in the community and among district government officials that the decentralisation by devolution process in Tanzania, which began in the 1980s, has yet to be completed. Decision-making over planning and development budgets at the district level is overly concentrated at the national level and continues to reflect national rather than local priorities.

Decentralisation, however, offers an institutional framework that can build climate resilient livelihoods and economies in Tanzania. Governance, and management of natural resources in a manner that harnesses local adaptive knowledge to exploit or lessen the risks of climatic variability, is better implemented at the local level. Similarly, service provision that is tailored to the local context is also better able to complement and reinforce livelihoods through for example the provision of mobile health or veterinary services among pastoral communities. Central government agencies rarely have the knowledge, reach, skills or resources necessary to be effective across all communities and ecosystems, particularly in a country as large as Tanzania. Local government, on the other hand, if they are granted the authority and the necessary resources, are in a far better position to respond in a flexible, timely and appropriate manner. This is particularly true in Tanzania's drylands due to the highly variable and unpredictable environment.

Local governance over those resources in the public domain that are central to local livelihoods and the economy – for example, water, rangelands, forests – is critical, not only to reflect local people's priorities, but also to ensure more sustainable, accountable and equitable outcomes. Local government authorities within Tanzania's decentralisation process with greater authority over their planning and budgets are more likely to prioritise investments that better reflect local needs, and which have greater potential to reach the more vulnerable groups.

To achieve greater resilience against climate change, Tanzania's planning system has to change. Districts need greater authority and autonomy over their planning and budgeting processes with central government providing a supportive institutional framework for the legitimisation and coordination of district level planning. Also the role of the community needs to be rethought. Communities too need to change to ensure wider and equitable representation of all local people, and, through their leaders, take a lead in all phases of planning; from the formulation of priorities to implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It is only by acting on the weaknesses spelled out here community and government planning systems will benefit from each other's strengths.

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Knowledge Products

# Research Report

September 2014

**Drylands and pastoralism**

*Keywords:*
Planning, local government, climate change governance

Planning for climate resilience growth is increasingly important for the natural resource dependent economy of Tanzania. Central government does not have the knowledge, reach, skills or resources needed to plan for the range of livelihoods within Tanzania; but local governments, if granted the authority and resources, could plan with communities in the flexible, timely and appropriate manner that climate variability demands. Research conducted in three pastoral and agro-pastoral districts in northern Tanzania identified the constraints being faced within formal and customary planning processes. The roles of communities and local governments urgently need to be rethought, bringing their skills together to achieve greater climate resilience.

IIED is a policy and action research organisation. We promote sustainable development to improve livelihoods and protect the environments on which these livelihoods are built. We specialise in linking local priorities to global challenges. IIED is based in London and works in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific, with some of the world's most vulnerable people. We work with them to strengthen their voice in the decision-making arenas that affect them – from village councils to international conventions.

*Kisongo Maasai women, Ngorongoro*

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International Institute for Environment and Development
80-86 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8NH, UK

Tel: +44 (0)20 3463 7399
Fax: +44 (0)20 3514 9055
email: info@iied.org
www.iied.org

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