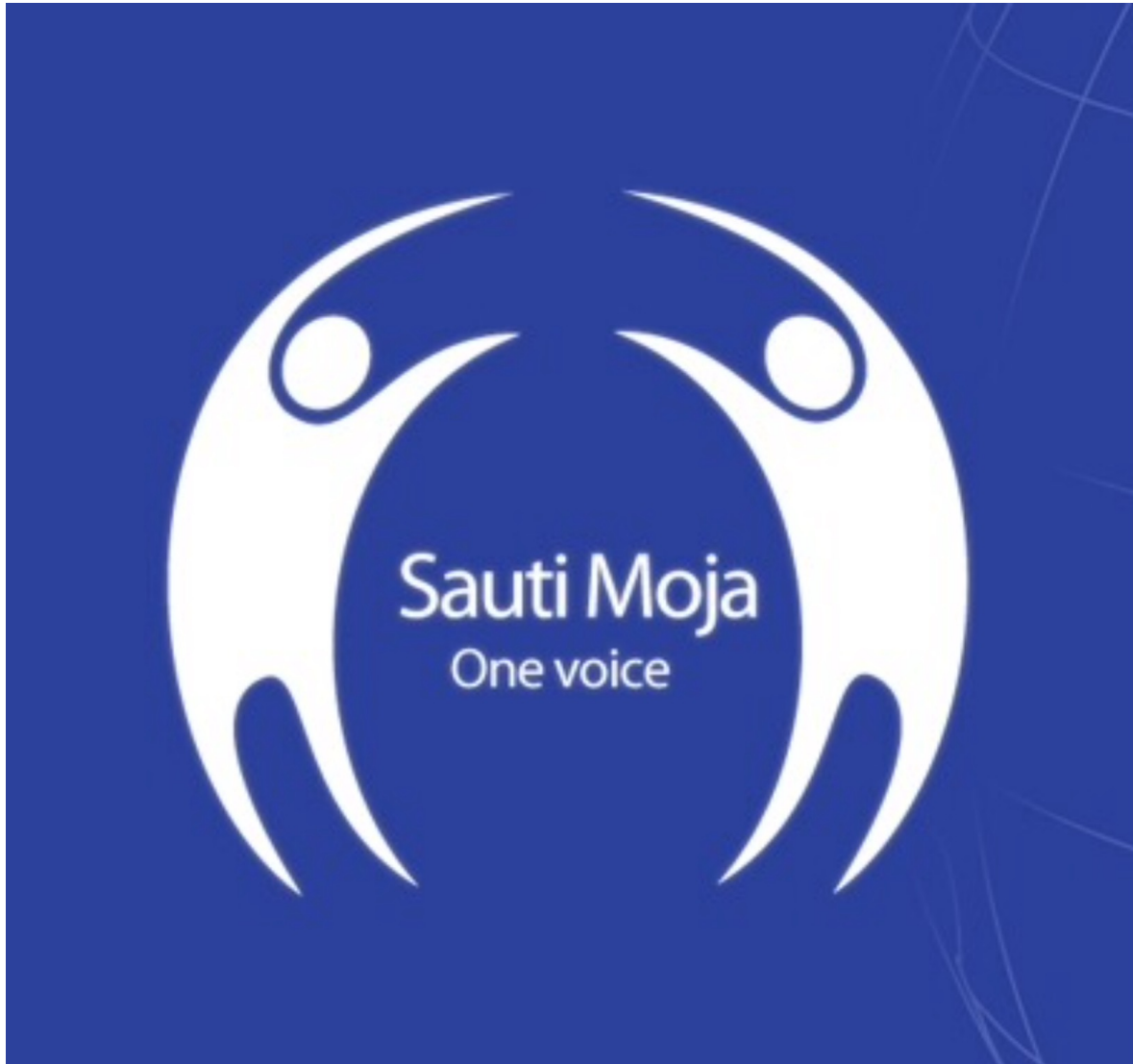


Admirable Principles, Imperfect Practice:
The status of democratic governance and communication in the emergent Lake
Natron WMA



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Summary

The Lake Natron Wildlife Management Area is an emerging site of community-based conservation in Northern Tanzania. Upon its future implementation, its member villages will each in principle be given full authority over their local natural resources, as well as access to revenue from tourist activities on the land. Our research with the Land Rights Initiative at Sauti Moja Tanzania, however, has revealed conflicting views across various WMA and local stakeholder levels, regarding communication both given and received. We are able to conclude that the strong democratic structures within the villages we researched will likely be able to provide their communities with an effective channel through which to receive relevant information about, and be represented to, the WMA. Despite this available structure, however, education regarding the importance of decision making must be improved to increase democratic involvement and interest. This will be of central importance in the coming years if the principles of democratic decentralisation and community-based natural resource management within the Lake Natron WMA are to be upheld.

Introduction

Sauti Moja Tanzania (SM-TZ) is a non-profit organization that seeks to promote a ‘united voice’ within local Maasai communities residing in the Longido district of Northern Tanzania. Through its many community initiatives, SM-TZ provides a platform through which these communities can be empowered and ensure their rights and well being. SM-TZ utilizes several community-based approaches with regards to HIV/AIDS prevention, the education and support of vulnerable girls and preschoolers, and land rights in the area.

Since 2006, SM-TZ has primarily focused on three initiatives, the first of which is the *Community Health Project*. In this project, SM-TZ utilizes the *community conversations* model for HIV prevention. This model provides communities with education about the disease, community dialogue about behaviors that put people at risk, and the development of an action plan to minimize that risk. This initiative also provides communities with medical tests and counseling to determine who has the disease and for those who test positive, takes steps to provide emotional and medical support. The second project that SM-TZ is concerned with is the *Early Childhood Education Program*. SM-TZ is the main sponsor of a Montessori preschool in Longido village. According to SM-TZ, the Montessori curriculum is an effective approach to ensure that traditionally-pastoralist children from remote Maasai villages are able

to smoothly transition to the classroom environment that requires sitting at a desk, speaking Swahili, and using toilets. Children are also provided with school lunch, an integral part to good child development, especially during the dry season when many children will come to school hungry. The school also provides the children with health monitoring in which the children's weight is checked four times per year by a medical professional. Teachers will also liaise with parents if any child is discovered to suffer health problems, ensuring the child receives appropriate medical care. The final main project at SM-TZ is the *Child Mother Education Program*, which seeks to provide child mothers with an alternative to early marriage. Sponsors will cover all the costs for secondary or technical school, health monitoring for the girl's baby, and reproductive health and life skill training during school breaks. The goal of this program is to provide child mothers with an opportunity to receive an education and to become self-sufficient to support themselves and their children. (Sauti Moja Tanzania Brochure).

The *Land Rights Initiative* is an emerging project and is the one under which we conducted our research over the last five weeks. This emerging initiative is concerned with the potential impacts of conservation and wildlife protection on the customary land use of the Maasai. It is specifically related to the context of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), a form of conservation land, based on principles of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) which seeks to empower local communities to manage local wildlife and share in the benefits and revenue of the tourism industry active on their land. The initiative aims to ensure that communities are well informed and have the tools and capacity to be adequately involved in the governance of the WMA to which their village belongs, receive the appropriate benefits, and stand up for their rights if they are violated (Sauti Moja Tanzania).

Recently, SM-TZ began a collaboration with McGill University in Montreal, Canada, and the African Conservation Center (ACC) on *The Institutional Canopy of Conservation Project*, a project that looks into governance and environmentality in the conservation of the East African savannah. SM-TZ is also the research host of PhD candidate Corey Wright at McGill University whose research is focussed on conservation and rural livelihoods.

Specific Aim and Topic

The largest umbrella of this research and what is primarily of interest is the issue of environmental governance and community participation in the Lake Natron WMA. As a newly instituted WMA still awaiting complete approval, we find it important to begin investigating the degree of community participation in governance and decision-making thus far. If community involvement is already lacking in initial preparatory stages of the WMA, this could be an indication that community voices may not be adequately acknowledged, and that community involvement will thus not be prioritised once the WMA is officially implemented.

Our research aims to explore the structure of democratic governance in three member villages of the proposed Lake Natron WMA, and the extent to which decision-making is democratic within them. In implementing a democratic model of conservation, there are many assumptions about the status of democratic decision-making in the planned places of implementation, most centrally that it's structure exists at all. Without such an established democratic system, truly decentralized and participatory community conservation methods cannot be effective. Our research also aims to explore the perceptions and understandings of various stakeholders within the WMA regarding the processes of democratic decision-making in its establishment. In this way we are able to establish the amount of community involvement and the status of community knowledge about WMAs, their benefits, and challenges.

Internship Setting

The planned Lake Natron WMA is an area located within the Maasai steppe and Gregory Rift Valley within Longido district, Arusha Region. It is bordered by the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in the west, Enduimet WMA in the south and Amboseli National Park in the east. There are 32 member villages in the Lake Natron WMA and it is still in the process of being gazetted as an official WMA (RZMP Lake Natron, 2013). A Resource Zone Management Plan (RZMP) was written for the WMA in 2013 through the supposed collaboration of many stakeholders, from the communities themselves to individuals at government levels. The RZMP is a document outlining the land use schemes and five-year goals for the WMA. Despite the passing of three years since the initial development of the RZMP, the Wildlife Division has still not approved it and little has progressed since.

Empirical Problem

Our research is guided by the following research questions: To what extent is democratic governance represented through general decision-making in villages of the proposed Lake Natron WMA? What are the perceptions and understandings of the various stakeholders (community members, village leaders and chairmen, and CBO members) regarding processes of democratic decision-making in the establishment of the Lake Natron WMA; what barriers currently exist and are those foreseen in the implementation of this democratization?

Within these questions we had several issues that we aimed to cover and record information about. Following are the objectives which guided our interviews:

1. To understand how communities in the Lake Natron WMA make decisions
 - Who is involved? Why?
 - How many people?
 - How are decisions made?
 - How often?
 - What is the degree of democratic decision-making?
 - Do community members believe they influence decision-making?
2. To identify the perceptions of village decision-making at each stakeholder level
 - Does it differ across levels?
 - What insights does each stakeholder group bring?
3. To identify to what extent the communities have been involved in the Lake Natron WMA preparation thus far
 - What do they know about the WMA?
 - Have there been meetings between WMA officials and villages? When? How often? What was the content?
4. To understand the perceptions and understandings of democratic decision-making in the establishment of the Lake Natron WMA at each level of the stakeholder hierarchy.
 - To what extent does democratic decision-making occur?
 - For which reasons do democratic decision-making occur or not occur?
 - If yes, is it effective?
5. To understand and identify key current and future barriers of democratization at each stakeholder level

The empirical problem that we intend to cover through this research is firstly, the extent to which future member villages of the Lake Natron WMA currently have effective democratic

governing structures. This is important to investigate because participation in village governance will ultimately be the channel through which WMA democratization will be possible once the WMA is operational. In addition, a general premise of decentralized conservation initiatives is that there is an effective democratic system in place through which communities can be thoroughly involved and able to express their opinions. Secondly, we wish to identify the perceptions of stakeholders - primarily at the community level - concerning the WMA; we intend to do this by evaluating the participation and communication that community members, village leaders, and CBO members have had with the WMA, including the quantity, regularity and form of the information given, if at all. We hope to be able to compare these insights to those of higher-level stakeholders at the district or WMA level, such as the Lake Natron WMA Chairman.

Methodology

As temporary research interns for *Sauti Moja Tanzania*, our primary responsibility was to develop and strengthen the emerging Land Rights Initiative at the organisation. This initiative is focussed within the Lake Natron Wildlife Management Area, and aims to ensure that, as mentioned earlier, 'communities are well-informed and have the capacity to participate in WMA governance, so as to mitigate concerns and help realize the benefits that can accrue from WMAs.' (Sauti Moja Tanzania). While research preparation and analysis was carried out in the office of *Sauti Moja Tanzania* in the Longido district, the data itself was collected through visits to three of the Lake Natron WMA's thirty-two member villages, namely Oltepesi, Enkikaret, and Kiseriani.

Internship Activities

Our internship period was divided into three parts. During the first week, after having settled into our homestay, explored the town, and familiarized ourselves with the *Sauti Moja* staff, we reviewed the relevant literature that we had used to produce our preparatory research proposal. We then began to compose an interview framework of questions to ask during our interviews, modified for each category of participant (village members; CBO members; and chairpersons). With the help of *Sauti Moja Tanzania* staff, we then decided upon the villages we would visit to collect our data. With this decided, we were able to generate a draft schedule for the next four weeks, accounting for field visits, days for preparation and analysis, and leaving the final week to write the final report. Lastly, we created a budget

which included participant compensation, lunch, fuel, and payment for our driver and research assistant.

During the next three weeks we collected our data from visits to and interviews within the villages themselves. Having assigned one week to each village, we generally arranged the interviews on Monday; prepared for them on Tuesday; and conducted them on Wednesday through Friday. We travelled to and from each village accompanied by our research assistant in the truck owned by *Sauti Moja*, driven by one of its staff. At the end of each interview day we would generally return to the *Sauti Moja* office to transcribe. For the final week of the internship period we analysed our data, began formulizing trends and conclusions we could make from what we had learned, and completed this final research report to present our eventual findings.

At the beginning of the second and third weeks we modified our interview questions based on the previous weeks' experiences and results. We did this as we came to understand which questions were most productive in generating data relevant to our research questions, and those which we could discard as less helpful.

Research Site

As aforementioned, the three sites we visited to collect our data were, in chronological order, Oltepesi, Enkikaret, and Kiseriani villages. These villages all lie to the south of Longido town, each at a distance between ten and forty kilometres away, and are among the thirty-two villages which comprise the proposed Lake Natron Wildlife Management Area. Lake Natron WMA lies to the north-west of Tanzania, touching the Kenyan border to the north, and the more established Enduimet WMA to its east. The traditional inhabitants of these villages are the Maasai people, whose livelihoods are characterised by pastoralism and small-scale agriculture.

Target Population

We aimed to interview participants occupying a broad range of administrative and political positions. In doing so we created three participant categories - community members, CBO members, and chairpersons (of either villages or the WMA itself). Due to our focus on the status of *democratic* decision-making, we made sure that in each focus group discussion with community members there was at least one woman present. In this way we attempted to

account for and include the female perspective, whose views and understandings may have diverged from that of the more traditionally authoritative me.

Interviews

We collected our data through a total of thirteen separate face-to-face interviews, aided by our translator and research assistant Oshumu, who spoke both Kiswahili and Maa. The majority of the participants preferred to speak Kiswahili, and the interviews took place either inside or near to the village's main office.

We conducted three different sets of interviews, each set differing in the number of participants and their political or administrative position: one group was characterised by a focus group discussion (FGD) with between five and seven community members from the village, with at least one woman in each focus group. The second set of interviews included the three members from the Community-Based Organisation (CBO) of each village, acting as elected representatives of the village within the proposed Lake Natron WMA governance structure. The third and last interview type involved one or two 'key informant' participants occupying the highest administrative positions within the village, including villages chairpersons, secretaries, and sub-village chairpersons. In the final week of our internship period we also interviewed the chairman of the Lake Natron WMA at relatively last minute notice. Though we did not assign a specific amount of time for each interview, they each lasted roughly between thirty and seventy minutes.

To compensate the participants for offering their time and information, we paid each community member 5,000 Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh), and each CBO member and key informant 10,000 Tsh. This amount was decided upon with the advice of our research assistant and *Sauti Moja* staff members.

Within each village we arranged two FGD interviews, one CBO interview, and one interview with the village chairperson or secretary. In the final Kiseriani village, the main village chairman was away for the week so instead we interviewed two sub-village chairpersons of the Esitet and Ngoswani sub-villages. We conducted interviews with such a range of individuals in order to obtain data from a correspondingly wide range of perspectives, experiences, and political positions with regards to the status and understanding of the emerging Lake Natron WMA and democratic decision-making within the village.

Within each interview we took notes using either pen and paper or digitally via an iPad tablet. We then transcribed each interview later onto a Word Document online.

After having asked for the oral consent of the participants, and assuring them that the data would be listened to exclusively by us and later deleted, we used an iPhone to audio-record each interview where possible. Some groups declined to be recorded, whilst most agreed. We also assured the participants that their names would be kept anonymous, so as to allow them to speak freely and honestly without putting themselves at any significant risk.

Data Analysis

During the second week of our field visits and interviews, we collated and discussed the significance of our data collected thus far. We referred to our interview transcripts written so far to compose a summary document which reflected upon various themes and patterns which we found repeated and significant, such as the participants' almost unanimous agreement on the lack of communication between the WMA and the village. In this document we also suggested ways to modify our future interview questions, and addressed any conceptual difficulties which we found challenging.

Literature Review

Our research can be conceptually situated firstly within the context of neoliberal policy as a response to the challenges of globalization; the decentralization of state control and management of natural resources; and lastly the emerging challenges undermining the so-called 'win-win discourse' of locally governed WMAs. With this in mind, we will incorporate these frameworks into the later analysis and discussion of our results, pointing towards potential future challenges of effective WMA implementation.

Neoliberalisation

According to Noam Chomsky (1999), "neoliberalism is the defining political economic paradigm of our time", an ideology inaugurated and promoted during the 1980s under the political regimes of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States. "Neoliberal initiatives", Chomsky writes, "are characterised as free market policies that encourage private enterprise and consumer choice, reward personal responsibility and entrepreneurial initiative, and undermine [...] government" (Loc. 29). Characterised largely by its opposition to centralised state regulation, neoliberalism functions

through handing regulatory decision-making responsibilities over to international citizenry, whose purportedly rational consumer choices will ideally inform the cost, availability and types of products or services used across the globe. Built on the spread of and participation in economic markets, neoliberalism thus relies on “reregulation [...] through commodification” (Green & Adams, 2015; p. 98) of goods and services, which are then bought and sold by consumers voluntarily according to their needs and preferences. In this way, according to Lemos and Agrawal (2006), the instruments of neoliberalism are ultimately “founded upon the bedrock of individual preferences and assumptions about self-interested behaviour by economic agents” (p.301). The purported benefits of neoliberalism are economic growth, improved efficiency, development, democracy and sustainability (Green & Adams, 2015; p. 99).

The economic and political project of neoliberalism is generally agreed to have arisen in response to the emerging challenges faced by nation-states in an increasingly globalised international society. Globalisation describes “an interconnected world across environments, societies, and economies” (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006; p.209) characterised in general by multiplicity, diversity, interdependence, and global flow of influences and materials across international borders. This global interconnection has enabled the increased flow of wealth and resources to many countries in need - but it has also engendered a complex set of questions related to the management and responsibility of the negative environmental externalities of such interconnections. As observed by Lemos and Agrawal (2006), by “broadening the range of problems national governments are called upon to address [such as ozone depletion, carbon emissions, and climate change], globalisation strains the resources of nation states” (p. 300). As a result, alternative “non state actors and organisations may be able to play an essential role in mobilising public opinion and generating innovative solutions” (p. 301).

Hybrid partnerships made among and between a ‘state-community-market’ relationship triangle as illustrated by Lemos and Agrawal (2006; p. 310) have emerged as such alternative possible approaches to the management of environmental resources. Such partnerships acknowledge that ‘no single agent possesses the capabilities to address the multiple facets, interdependencies, and scales of environmental problems’ brought about by globalisation (p. 311). For example, private organisations may provide donations and corresponding guidelines to environmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs), who

may then work alongside state-sponsored institutions, in this way combining the particular strengths of each respective state and non-state actor. Such hybrid forms of environmental management entail a joint - though not necessarily equal - responsibility. The creation of WMAs is an exemplary hybrid partnership, having arisen in response to the criticisms of and challenges to singular central state actors to manage and make profitable the natural environments within their borders. Partnerships between individual communities and larger NGOs have emerged, giving access both to the precise and democratic forms of information provided by the former, and supported by the financial, bureaucratic and political leverage represented in the latter. The ideal result of such neoliberal arrangements, involving the disconnection from the influence of their nation-state government, is that the management of the natural environment will be efficient, effective, and also profitable.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation - described by Ribot et al. (2010) as “the transfer of meaningful discretionary powers to local representative authorities” (p. 1) - is connected to neoliberalism to the extent that, while they are either more politically and economically-focussed, they both nonetheless necessitate the diminution of regulatory and centralised state control. Additionally, both have emerged as a result of the perceived limitations of national governments to address cross-border challenges such as climate change, introduced above. Through ceding powers to actors at lower levels in a political-administrative hierarchy, central governments are said to devolve varying degrees of autonomy, resources and decision-making powers to a number individuals and institutions apart from themselves (Agrawal & Ribot, 2007; p. 475). Notwithstanding, while a certain degree of decision-making power is indeed transferred to local bodies through decentralisation, in many cases centralised forms of government still remain “the source of credible threats of regulatory action” (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006; p. 308), indicating that decentralised governance does not necessarily mean the complete dissolution of government itself.

The effectiveness of decentralisation depends upon and assumes the democratic participation of the citizens to whom the decision-making relates. As described by Qian (no date given), “It is a democratic system that creates consensus by taking into account as broad a range of opinions as possible. Democracy based on such model is not only [...] stable and solid, but also [...] effective and of [high] quality. [...] [It] hinges entirely on convergence of people’s free will and sense of responsibility. Given the principle of majority rule while

respecting individual and minority rights, a democratic government is required to do its utmost to protect the fundamental rights of individuals and minorities while respecting the will of the majority” (p. 184-5). Democracy typically requires that representative leaders of decentralised administrative bodies are democratically elected, and also downwardly accountable to those they represent. As described by Lemos and Agrawal (2006), the three primary justifications and purported benefits of democratic decentralisation are that “it can produce greater efficiencies because of competition among subnational units; it can bring decision making closer to those affected by governance, thereby promoting higher participation and accountability; and finally, it can help decision makers take advantage of more precise-time and place-specific knowledge about [the management of] natural resources” (p.303). These three justifications can be briefly summarised respectively as entailing higher efficiency, equity, and efficacy.

In addition to pointing out that decentralisation must entail the devolution of the three-fold democratic, fiscal and administrative powers, Agrawal and Ribot (2007) also suggest a useful ‘actors-powers-accountability’ framework with which to evaluate all acts of decentralisation: “Without an understanding of the *powers* of various *actors*, the domains in which they exercise their powers, and to whom and how they are *accountable*, it is impossible to learn the extent to which meaningful decentralisation has taken place” (p. 476, italics added). The role of downwards accountability in successfully achieving democratic decentralisation is central, providing opportunities for broadening the participation of constituents, as well as for exercising effective ‘counterpower to balance arbitrary action’ (p. 478). Ribot et al. (2010) suggest “multiple mechanisms of accountability, namely means of positively and negatively sanctioning leaders. Elections (with open candidature and universal suffrage) are one important and necessary accountability mechanism, but they are grossly inadequate on their own” (p. 7).

CBNRM is an example of a decentralised form of environmental governance, which aims to place the management of natural resources under the control of local communities. Compatible with neoliberal challenges to state power, CBNRM aims to manage, conserve and profit from natural resources through “the development of close relationships with the private sector” and the “expansion of capitalism [involving] natural resources being commodified and traded in markets” (Green and Adams, 2015; p. 99). Devolved powers and privileges may include, among others, the right to receive and negotiate revenue from

consumptive and nonconsumptive tourist activities on local land, transferred to its communities in return for their managing and conserving the natural environment which attracts the revenue in the first place.

The achievement of fair and effective decentralisation is not without its challenges. For example, with less independent governmental oversight, private actors may unfairly acquire control over land at the expense of smaller communities with less economic and political leverage. “Green grabbing”, for example, “is a term that denotes the privatisation or appropriation of land and the exclusion of local people from natural resources on the basis of ‘green’ credentials [...] resulting in [...] accumulation by dispossession” (Green & Adams, 2015; p. 100). There is also the risk that natural resources may be managed negligently as a result of unattractive incentives offered to decentralised local actors (Nelson, Nshala and Rodgers, 2007). Furthermore, given that decentralisation is defined by the transfer of powers and resources from state to non-state actors, one of the central challenges to its implementation is in fact having such powers devolved at all to a meaningful degree. Without adequate mechanisms of incentivisation and accountability, it is unsurprising that central government officials may be reluctant to relinquish powers and financial opportunities. As Agrawal and Ribot (1999) present, “studies [into decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa] confirm the tendency of central governments to retain control even in the context of decentralisation initiatives” (p. 493); and in *Recentralizing While Decentralizing* (2006), Ribot et al. observe how “central governments, regardless of official rhetoric, policy, and legislation, erect imaginative obstacles in the path of decentralized institutions and choices” (p.1881). With this in mind, we can see how effective mechanisms of downwards accountability across multiple administrative levels are fundamental to ensuring that CBNRM, and decentralisation more generally, will achieve its stated aims.

Win-win Discourse

While decentralization can be understood as an expression of the larger neoliberal economic paradigm as described above, the present section will address how its related ideals can risk being undermined through its incorporation into complex administrative networks.

The broader conceptual frameworks of the *win-win discourse* and the *CBNRM narrative* arose in line with social movements in the 1980s. Formed on the premise that the human costs of coercive conservation must be eliminated, these movements caused a large shift in developmental and conservation policy in different parts of the world - initiatives

were promoted which drew on notions of participatory engagement, indigenous knowledge, and community needs in pursuit of a combined objective of social justice, poverty reduction, and biodiversity conservation (Dressler et. al., 2010). It became widely held that conservation could become a ‘win-win’ situation in which both local livelihoods and the natural environment popular with wealthy tourists could benefit. It is in this wave of reform that CBNRM development projects became widely held as the best approach to conservation efforts (Dressler et. al., 2010) (Green and Adams, 2015).

Influenced by this expanding win-win discourse in the 1990s, as well as by associated donor pressure to reform natural resource policies, Tanzania introduced a new Wildlife Policy in 1998. It called for significant reforms to the wildlife management policy framework that had been in operation since the colonial era, placing a new focus on community-based conservation approaches for the land outside of parks and reserves (Nelson et al., 2007). The policy emphasized the rights of local people to wildlife, the role of wildlife management in rural development, and the importance of local people benefiting from the large revenues from the tourism enterprises operating on their land (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). It is also under this policy that WMAs were first established as a new form of conservation land; land upon which communities would have “full mandate of managing and benefiting from their conservation efforts, through community-based conservation programs” (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2010, p. 393), (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). It was also assumed that with the rights and economic benefits that communities would be afforded by WMAs, local people would have added incentive to support conservation and prevent the poaching and unsustainable exploitation of wildlife (Nelson and Agrawal, 2008).

In the context of this ‘win-win’ discourse - by which both the environment and its local community stewards were to benefit - it is important to consider the large rift that can easily be created between its ideal and its practice. Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010) define discourses under Foucault’s (1979) exploration of the term, proposing that they “have at various times determined the meaningful, true, and accepted forms of statements and actions” (p. 387). Discourse, under this definition can therefore be considered to be an often presumed and hegemonic framework through which events are interpreted and action is facilitated. A particular discourse is reinforced by social actors, and can often blind proponents from seeing alternative interpretations and actions. In modern conservation discourse, ‘win-win’ policies

have gained prominence in conservation policy in Tanzania through the creation of WMAs and other CBNRM projects throughout the country.

More often than not, however, actors who contribute to the promotion of one discourse may also be taking part in a *practice* that is in compliance with a different one. Criticism surrounding the win-win ideology has emerged as related practice on the ground has rarely shown real devolution of authority, often leading instead to increased political and economic marginalization; the promised financial benefits are also often modest, especially when compared to the costs of these community-based conservation efforts. Often, when the processes of biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation are seen to be in conflict with each other, profitable biodiversity has shown to be prioritized. In this way, there is an observed rift between win-win discourse and practice that must be addressed (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2010). Furthermore, adopted by what Sklair (2001) would consider the “sustainable development historic bloc” - a marriage between market-based neoliberal economic growth and tourist-centered environmental conservation - the ‘win-win discourse’ has become similarly hegemonic. It has been so systematically and exhaustively promoted by the dominant global North that it has acquired the appearance of being the only feasible view of how best to pursue and implement conservation and community development goals (Benjaminsen and Svarstad, 2010). This is despite many problems that have arisen in many win-win-inspired CBNRM projects around the world. By creating relationships between communities, conservationists, and donors, CBNRM has engendered “major political disjunctures in the intent and ideal of community-based conservation efforts” (Dressler et al., 2010; p.7). Dressler et. al (2010) explain this, drawing on Brosius et al.’s (2005) suggestion that, while the underlying moral justification of CBNRM remains, “the motives and actions [...] become reconfigured as they are mired in bureaucracies with competing political interests and management priorities” (p. 6). Through their implementation by governments, international NGOs, and local actors, CBNRM projects arise amidst varying levels of influence, each with different values, understandings, and motives across local and international levels. These become entangled as, for example, neoliberal priorities of economic growth conflict with the interests of local communities seeking full devolution of authority and its benefits (Dressler et. al., 2010).

While not encountered directly in field research, the principles of neoliberalism form a central background component of the formation of WMAs and is therefore important to

describe. The relevance of the remaining concepts - decentralization and the win-win discourse - will be discussed below in relation to our results and the implications of our field research.

Results

The findings from each interview and focus group discussion can be summarized under two main concepts: democratic decision-making in the village, and perceptions and understandings of the Lake Natron WMA. The findings related to democratic-decision making were consistent across all three villages so, for the sake of avoiding repetition, we can summarize these into one section, and separate the findings about the village perceptions of the WMA under three distinct sections, one for each village.

Democratic Decision-Making

We are able to confirm from each village that decisions are made by majority rule in village assemblies held every three months. Anyone can attend these assemblies and the agenda is set by matters discussed by the village committee, a body of twenty-five village members of which eight to ten must be women. When the issues discussed are in need of a decision, these matters will be brought to the assembly to be discussed and voted on. Everyone has the right to speak their opinion at these meetings, and whenever we asked if there were certain people whose opinions held more sway than others, we were told that whoever held the ‘general truth’ was agreed to be the person who had the most say. This general truth is considered to be ‘what is right’ and, once it is said, it will be the widely held opinion.

Although anyone can attend the general assemblies and they are clearly announced beforehand, sometimes people do not go because they are not able, needing to tend to their cattle, for example, or because they trust the opinions of other village members or that of their leaders. We were also often told that people are in need of increased education on the importance of being involved in decision-making. Many people do not see the importance of attending village meetings and being present for the decisions made in the village. They do not realize that their decisions could have direct impacts on their livelihoods, especially when they are for future policies, as in the case of the proposed Lake Natron WMA.

Despite the rise in the importance of the formal government system, the traditional governing system still plays an important role. There now seems to be a hybrid and shared

system of governance by which traditional leaders are asked to advise and be involved in decision-making. The traditional government is considered closer to the community, and so their perspective is respected and welcomed, with more decision-making power over certain matters than others, such as of land and water.

Opinions of the most common issues discussed in village meetings varied from village to village, but primarily included education, security of the village, land, water, infrastructure, and village revenue.

Overall, when we asked about women's involvement, we were told that women were allowed freely to attend village assembly meetings, and that women had to be involved at every level of governance. When we asked the women in each focus group if they felt they had enough opportunity to participate in decision-making and village assemblies, they said they believed they did. It is unclear what they might have said if the group had been exclusively women, but we have no data to substantiate this possibility.

Village leaders are held downwardly accountable for their actions through the village election process. If a leader is not satisfactory, the community members have the right to elect a different leader after five years. The community members also have the right to convene meetings if the village leader makes a mistake, and to address and discuss it with them. If the leader continues to make mistakes and does not follow the decisions made in the village assemblies, the village members have the right to expel their leader from his position.

It also became clear from our discussions that the extent of democratic decision-making depends both on the dedication of the village chairperson and other leaders to organize regular meetings and inform the community well enough in advance, as well as the willingness of village members to be involved in the decision-making in the first place.

Community Perceptions of Lake Natron WMA

Oltepesi

In Oltepesi village we recorded an overwhelmingly negative consensus about the WMA. Community members had very little interest in being a member village of the WMA, referring to discussions with individuals from Enduimet as the source of this negativity.

Through talking to Enduimet community members, they learned about the restrictions to grazing land and firewood collection experienced after the Enduimet WMA became implemented. Despite the abundance of benefits presented to the village in an initial meeting about the WMA with the AWF and other stakeholders, the villagers quickly lost interest when they heard first-hand accounts of its negative impacts. They believed the government's only aim is to protect wildlife and generate tourism revenue, and they suspected the WMA would only serve to limit the freedom to their land. They said they have been promised many things from the government that have yet to be implemented, making them very doubtful. Since the initial meetings, there has been little if any communication between the WMA and community; also, CBO members have only had two meetings since 2012. Despite this, they were confident in the ability of their elected CBO members to represent the village's interests once the WMA begins operating.

The CBO members echoed many of these views, stating that their village was not interested in being part of the WMA once it begins operating and that they believe the government will not prioritise the community's interests. They said they have no role at this time because of the WMA's lack of progress, being involved only at the very beginning to delineate the boundaries between villages and the segments of land for grazing and community purposes. They mentioned that the village has very little information and education about the WMA, and would be able to better engage if they knew more. They blamed their village leaders for not having been reliable and accountable enough to ensure this education.

The Chairman of Oltepesi had a slightly different perception of the WMA. He told us that the AWF supported the establishment and education of CBO members and provided education to village members about their rights to collect revenue from wildlife and other tourist activities. He thought that the village generally supported the WMA and said that the WMA approached the village with the so-called "WMA constitution" to get the ideas and opinions of the village members. He saw the biggest issue facing the WMA as the incompatibility between the laws of the WMA and wider national policy relating to authority over wildlife. While the WMA gives complete authority to the villages, the Wildlife Ministry still has policy in place that allows it to retain control. He was not sure how these policies would interact in the future.

Enkikaret

In Enkikaret, the information we received was more positive than that of Oltepesi. Community members informed us that external officials had come to tell them about the WMA, saying that it would help the village maintain greater authority over wildlife and environmental conservation. They were not completely sure of the benefits, but hoped for employment for their children and to be able to help in anti-poaching efforts. The village was supportive and told us they would assess the benefits once the WMA would be in operation. If the benefits proved to be insufficient, they would step out of the WMA. A small concern they mentioned was not wanting their livestock and the wildlife to be separated. They had not received any new or more detailed information about the WMA since the initial meetings in 2012-13, and were not even sure if the WMA was still going to happen. Overall they wanted to know more information, with one focus group describing that they had seen people hunting wildlife in the area without knowing who was responsible. They wanted to begin helping to protect wildlife.

The Secretary largely reiterated much of what the community members had told us. She had participated in two meetings as Village Secretary in which the introduction of a WMA in the community was discussed. Since then, there had been no communication. They were told the importance of WMAs and that they would receive many benefits through the form of revenue. Traditional leaders had also attended the meeting and only accepted the WMA plans on the condition that wildlife and livestock would not be separated. She had heard from Enduimet that they had received money to build schools and to pay for the tuition fees of children as well as other benefits through employment. She also believed that the village's authority over the WMA would be outlined in a contract that will hold the WMA accountable and will maintain the village land use plans.

The CBO members, similarly to Oltepesi, had had no roles since first being elected and the initial meetings in 2012. They had helped to make land plans to set out the village grazing and settlement plans, but had had no information since these management plans were discussed. However, they did not think that any other decisions could have been made without village participation. Once the WMA is operating they expected to receive revenue from the WMA from tourism activities. They said they understood that the establishment of the WMA would be a long process, and so they were just waiting for it to continue.

Kiseriani

In Kiseriani, we received differing views in each focus group. Both groups informed us that the WMA had come to educate the community on good use of land and had created boundaries for village land, grazing land, and land for other uses, but only one group claimed to be supportive of the WMA. The dissenting group said they had heard that the WMA will not give them benefits and will only take land away, while the positive group praised the benefits of having village boundaries. This group valued having an official way to acquire boma land and that there would no longer be 'idle land' that could easily be claimed by outsiders. This group also believed that they would have authority over the WMA and would be able to restructure it to fit the village's needs. Overall, both groups did not feel they had enough information about the WMA to have a strong opinion, and wanted more communication and involvement.

In our interview with two sub-village Chairmen, we also mostly received information that confirmed this growing trend showing a lack of communication from and with the WMA, as well as relevant education about it. These two leaders were not sure what was going on because there had been a different governing body from 2010 to 2015 and there had been no procedure to pass on the relevant information from one leadership generation to the next. They told us they wanted to be involved in anything that aims to help develop the community. They postulated that the main obstacles to the WMA were central government processes that the WMA must go through before being able to involve the community. They also informed us that, although we could not directly talk to him, the village Chairman also felt he was lacking information. The two men were also unsure how villages in Enduimet felt about their experience and would want to know more about these people's experiences.

The CBO members revealed to have had much more involvement than any other group. They mentioned having had a meeting in May - the only group to have said this - where certain matters from the Ministry of Tourism were discussed, though they could not describe what they were in great detail. They were not sure what the barriers facing the WMA were now but wanted user rights to be released as soon as possible so the village could start receiving benefits. They had gone to meetings concerning the CBO constitution and helped to make some policy changes regarding the separation of wildlife from livestock, but had not been directly involved in the RZMP (they only gave feedback). They reported that not everyone in their village knew about the WMA, but that this was mostly because they are

not interested in it. They felt that it was important that more people know about the WMA so that they would be more inclined to participate. They assigned the lack of meetings and education for the community to the lack of funds within the WMA, yet they nonetheless expressed a desire for more communication. They said they could communicate with the WMA Chairman but that only the WMA could choose to convene a meeting. Though the village members and Chairman have asked them what is going on with the WMA and the government, they do not have much to say to them. Overall, they were confident in their authority as CBO members, and said they would be able to lobby with other CBO members if things needed to be changed.

Lake Natron WMA Chairperson

In our final week in Longido, we were able to organize a last-minute interview with the Chairman of the Lake Natron WMA. As Chairman, he is the primary leader of the WMA, with only a Board of Trustees above him. He is in charge of organizing and chairing meetings and general assemblies concerning the WMA. He controls the daily activities but also distributes roles to the other leaders directly under him. He informed us that the only barrier preventing the Lake Natron WMA from operating is a confirmatory signature from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to approve the RZMP. He was very optimistic about this, confident that the signature and consequently, user rights, would be obtained by the end of the year. In his opinion, there has been enough communication with WMA member village communities, claiming to have had around fifty meetings in the last couple of years with CBO members and village leaders. Despite this, he added, the propagation of that information very much depends on the ability of these representatives to effectively pass information down to the community level. He also claimed that the WMA had involved the communities in the RZMP from 2010 to 2013 through collecting their opinions and ideas. Since the AWF dropped out as the main facilitator and funding source of the WMA in 2015, there has not been enough money to convene for further meetings or to visit member villages.

He felt that there are people misleading communities about the ideology and objective behind WMAs, and that the idea of WMAs is not well known enough. Given this, he hoped to better educate communities both about its advantages and disadvantages, suggesting education in schools and in specific village meetings to better to do this. He also had the hope of establishing a resource center where people could go to receive information or read about WMAs.

He did not agree with the government policy to separate wildlife and livestock, maintaining that the WMA would not work if they did this. He said that a “friendship” between wild and domestic animals must be created and that true conservation cannot happen if they are separated; he clearly said, “it’s not natural and it’s not good for the Maasai.” Once communities receive user rights, he believes they will be able to lobby against the government and challenge this policy. According to him, Enduimet WMA does not separate wildlife from cattle and is the best WMA in Tanzania. The accuracy of this fact can be disputed though, as our translator informed us afterwards that this policy is still causing a lot of conflict between Enduimet communities and the government. The Chairman was extremely adamant in his view, saying that if a WMA is defined as community-lead conservation, it should let communities manage animals how they want. He was also a firm believer that the WMA structure is a much better alternative to previous centralised ‘fortress’ conservation policy. He talked about the game-controlled areas which dominated conservation areas before, where the central government had complete power and through which communities received almost no revenue from the use of their resources. With WMAs, however, communities have the power to discuss with investors directly. He said that after the establishment of the Enduimet WMA, revenue spiked from 3 million TSh to 29 million Tsh per village. A conflict he foresaw for the future was revenue control because, though he firmly believed that it should be managed by the CBO representatives, normally WMA revenue has stayed under the jurisdiction of the central state government.

Summary of Main Findings

- The villages were confident that their village governing structure would fit well into the future WMA governing structure; they felt that they would have reliable channels through which to express their opinions, be represented and receive information from CBO members and their village leaders.
- Democratic principles of popular representation, downwards accountability, and free participation seemed strong and reliable. In addition, woman claimed to satisfied with their involvement in formal government.
- A clear obstacle to democratic decision-making in the villages was a lack of education and knowledge on the importance of participation and active involvement in decision-making. This is something that each village identified as an important requirement for improving democratic governance.

- The WMA chairman held beliefs about the level of communication between the WMA and communities which were contradicted by the reported experiences of the villages we interviewed.

Discussion

Given that the Lake Natron WMA is not yet officially operational, the primary contributions and significance of our research are extrapolatory and hypothetical. Indeed, we believe that our present results can reasonably point to potential future challenges to the effective decentralisation of user rights, revenue and authority to the WMA's member villages upon its implementation. In this section, we hope to contextualise and substantiate our research findings through reference to the historical and political context presented in the literature review above. In this way, we ultimately wish to draw a coherent path between the past, present, and future status of, and challenges to, the Lake Natron WMA.

The most repeated and salient research finding was the limited communication from the WMA since initial WMA preparations began in 2012-13, reported by the villages and CBO members. While this alone is a significant problem, it is made even more complex given the much greater amount of communication which the Lake Natron WMA Chairman proposed and believed had been made. As mentioned above, he told us that there had been roughly fifty meetings with the thirty-two villages' CBO representatives in the past couple of years. Therefore, there is evidently a vast disconnect between the perceptions of the WMA governing body and the claims of our three research villages meant to be involved in the WMA's preparation. This discrepancy presents a fundamental obstacle to the effective implementation of informed and democratic decentralisation within the future Lake Natron WMA. Without adequate and up-to-date knowledge of the status of the proposed WMA, its member villages will be unlikely to effectively engage the policies and benefits of its governance when it becomes official. Furthermore, if this continues, WMA officials may likely perceive no need to increase communication with the villages, content that they have been given satisfactory access to the information and involvement they desire. Green and Adams (2015) define community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) - a central principle on which the WMA is founded - as "the devolution of authority to manage natural resources [...] based on three core principles of participation, empowerment and decentralization" (p. 99). A central challenge for the future, therefore, is to ensure that WMA officials are aware of the extent of community participation and empowerment and seek to

optimize it. This awareness is, as informed by our interview with the WMA Chairman, further limited, however, by available funds to travel to the villages for such check-ups, representing a fundamental financial obstacle if not overcome in the future.

A further discrepancy lies between the theoretical discourse of the WMA and the way in which it has been experienced by villages in practice. Our interview with the Chairman of the Lake Natron WMA could be said to represent the ideal, widely-accepted ‘win-win’ discourse of the advantages of the WMA structure - with reference to benefits accrued by villages in the neighbouring Enduimet WMA, he was overwhelmingly positive in predicting similar future opportunities for those in Lake Natron WMA. The experience of the villages, however, represents a divergent way in which the WMA is perceived in practice: while the WMA Chairman praised Enduimet, both the focus groups in Oltepesi village and one in Kiseriani village reported overwhelming pessimism about the Lake Natron WMA, which was influenced by negative news they had heard from communities in Enduimet, such as restrictions on grazing land for cattle. In *A Critical History of the Global CBNRM Narrative* (2010), Dressler et al. expand on this discourse-practice discrepancy writing that, “For all the idealism inherent in CBNRM, it is never actually ideal in practice. When CBNRM is worked out on the ground it must deal with various forces, movements and dynamics which can turn it into something quite different from what its architects imagined” (p. 4). It could be said that the ‘win-win discourse’ on WMAs, represented by the WMA Chairman, has become hegemonic to such an extent so as to be unquestioned and uncritically accepted. Furthermore, that the villages in the Enduimet WMA have experienced these challenges suggests that those of Lake Natron may face similar ones in the future. It should be noted, however, that though the views of the Chairman may seem incompatible with the general experience and perceptions of the communities we visited, his position cannot be described as ill-intentioned or irrational: his interview responses clearly demonstrated his sincere passion for community-based conservation, and he firmly believes in the principles of democracy and local governance. While he may indeed be somewhat misinformed or out of touch with the communities’ reality ‘on the ground’, he nonetheless truly believes that local people of the Lake Natron WMA should have complete authority over their natural resources, receiving full benefit from them. This bodes well for the future, representing the honesty and accountability of WMA member officials, a necessary component in effective devolution of governance and revenue.

Finally, though not exhaustively, it was clear that democratic decision-making structures within our three target villages were effective and accountable. Not only did they display generally good awareness of their own and their leaders' various roles within village governance hierarchy, but they were also aware and positive about the relevant mechanisms of downwards accountability and how to engage them. The villagers themselves were almost unanimously confident that their governance structure and leaders are able to represent them fairly and effectively in government meetings and decisions - this bodes well for the future implementation of the Lake Natron WMA, indicating a strong democratic base on which to build a decentralised environmental governance structure. Of course, however, the democratic decision-making processes within the villages could always be further improved, most significantly through educating the villagers on the importance of participation. Having had little communication with WMA officials, and the WMA itself having yet had few tangible environmental effects on village land, the importance of participating in its governance was shown to be both difficult for community members to understand as well as to see how to engage with. It is important to improve such education for the future as policies driving WMAs make a number of assumptions about the status of democratic decision-making in the WMAs member villages, namely that it exists in an engaged, accountable and representative way. Without regular and useful education regarding the details of the WMA's current status and the benefits to be gained from it, however, its member villages will be unable to fully engage with and display the high level of democratic participation that is so central to the principles of decentralised WMA governance. This is a challenge to be mindful of in the future, with attention paid to educational programs in schools as well as awareness-raising campaigns in village meetings.

Conclusion

The principles driving community-based conservation in WMAs are well-intentioned and admirable - devolving power away from central state actors to local communities will ideally lead both to more equitable governance as well as a more attractive natural environment from which to collect valuable tourist revenue, supporting much-needed community development and infrastructure. However, effective democratic decentralisation initiatives require adequate communication between its administrative levels. In at least three of the villages in the proposed Lake Natron WMA, perceptions of communication from the WMA are radically different from that believed to be made from the WMA itself. Previous challenges faced by similar WMAs have been due to the perversion of initial intentions as a result of entangled

interests of numerous stakeholders, themselves brought about by multi-level bureaucratic complexity. Given this, we see this present discrepancy of views and existing lack of communication to indicate possible future obstacles on the path to complete democratic decentralisation of environmental conservation in the Lake Natron WMA. To avoid such challenges, education on the importance of democratic participation must be increased, as well as consistent and proactive efforts to bridge the communicative gap between WMA officials, community representatives and community members themselves.

Limitations

The accuracy and precision of our research findings are not without their limitations. Among the most predominant of these was the necessity for a Swahili/Maa translator during our interviews. Though the translation of our research assistant was absolutely vital for the completion of our research, it is nonetheless necessary to acknowledge the possibility for mistranslations, as well as for important nuances which may have been missed through simplified translations. For example, there were a number of times when the relayed interpretation of our translator was significantly shorter than that of the participants' response - despite the fact that some of this response may have been formalities not relevant to our research, we must still conclude that information was lost nonetheless.

Our findings were also limited by the amount of time we had to generate them. Our internship period was relatively short, limiting the number of villages, interviews and time we had to create, analyse and refine our questions and data. Between the first week of preparation and last week of analysis, the amount of time we had for data collection and fieldwork was three weeks. Had our internship period been longer, we would have been able to develop more specific questions; visit a greater number and range of villages; collect more reliable data; and ultimately produce more informative and representative results.

Given the politically-dominant role of men in traditional Maasai culture, we believed it was necessary to account for the possibility that women in the focus group discussions may have found it difficult to offer their honest evaluation of their involvement in village decision-making processes. However, we must take care in considering this possibility, since it may inadvertently undermine the political autonomy of Maasai women without adequate evidence, especially given our relative ignorance of Maasai culture, gender and political relations.

We must further take into account the possibility that, as young Western researchers, the interview data we received may have been different had it been generated by an older, Swahili-speaking, native Tanzanian. This may be due to the complex dynamic of relations of power and identity that exists between any interaction. As mentioned in the preparatory research proposal, it is vital that we acknowledge this through what Sultana (2007) describes as our respective ‘positionality’ as foreign researchers. “Reflexivity”, she writes “involves reflection on self, process, and representation, and critically examining power relations and politics in the research process, and researcher accountability in data collection and interpretation” (p. 376). One’s positionality may influence the particular set of results that one generates through research, and so one must accept that this will always be a limitation to this research, especially in an environment so contentious and fraught with exploitation and misrepresentation as (East) Africa.

Finally, we must acknowledge the fact that our research findings are limited by our own relative unfamiliarity with the research topic and context, the environment, and the research methodologies more generally. This unfamiliarity was not aided by the fact that many of the *Sauti Moja* staff speak limited English and do not have relevant experience with WMAs, and so their instructions, requests, and advice was similarly limited in its applicability and usefulness. Though this was mostly only related to day-to-day activities and not the research itself, it is possible nonetheless that it may have helped to foster a general atmosphere of slight unpreparedness.

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1. Appendix

Abbreviations

African Conservation Center → ACC

African Wildlife Fund → AWF

Community-based natural resource management → CBNRM

Community-Based Organisation → CBO

Focus group discussion → FGD

Non-governmental Organisation → NGO

Resource Zone Management Plan → RZMP

Sauti Moja Tanzania → SM-TZ

Tanzanian Shillings → Tsh

Wildlife Management Area → WMA

2. Interview Notes

2.1 Oltepesi Chairman Interview, 26/07/16

Q: What is the role of chairman?

A: To coordinate village meetings + committees of the village assembly, everyone participates equally in these meetings, to inform village about future meetings and assemblies. Minutes from village committee meetings will be brought to assembly meetings. Will call for a meeting and announce to the whole village the date and time, this can be for any matter that needs a decision. Brings government issues to village meetings. Sometimes the chairman has power over the decision but only when there is a difference in interests, will always stand with what the majority thinks, what is best for the public interest.

Q: How are decisions made?

A: Decisions are made by a majority rule. There is no limit to who can be at a meeting. Many decide not to go because they believe their leader will make the right decision for them.

Q: What are the most common issues discussed?

A: Many issues are discussed; education, security, land use. The government will direct the village committee to meet each month, and the village assembly to meet every three months. But, if a meeting is needed within those months, one can be called anytime.

Q: What is the role of traditional governance?

A: A hybrid, shared system where the traditional leaders are welcomed to suggest ways to govern. E.g. Security issues in which the Moran act as the Warriors of the village community because the traditional leaders have ultimate control over the Moran. Government invites help from traditional leaders to make decision making and the issues more attractive to the village. Traditional governance and culture must always be consulted when decisions are made - community prefers traditional form of leadership.

The government brings “something new” but it must be shared with the traditional leaders to help access and teach the community. The community still believes more in the traditional government than the new government.

Q: What is the role of women?

A: Out of the 25 members in each village committee, there has to be 8-10 women present. This what is considered as a gender balanced committee and decision. Government initiated that with each step in a decision, there should be gender balance. Men and women sit together in this discussion, whereas in traditional meetings the women are never involved.

Q: Does everyone have an equal say?

A: The government wants this to happen, but sometimes among traditional communities the women step back and allow the men to decide for them, since they are often not concerned with such matters. Of these men who decide, all have an equal say.

Q: Are you aware of the plans for the Lake Natron WMA?

A: He is aware, since the AWF supported and brought the various stakeholders together to have meetings. The AWF facilitated to establishment and education of CBO members, and provided education through seminars to the village members about their rights to collect revenue from wildlife and other tourist activities.

Q: Have you had a role in preparations of the WMA?

A: No role now, but did initially participate in meetings before when he was not the chairman. He was chosen to be involved in these seminars.

Q: Any other meetings with the WMA?

A: No other meetings other than with AWF. WMA started in 2012, but it is still not operating. There are incompatible laws between the WMA and national policy: WMA wants villages to control wildlife but the ministry has policies in place which maintain control.

Q: Is the village supportive of the WMA?

A: Generally the village accepts the WMA, but hopes that it will not be prohibited from cutting trees for making bombs and preparing firewood; if they are not prohibited from this, then they will be ok with it.

Q: Anyway to tell the WMA these opinions?

A: In the beginnings, the WMA introduced the importance of the WMA and collected the opinions of the village. Three CBO members were selected from the village to participate in meetings. When the WMA constitution was written, the WMA came to the village to get opinions of what should be in it.

Q: How are CBO members chosen?

A: Announcement made to the village about need for CBO members and people can apply. In Oltepsi, 12 men applied and 3 were voted in.

Q: Do CBO members do their job effectively?

A: Yes.

Q: What are the expected benefits from the WMA?

A: Expects to receive 50% of the revenue, and the other 50% will go to the administrative body of the WMA.

Q: Current barriers to village involvement in the WMA?

A: Only barrier is the current incompatible laws between National government policy and WMA policy. The WMA gives villages authority over wildlife but the Wildlife ministry still maintains control. They hope for total authority on use of wildlife, but don't know how this will interact with government policy.

Q: Future barriers to village involvement in the WMA?

A: Potential problems with wildlife policy of the government is the main barrier for the future. Unsure how the policies will interact, will need to ask the government how the policy will work.

Q: Suggestions to change or improve decision-making?

To better educate the community to participate in decisions which affect their lives; to encourage them to get involved. Because they will want to know about issues concerning WMA policy and to participate in this issue.

Q: How will WMA governance fit in village governing structure?

A: Many meetings will concern WMA, especially to inform the community about revenue from the WMA. The AA members will use the meeting to inform the village on what happens in their meetings and also collect the opinions of the community members. For the WMA to work, stakeholders from the WMA, village, and government need to cooperate.

Q: Do the believe that the government will invite and accept the opinion of the villages?

A: Government will accept their opinion if they do not break the law; otherwise the government will oppose and disregard the village's opinion.

2.2 Oltepesi Community Member Focus Groups, 27/06/16

2.2.1 Focus Group 1

Participants: 2 women, 4 men

Q: How are decisions made?

A: Chairman will convene a meeting, community members agree together to make a decision

Q: What are the most common issues?

A: Grazing land, water

Q: Who is involved?

A: Committee and traditional leaders will discuss issues at their meetings and then call a village assembly to further discuss with input from village members. Grazing land is controlled by the traditional government

Q: Does everyone have equal say?

A: Everyone has an equal right, "people will follow the truth as the good decision"

Q: Decisions followed through?

A: Results will be consistent with what is decided

Q: How are leaders decided?

A: Some are appointed based on capability to mobilize people and to participate in decision-making, others are voted through general election. Different parties will each present a candidate, the chairman and sub-village chairman are elected.

Q: How are traditional leaders chosen?

A: Appointed through age-set, each age-set has own traditional leadership, decided by a certain family which has traditionally had a history of leaders

Q: Common for women to participate?

A: Women join for government meetings but cannot for traditional meetings

To women: think enough women participate enough and have a say in meetings

Q: How are traditional leaders involved?

A: The involvement of either form of government depends on the issue; difference of opinion of which system has more power, when it come to the community, the traditional government has more power

Structure of traditional system:

2 clans, each has a leader, only deals with issues in the clan

Each age-set has a leader and the Moran leader has the most power (especially for pasture and water), can call for meetings and will have representatives in each village to inform leader on issues, traditional leader has final say on matters but will listen to what others have to say, can call assembly to discuss issues

Q: How does the Moran age set make decisions?

A: They call for meetings and have representatives in each village. They make the final decision

Q: Are they aware of the Lake Natron WMA?

A: They have participated in a few meetings, but limited since it is not yet operational. 3 village members were selected for these meetings. Women were not informed and say men are responsible for those matters

Q: Are they supportive of the WMA?

A: Overwhelmingly no - don't want to be prohibited from using grazing land

Q: What do you know about the WMA system?

A: Only been contacted by the government when it was interested in tourism. Otherwise, little communication and are not aware about the status. They don't expect, and are not aware of, any benefits to come

Q: Do you know of benefits?

A: Don't see benefits. Have only seen negative effects, from hearing about the Enduimet WMA, and the way that it reduces freedom of grazing and land use.

Q: What do you think is the government's aim behind the WMA?

A: To protect wildlife, but is not concerned with the local people on the land. It only benefits the government and their interests in tourism.

Q: Does the CBO provide information to village assemblies?

A: No feedback given to villages from CBO, don't know why

Q: Have they had an opportunity to become involved in the preparations of the WMA?

A: No, not involved; there has been one meeting since the first preparations in 2012.

Q: Any suggestions for improving the process of village decision-making?

A: To better educate the community in the importance of participating. Often people do not want to know how things work in the village and so are not interested in participating.

2.2.2 Focus Group 2

Participants: 5 men, 1 woman

Q: How are community decisions made?

A: Via a village committee which discusses matters and then will bring them to the village assembly for more discussion in which the whole village participates.

Q: What are the most common issues discussed?

A: Education and infrastructure.

Q: Who participates?

A: The village committee sets agendas and brings them to meetings with the whole village. Issues often regarding water use, land, and education.

Q: How often?

A: Committee meets each month and the assembly every three months

Q: Does everyone have an equal say?

A: Everyone has an equal right to participate, sometimes people can't make it, women are encouraged to participate

Q: Does everyone participate?

A: Everyone is needed ideally but often not everyone is present.

Q: Are women involved?

A: Yes, everyone is called to participate. To

Q: Are decisions followed through with?

A: They are and if not, leadership will be expected to explain why

Q: How are leaders chosen?

A: Through general election and every party will bring candidates. Difference between parties primarily the priorities

Q: How are traditional leaders involved?

A: At each level of decision making, traditional leaders must be invited to give advice and opinions

Q: Who has more authority?

A: Governmental leaders, who are then advised by the traditional leaders.

Q: What do you know about the Lake Natron WMA?

A: Member of parliament and other organizations came to the village and emphasized the use of WMAs and the village selected three people to represent the village. Now, they don't know what is going on and do not want to be apart of the WMA, based on what others have told them

Q: Why do you not want to be part of the WMA?

A: Because it limits freedom to use land, for grazing, and to collect firewood.

Q: Have you been able to express this opinion?

A: Political leaders came to village and we told them our opinions.

Q: Is there good communication with the CBO members?

A: No, although we are aware of their roles and responsibilities - they represent the village during meetings and can speak on behalf of the village priorities there.

Q: Are you aware of what the CBO members do?

A: Know their role, they represent the village in WMA meetings

Q: Are the CBO members doing their job?

A: Don't know because there have been no meetings because the WMA is not working yet. CBO members have only gone to 2 meetings since 2012

Q: Do you expect any benefits from the WMA system?

A: No benefits, we only see the negative effects. Have been promised many things from the government but have yet to be implemented.

Q: Do you think you are fairly represented by the CBO members?

A: Yes, they will represent them well, the members were selected according to their ability to represent the village wishes well

Q: Any ways to improve the way decisions are made?

A: More education in the community on the importance of decision-making

Extra point: There is very little compensation when people are killed by wildlife and emphasized again that there are not positive impacts from WMAs

2.3 Oltepesi CBO Member Interview, 28/07/16

Participants: 2 men, 1 woman

Q: Role of CBO members at this time?

A: Have been members of the CBO since 2012, they were selected by the community and have participated in a few meetings. They represent the village but since the WMA is not running they have no role at this time

Q: Status of the WMA?

A: Not quite answered

Q: Were they involved in the writing of the zoning plan?

A: They were involved in the beginning and created the boundaries between the villages and allocated the community and grazing land but nothing since then

Q: Has it achieved its three year goals?

A: They have not been met and nothing has been done but decide on the boundaries

Q: What has been your role in the past three years?

A: No roles since the zoning plan

Q: What is your role of authority?

A: Still able to negotiate with WMA and bring village's opinion to meetings with them but only when the WMA approaches them. Have authority to say the village does not want to be a part of the WMA.

Q: So who has WMA authority now?

A: The government, it uses NGOs to educate the community and to implement the WMA, and hold seminars, meetings and to start and stop the process.

Q: Does the village know about the Lake Natron WMA?

A: The village is not very aware about the WMA. They were selected to represent the village in meetings with WMA officials, but the village does not know do not know more than that about how the WMA operates.

Q: Do you know about the WMA?

A: Does not really know how revenue will be received.

Q: Is the village aware of how to engage?

A: If they were educated more they would be interested to engage more.

Q: Can the village approach the WMA?

A: If the WMA has anything to tell they will approach the CBO members and when they want a meeting they would approach the village chairman, does not seem like the village has interest in approaching the WMA

Q: Does WMA governance fit well in village governing structure?

A: If the village had more awareness they would participate more. The government structure is good but leaders are not accountable or reliable and did not ensure that the village got enough information and education about WMAs, it's the leader's fault that the village does not know anything

Q: Is it easy for the village to voice their opinions?

A: "Maybe good", but leaders are not responsible for educating the community,

Q: Can the village express their disapproval to the leader?

A: They can tell the leader through the village committee and through general assemblies/meetings.

Q: Have they ever told him this?

A: Because nothing is operating, people have nothing to ask. If the WMA begins to operate, the community can tell the chairperson they want more information.

Q: Has the community been involved in any decision-making?

A: They were at first, in general meetings.

Q: Is the community happy with their involvement? Would they want more?

A: In the beginning the village was happy because they were not told any bad information about the WMA but now they ignore those benefits because they have heard all the bad things and do not want to be involved.

Q: Do you expect to receive any benefits from the WMA?

A: No

Q: What does the government want to use the WMA for?

A: To benefit wildlife, but has no interest in benefitting the community.

Q: (To woman) Do you believe that women have an effective role in decision-making?

A: They can suggest ideas in general meetings to men, but men make the final decision.

Q: Are women also concerned with the WMA?

A: Both men and women are equally concerned.

Q: Why has there been little communication from the government?

A: Have tried to tell the community about the importance of the WMA - but they are not interested in benefitting the community.

Q: Will anything change with the WMA?

A: The temporary areas where people will go during the rainy season to graze cattle. Limits will be put on the use of land.

Q: How would you improve decision-making?

A: To educate people on the importance of decision-making because with more awareness people will want to participate more and be involved in the decisions that affect their lives.

Extra:

People from Enduimet have told them many of the negative aspects that come with a WMA Oshumu: AWF normally funds meeting and will pay the villages for being involved in a meeting, this does not happen anymore because villages are not interested in being a part of the WMA, he thinks AWF is currently planning ways to get the villages interested again.

2.4 Enkikaret Village Secretary, 04/08/16

Q: What is your role in decision-making in the village?

A: To advise the village, account of the village, responsible for agenda and minutes of meetings.

Q: What is the decision-making process?

A: Call for committee meeting, discuss issues with them and bring decisions to the assembly. The chairperson is a part of the committee but the secretary only advises the committee.

Q: Most common issues?

A: Committee receives informations from village and sub-villages; most common issues are the village revenue, land planning, water. The revenue comes from four companies operating on village land and from phone antennas built on the village land.

Q: Who are the people involved?

A: All people have equal say, there always needs to be approval from the general assembly so no one has absolute final say.

Q: Are women involved in decision-making?

A: Women have a say and NGOs have come in to educate the community on the importance of involving women in decision-making

Q: Does anyone have greater say than others?

A: The chairman and secretary must always consider what the community wants and will follow what the village wants.

Q: How can villagers express disapproval of the chairman or secretary?

A: Secretary appointed by the district government and is therefore accountable to that section of government. The chairman is a political position and is accountable to the people.

Q: System of accountability?

A: The secretary can be punished by being stripped of his/her position.

Q: What is the influence of the traditional government on decision-making?

A: Not much influence, must always be involved in decision-making and must decide with the formal government, involved mostly to better involve the community because the traditional government is closer to the community.

Q: What has been your role in the WMA?

A: Participated as secretary in 2 meetings in Namanga, both formal and traditional leaders were there, discussed the introduction of the WMA in the community.

Q: Has there been communication with WMA officials?

A: Since the initial meetings, no information.

Q: What kind of information did they receive in the meetings?

A: Importance of the WMA, said they would receive revenue.

Q: Did the traditional leaders agree with the WMA plans?

A: At first both the traditional and formal governments agreed to be a part of the WMA but then the traditional government decided against the plans because they did not want wildlife and livestock land to separate. WMA then said they would not be separated and since then the traditional government has agreed.

Q: Does the village accept the WMA?

A: Yes because the WMA says the livestock and wildlife will not be separated.

Q: Has there been enough community involvement in the preparations?

A: If WMA comes to operate, the community members will have communication through AA members, heard good things from Enduimet, received benefits have been able to build a school and pay tuition fees for children.

Q: Have they heard bad things?

A: No bad things.

Q: Would they want more communication?

A: WMA came themselves, village did not say to go away, don't want info unless the WMA has info

Q: What will the village have authority over?

A: Say over WMA will be outlined in contract, will hold WMA accountable, community has land and water plans, will be able to maintain these plans.

Q: Benefits?

A: Learned from Enduimet WMA, benefits included employment and education.

Q: Will WMA governance fit well into the village governing structure?

A: System of communication will improve and community members will have say and can be more specifically involved. Structure of decision-making will stay the same but they will be able to add agendas specifically about the WMA for assemblies and committee meetings.

Q: Barriers?

A: Don't know of the barriers.

Q: Suggestions as to how she would change the decision-making structure?

A: Education women on the importance of being involved in decision-making and not just letting men decide.

Q: Will the government advising the WMA accept the village's opinion?

A: Village has the right to accept or reject the WMA, policy says village land belongs to the village and has authority over the land.

Hierarchy of village:

Chairperson → sub-village chairperson → village committee → community members

2.5 Enkikaret Community Member Focus Groups, 03/08/16

2.5.1 Focus Group 1

Participants: 6 men

Q: How are decisions made?

A: Village committee where matters concerning village are discussed, if all 25 members are there, decision can be made by voting, some decision will be brought to the village assembly.

Q: Most common issues?

A: Water education, and plans for grazing.

Q: Who are the people involved?

A: Traditional leaders and government leaders and the topics are brought by the village committee to the chairman and village assembly.

Q: Who has the most authority?

A: Authority depends on the matter at hand, Land use for cattle mostly concerns the traditional government

Q: How often are decisions made?

A: Committee meets twice a month

Assembly every three months

Traditional meetings are ad hoc and when needed

Q: Is there equal say?

A: It depends on the “truth,” whoever says the truth has the most say

Q: Are women involved?

A: Lack say in traditional decisions but can participate in formal government decision making.

Q: Is there follow through? If there isn't?

A: If leader goes against decision, they can be punished in the form of penalty. The administered penalty depends on who gives it (the ward committee, the district committee). Traditional leaders are punished by taking a cow away from them.

Effective? Yes.

Q: How are leaders chosen?

A: 2 ways: voted through general election, traditional leaders are appointed by the village (2 can be appointed and then it can be discussed who will be the leader)

Q: Influence of traditional government?

A: Equal authority, traditional leaders always have a say, the two governments will have more or less power depending on the issue.

Role Perceptions:

Pyramid? Yes.

Formal government: most power in the village leader → committee → rest of the community

Traditional government: leader of age-set → village age-set representative → community

Q: Aware of Lake Natron WMA?

A: Not all aware.

Q: What do you know? Benefits?

A: External people came to tell them about WMA, will help village have more authority on preserving wildlife and the environment.

Don't see benefits now, don't know of any, don't know if there will be benefits, will see when it starts to operate.

Q: Any communication with the WMA?

A: No communication, maybe the chairperson knows more.

Q: Is the village supportive?

A: Yes, will accept the WMA to operate in the area, will assess benefits and if there are not enough, they will leave the WMA.

Q: Heard of any negatives about WMAs?

A: Have not heard anything bad.

Q: Has the village had enough involvement?

A: Need to participate more to be aware of what is going on, have not been approached since a few years ago, want to know more.

Q: Do they know who to speak to to get more information?

A: When the WMA convenes a meeting

Q: Do they know the role of the CBO members? ***

Q: Communication with CBO members?

A: No because the CBO has not been approached by the WMA.

Q: Hope the WMA will continue soon?

A: Don't know because it have been so long since they have heard from the WMA, may have disappeared.

Q: Barriers?

A: Don't know the barriers because they have no information, don't know what is keeping the WMA from working.

Q: What would they change in the government?

A: Would have more mutual understanding and more communication to increase participation.

2.5.2 Focus Group 2

Participants: 7 men

Q: How are decisions made?

A: Two systems, government meetings; and traditional system in which elders meet with leaders to decide upon certain matters.

Q: What are the most common issues?

A: Water - mostly relevant in July-September, when they discuss about how to survive; education and other development issues; arrangement of the market place; land issues, grazing and boundaries.

Q: How often are decisions made?

A: Village committee discuss once per month; General assembly once every three months; and traditional system meet on an ad hoc, flexible basis.

Q: Do all members in the meeting have an equal say?

A: All have equal say, depends on who speaks the truth which can satisfy all members in the meeting. No one person who is seen as holding the truth more than others.

Q: The role of women?

A: Often women participate in formal government meetings; but they don't participate in traditional meetings.

Q: Are the decisions followed through?

A: Minutes are prepared each meeting and presented in the next meeting, and are assessed. To ensure decision is implemented, the meeting is held again. The community hold the leader accountable, he can be stripped of his leadership.

Q: Same for traditional leaders?

A: Traditional leaders are accountable to elders who can call upon him and agree upon his wrong behaviour - they can then tell the community their decision.

Q: How are leaders chosen?

A: Formal government by voting; traditional government, they are appointed by following clan. Elders discuss who will be appointed, they follow family matters to judge the ethical situation of the family and the appropriateness of the leader.

Q: Influence of traditional governance?

A: Traditional has more say in decision making. Decide several matters in the community (land grazing, boundaries, central differences within village (??))

Q: What matters does the formal government have authority over?

A: Education and school enrolment; building projects.

Q: Is the traditional structure involved in formal governance?

A: There is an interaction between both - depends on which matters are more relevant. Traditional leaders are closer to the community so often more involved.

Role Perception Tool

Triangle hierarchy exists for Formal government:

Village committee
Chairperson
Community

Traditional structure:

Leader of Moran age set at the time
Elders
Village community

Q: Aware of the WMA preparations?

A: Some of them don't know what the word even means. Some never heard of it. Some have heard about it long ago but no news now.

Q: What do they know about it?

A: The organisation of wildlife and the environment will be under their authority. From 2010-2015 there was an old government; now there is a new government who have not told them any news.

Q: Aware of any benefits?

A: Not yet operational, so don't know. Hope for employment for their children, helping with anti-poaching.

Q: Had any communication with WMA officials?

A: No; The beginning there was two meetings with the WMA (maybe 2013?).

Q: Are they supportive of the WMA and being part of it?

A: Yes, hopes for employment, and to not have cattle and wildlife separated. The WMA have explained this to them at the beginning, and told them about the revenue they would receive.

Q: Heard of any negative effects?

A: Can't kill wildlife to protect their cattle.

Q: Aware of role of CBO members?

A: Were selected to represent them in WMA meetings, and to decide how to distribute the revenue.

Q: Communication with CBO members?

A: Only if called upon to participate in WMA meetings.

Q: Have they had enough participation?

A: Want more information, because nowadays they see people hunting wildlife and they don't know who is responsible. They want to protect the wildlife. Are waiting for the WMA to approach them.

Q: Current barriers to WMA preparation?

A: Don't know - still waiting to be contacted.

Q: Know how to communicate with the WMA?

A: Through the AA members, but no communication. The WMA officials can come to the village office.

Q: How to improve decision making in the village?

A: More participation in decision making at village assemblies; and the government to better cooperate with the traditional leaders.

Q: Can they effectively express their concerns?

A: Yes - convene for meetings or the general committee.

2.6 Enkikaret CBO Member Interview, 04/08/16

Participants: 2 men, 1 woman

Q: What are the roles of the CBO members at this time?

A: Each village has 3 members (us) to represent them in WMA meetings.

Now: WMA is not yet operational, so there is nothing to do until further meetings with them. (They were elected through voting in the village)

Q: What is the status of the Lake Natron WMA? Has it achieved its three-year zoning plan goals?

A: Hope the WMA will come, will come in the next few years, not aware of any WMA land plans, although the village itself has made land and grazing/settlement plan. Were not part of the resource management plan, not aware of the goals.

Q: Has there been communication with the WMA officials in the three years since the zoning plan was approved?

A: No info since management plan was discussed.

Q: Is village aware of the WMA?

A: Village is aware.

Q: Are they aware of how they can communicate with the WMA?

A: In the beginning they selected CBO chairperson - who can write to the village if there is anything to discuss. He tells other CBO members to convene for meetings (but no meetings since 2013); The tourism ministry still discusses matters with the WMA; CBO members will

send the minutes from the General village Assembly to the Ministry (they **guess** this, they don't know for sure); Chairperson of the CBO has no new information - although he as to share it when he receives it.

Q: Is the traditional governance involved in any WMA decision-making?

A: Yes - WMA meetings will include traditional governance; and the traditional communities accept the WMA.

Q: Does the governance structure of the WMA fit with that of the village?

A: Yes - the structure allows citizens to express their opinions to government leaders, and they can easily share their opinions and preferences; In meetings with WMA officials, village members can communicate with the WMA; would they like more of these meetings? Yes they would.

Q: Would they want more communication?

Would want more participation and communication.

Q: Do they believe WMA decisions are made without the involvement of the village?

A: We are involved in the process, and the WMA cannot make decisions without our participation.

Q: Do you expect any benefits from the WMA?

A: Yes, such as receiving revenue from the WMA, which is collected from tourism activities and distributed to member villages of the WMA.

Q: Have you heard of any bad effects of the WMA?

A: The WMA wants to protect wildlife, and will not allow villages to kill wildlife in order to protect their own cattle. Also, they have been told in WMA meetings that they will not be compensated for harm or death of their cattle.

Q: Have you spoken to any villages in the Enduimet WMA?

A: No - only the chairperson of the WMA

Q: What are the current barriers to WMA involvement?

A: No barriers - the establishment of the WMA is a long process, so they are waiting for it to continue and it is because of this that they believe they are not involved.

2. 7 Kiseriani Sub-Village Chairmen Interview, 09/08/16

Participants: Chairmen of the sub villages Esitet and Ngoswani

Q: What is your role in decision-making?

A: We represent our sub village in the village committee (we are among 25 members), and work nearby to the community, bringing village opinions to the village office to then be brought to the committee meeting.

Q: How are decisions made?

A: We collect the opinions of the villages, and convene for meetings to bring opinion to the village committee. We can decide to call for a general assembly meeting and to make a general decision.

Q: What are the most common issues discussed?

A: Water distribution for both people and cows; education, helping children to read and to go to school; cattle is the main concern; the plan and use of land and pastures.

Q: Who is involved?

A: It depends on the matter - simple matters are discussed as sub village, and complex matters at the village level.

Q: Are women involved?

A: Yes - through the voting process to accept matters. Although mostly men are involved.

Q: Are enough people involved?

A: Not enough - there are barriers such as it being a wide village, people need to walk long distances to meetings. Therefore some fail to participate even though they want to.

Q: Is there enough education on the importance of being involved?

A: There is a lack of education, and so the meetings fail to be filled. We can emphasise the importance of attending, and then this second time around more people will participate, there needs to more emphasis on participation in sub-villages.

Q: How to increase participation?

A: More education on its importance to participation.

Q: Does everyone have an equal say?

A: All have an equal say; all have a chance to speak after the meeting, all can agree to then accept the general truth, anyone can speak the general truth.

Q: How often are decisions made?

A: In the sub village, two times per month (according to government schedule)
General assembly, every three months;
Village committee, twice per month;
Ad hoc meetings meet anytime.

Q: Is this schedule reliable?

A: It depends on how active the leader is; if there are no matters to discuss then the schedule is not followed.

Q: Does your opinion hold greater weight than other village members'?

A: We are able to enforce the implementation of decision; for example, to collect 10,000 per household for development projects in the village.

Q: What is the influence of traditional leaders on decision-making?

A: Their main role is advisory; it depends on the matter. They are near to the community, and so must be welcomed by the government to listen and to advise on community issues.

Q: How often does traditional governance get involved?

A: Every meeting; they participate as community members, and for serious matters they should be there for discussion.

Q: Are you aware of plans for the Lake Natron WMA?

A: Nothing; We have some people in the village who participate in the WMA issue and are representatives, the aim is to allow us to participate in wildlife protection. In the beginning of the plans there were some meeting but none now - we don't know what is going on.

Q: Have you had a role in the WMA preparation?

A: 2010-2015 there was a different governing body; no role in WMAs. The new leaders only started a year ago and there has been no operation in the last year.

Q: Would you like to have a role?

A: Yes, wants to be a part of anything that helps to develop community.

Q: Has there been any communication with the WMA since those first meetings?

A: We heard that the WMA came to the village at the very beginning, but we were not here to participate.

Q: Are you aware of the your legal right to approve the RZMP and CBO constitution?

A: Not aware of the RZMP or constitution; in the previous year's the WMA set boundaries separating the village land.

Q: Did the GA vote on RZMP or Constitution?

A: Don't think it has been voted on.

Q: Have there been meetings with WMA officials?

A: No, not since the start of their leadership.

Q: Is the village supportive of the WMA system?

A: We want to develop and receive revenue, so yes we are supportive ("kind of")

Q: Have traditional leaders been involved in WMA decision-making?

A: WMA should/must participate with traditional leaders because they are powerful and know the land boundaries; otherwise the WMA will not be successful.

Q: Do you want to be involved in managing the WMA land.

A: The community will need to participate because the WMA will be on grazing land.

Q: Has the village had enough opportunity to be involved in WMA preparations?

A: If active, the WMA will work with the community through elected representatives...

Q: Has there been enough communication?

A: WMA has not been cooperating, new leaders have no information, so no there has not been enough communication.

Q: Should there be more communication?

A: If the WMA comes, they will want more information

Q: Do you want to be informed of meetings going on in the government?

A: We want to know the government plans, but the WMA will not convene for meeting so we don't know about the plans made between the WMA and the government.

Q: Do you know of any benefits?

A: Don't know benefits, have heard from other people in other WMA that is helping to educate children.

Q: Will the current government structure give community members a good way to be involved in the WMA?

A: Governance system will support village participation if the WMA gives information and is open with the village.

Q: Are there effective channels to express opinions to the WMA?

A: When operating they will ask for more information, think they will easily be able to express opinions to WMA once it is operating.

Q: Will the WMA listen?

A: Not sure if they will listen, live far from Enduimet so they are not sure how it is working there and if people like it or not,

Q: Have they heard of any negative impacts?

A: Don't know of any, when they will be aware of the plans they will think of the negative impacts, it is too early to tell now because they don't know anything.

Q: Any barriers that have kept the village from being involved?

A: Have had no barriers in the village but think there must be barriers in the government, there are central government processes/criteria to get through to be able to involve the community, and before the WMA can be implemented.

Q: How are community members able to express disappointment?

A: There are different accountability measures, depends on the severity. If a leader goes against a decision, the community can call a meeting. If the leader consistently does things

badly, he can have the position taken away, otherwise at the general election every 5 years, a new leader can be elected.

2. 8 Kiseriani Community Member Focus Group Interview, 11/08/16

2.8.1 Focus Group 1

Participants: 3 men, 2 women

Q: How are community decisions made?

A: Meet three times a month for sub village assembly; some villages twice a month; and GA meets once per month.

Q: What are the most important issues?

A: Make plans for grazing land and water use; sub-village assembly talks mostly on education and development projects like infrastructure and schools; GA meet to discuss revenue and its uses

Q: Who is involved?

A: In both the GA and VC women and men both participate

Q: difference between VC and GA?

A: Committee involves members of traditional leaders, sub village chairperson, village chairperson and secretary, and few appointed member from each sub village.

Q: Does everyone have an equal say?

A: It depends on the topic of discussion. Whoever says the truth, all people in meeting follow that truth. All must all meet on same point and satisfy all the opinions of the members in the meeting.

Q: Are enough people involved in the meetings?

A: It depends on the issue of the meeting. If it interests many people then many will participate.

Q: Are the women satisfied with their level of involvement?

A: Nowadays there is female participation, they are satisfied because they are given opportunity to participate and have their opinions and ideas followed by the community

Q: Enough education on importance of decision making?

A: Not enough because don't know the effect of our decision making. Don't know why it is important.

Q: Where can this education come from?

A: (Community needs much education. People not aware of negative impacts of not participating in decision...) Depends on education level gained at school. Can become aware through meeting with other tribes outside of their own.

Q: Are actions consistent with decision made?

A: Depends on the matter discussed: if more than one issue on meeting, can consider which is more important. E.g. Water vs education.

Q: How are leaders chosen in village?

A: Each five years there is a general election where other leaders can compete. Leaders can be chosen again to continue leadership, or others can take over.

Q: What is the influence of traditional governance on decision-making?

A: Traditional system can nowadays advise the government. Their power over the decision depends on the matter e.g. They have most authority over water use and grazing land plans.

Q: Can you suggest ways to improve decision making process in village?

A: Government must come and emphasise the importance of participating in decision making.

Role perceptions tool:

Q: Formal government system as pyramid?

chairperson at top
secretary
sub village chairperson
village committee
trad leaders and community.

Q: How can people with authority be made accountable to those below them? How can they be punished?

A: When a leader goes against decision, community members can punish him if he frequently goes against them. He can be disqualified. But if not this is not frequent they can choose another leader at the election. Only community members can agree to punish.

Q: Is this effective?

A: The disqualification of leaders is not consistent. They suggest instead that they can advise him until election to replace him.

Q: Are they aware of plans for the Lake Natron WMA?

A: They only saw the land plan adapted for villages, regarding grazing land. As well as other areas kept for building schools.

Q: How did they acquire this information?

A: The village selected three people to represent them to the WMA a few years ago. But they did not participate in any meetings informing them about the boundaries of the land.

Q: What do they know about the WMA; are they aware of potential benefits?

A: They don't even know the meaning of the WMA. Don't think it's important or will give benefits in the future, and heard that it will take land for other people. Heard this from people in other WMAs (not sure which one... Enduimet?)

Q: Are they supportive of the WMA?

A: Think community is not supportive of WMA. The WMA officials came to the village and then disappeared, so a sign that community is not supporting it.

Q: Do you feel that you have enough of an opportunity to be involved in WMA, or would like more communication with WMA?

A: Like to be involved more in it, so that they can choose to reject or accept it.

Q: Do they feel that the village governing structure will fit well with WMA once it is officially implemented?

A: If the WMA comes to operate, and the villages can be made aware through their three AA/CBO members, then the structure of village governance will be consistent with the WMA.

Q: Do they want to be informed of meetings going on now within the government and other stakeholders?

A: Want to get more information about it - have heard about it, but not existing in this area. Don't know what is going on. Don't know who their representatives are - have only heard that three representatives were chosen - so don't know how to approach the WMA. WMA is a very new thing, so don't know what to ask or what it means.

Q: Do they think that they will be listened to by the government when the WMA is operational?

A: Yes, we can express our ideas to government through the counsellor, who can have meetings with government and tell their ideas.

2.8.2 Focus Group 2

Participants: 5 men, 2 women

Q: How are community decisions made?

A: Guided by 2 principles: discipline of the people (following the guidelines set by the chairperson and elders, being respectful, not shouting) and who is speaking the general truth.

Q: What are the most common decisions that must be made?

A: Grazing land plans, water usage in village

Q: Who is involved? Are women involved?

A: Anyone can participate in government meetings but traditional meetings only include men. The government talks of matter which concern both men and women whereas the traditional government only discusses matter related to men.

Q: Are women satisfied with involvement?

A: Are satisfied. If they speak the truth, they can be followed.

Q: How often are decisions made?

A: Village assembly → 3 times per month

Sub-village assembly → 4 times per month

Village committee → 2 times per month

Q: Is there equal say?

A: Everyone has equal say, whoever speaks the truth will be followed

Q: Are enough people involved?

A: Many people participate, the chairperson can declare a percentage of the village that must be there for the meeting to take place. Will normally be half the village.

Q: Should there be more education on the importance of decision-making?

A: People are aware, enough people know the importance of decision-making

Q: What happens if decisions are not followed through with? Are there punishments?

A: Can convene meetings to discuss the wrongdoing, if the leader is not responsive, the community can elect a new leader.

Q: How are leaders chosen?

A: Selected through voting every 5 years. The traditional leader is appointed by discussing a couple candidates and then is chosen by the elders.

Q: What is the influence of traditional governance on decision-making?

A: Advises government, has more say on matters related to the community with cultural matters, but will be involved in every decision.

Q: What are ways to improve decision-making?

A: Improving communication between government and community members, there will be more togetherness so people will participate more in decision-making.

Q: Are you aware of the WMA?

A: They are aware, WMA came and educated community on good use of land, created boundaries with village land, grazing land, and land for other uses.

Q: When did the plans begin? Benefits?

A: Know boundaries between villages, boundaries help

Q: Has the village had communication in recent years?

A: Since boundaries, not communication but 3 village members were selected to be in the CBO.

Q: Is the village supportive?

A: Yes, they have seen the importance of setting boundaries. There is now an official way to acquire boma land, there is no idle land. Before it was easier to get land taken away by foreigners because it wasn't formally claimed, there were clashes between villages over grazing land.

Q: Enough opportunity to be involved in preparations of WMA? Enough communication?

A: Want more communication and more participation, told will have more authority over wildlife and revenue, want to learn more about what that means.

Q: Will the village government structure support participation in the WMA?

A: Government will be supportive to integrate WMA into governing structure.

Q: Are there effective channels to express opinions to WMA?

A: Village system will work well, can speak to AA members and village and sub-village chairpersons.

Q: Are the traditional leaders supportive?

A: Yes.

Q: Will government want to hear opinions?

A: Yes, it will be supportive.

Q: What are the barriers to communication?

A: Don't know.

Q: Any negative impacts?

A: Don't know of any negative impacts, community members will have authority over the WMA so they can restructure it to fit the village needs.

Q: Do you know what has been happening?

A: Don't know what is happening currently.

Q: Would they want to be informed?

A: Yes

2.9 Kiseriani CBO Member Interview, 11/08/16

Participants: 1 man, 2 women

Q: Roles of CBO/AA members at this time?

A: Main role to give feedback of meetings done in WMA... Take opinion from village, and explain to the WMA. Have participated in previous meetings.. WMA inactive so not any role right now.

Q: When were those meetings?

A: Last meeting was May this year with the WMA. An ad hoc meeting convened by WMA concerning the problems with the leader of the WMA --> his wife is dead, they want to meet to help him. Also ministry discussed how the WMA procedures will meet with the AA members. AA members were there from all 32 villages.

Q: Current status of lake natron WMA?

A: Takes so long to be introduced into our villages, specifically don't know the barriers that stops them coming to operate. If government thinks it's a good thing then we want it to release the user rights, and want to start receiving the good benefits for the community like development.

Q: What happened in the first meetings at the beginning?

A: AWF explain WMA to the villages - tells them that each village should have three reps. Now have gone to meetings concerning constitution - this was the main thing discussed in the meetings.

Q: RZMP? Familiar with, help to write?

A: In first meetings taught us about this, WMA chairperson and secretary will participate in this plan, not all members of the villages.

Q: Aware of three and five year goals set in RZMP? Have they been achieved?

A: Only given feedback about RZMP - plan itself not portrayed to us. No implementation made through these plans. Problem thought to be money.

Q: Once the WMA is operational, can you describe the roles, responsibility and powers you will have?

A: Power to represent the village, and to express what WMA thinks to the villages.

Q: How to communicate with the WMA?

A: In WMA meetings - give feedback to office so that he can convene GA meeting, to tell them thoughts and ideas made in WMA

Q: If the village is not satisfied are you able to make meeting with WMA?

A: Villagers can tell us, and we can tell WMA in meeting.

Q: How often have you met with the WMA?

A: Discussed to have four meetings per year - but not yet implemented because not operational, and no money yet to convene for meetings. When they do have money I think we will follow this schedule.

Q: Ever have a village assembly to approve the constitution?

A: After WMA formed constitution, we take and read at GA; we can write ideas of villagers and take the WMA to be corrected.

Example? Policy of government separating wildlife and cows. Wildlife must be together with cows and cattle. Should also be compensation for cattle killed by wildlife, since is prohibited by WMA constitution. Although not sure how much will be compensated. We will try to make sure compensation will be reasonable, although we know that WMA will not be able to compensate for all because so many killed often.

Q: If you fail to act on behalf of your village members, how can they punish you? Has this ever happened before?

A: Can be disqualified and others can be selected. We stay in power for only five years, after which an election will be held in the village. Can be selected again also. Term time will start and go for five years starting from WMA implementation.

Q: Are you also accountable to the WMA officials above you? Are they able to punish you?

A: No... Only accountable to the village they represent.

Q: Does your village know about the Lake Natron WMA?

A: There are some. People who don't know the meaning of WMA. Because they only came and then left, and are not interested. Those who are interested can ask them.

It's important for everyone in the village to know about the WMA. Will then participate well in preserving wildlife and land. Will be good cooperation with WMA if people are aware of it, to help anti poaching etc...

Q: Is your village supportive of the WMA system? Do they want to be involved?

A: Yes they are, expect much benefits from WMA. Such as direct revenue which will be divided among member villages. Can also help with tuition fee for school children.

Q: Do you feel that your village has had enough of an opportunity to be involved in the preparations of the WMA? Has there been enough communication?

A: Due to lack of money that makes not implement meetings to know importance of WMA and so on. So more education needed to tell village importance of participating.

Q: Do you want more communication? Should the WMA inform you more often? Would you want to have more meetings with the WMA?

A: They would like more communication. Village will also selected another three people to protect wildlife etc (Village Game Scouts); Yes more meetings wanted with the WMA because several matters they want to discuss with them.

Q: Do you feel you can approach the WMA right now?

A: We communicate with chairperson and secretary of WMA through the phone. Only WMA can decide to have a meeting.

Q: How will the WMA governance and decision-making fit in the village governing structure? Will it fit well?

A: Yes, they should both cooperate together.

Q: Confident that they will be able to represent the village?

A: Will be near to the community so will have something to tell them when in meetings. People will be interested to get involved.

Q: Has the traditional government been involved in WMA decision-making in the village?

A: Should participate in WMA meetings. Should be welcomed to village meetings to explain them. WMA should approach them because they are very close to the community.

Q: Heard of negative impacts of WMA?

A: Only negative impact we think the WMA will face, is that it may fail to raise revenue and satisfy the villages. Will not lead to any changes to community development.

Q: Communication with other CBO members in other villages?

A: Yes. We can do some lobbying if there is something we want to change in WMA - we can communicate together, and agree that something should be changed.

Q: Are there any current barriers that have kept your village from being involved in the preparation of the WMA?

A: User rights not yet released by government, and not enough funds to convene for meetings.

Q: Optimistic for the future of the WMA? Think it will happen?

A: Think WMA will be good thing -- if it will protect wildlife from poaching, and so tourism activities. Will be benefit to us, will raise revenue -- get children education, and build structures..

Q: How can decision making in village become more democratic?

A: We expect that people's awareness and participation will increase - will raise revenue and so leaders will be more motivated to do their job well such as approaching the community for several matters.

Q: Satisfied with participation they have had?

A: Should be more participation in the future, for when WMA becomes operational - more people will be involved.

Q: Even though WMA isn't here, should they be informed of government meetings?

A: Several people asking us in the village what is going on with the WMA and the government - people are interested to know what's happening with other stakeholders. Even leaders in the government want to know more about WMA issues, are not aware.

2.10 Lake Natron WMA Chairman Interview, 16/08/16

Q: What is your position in the WMA?

A: Lake Natron CBO chairperson. Main organiser, top position in the CBO. To organise all the meetings, control, chair meetings, and daily activities of the WMAs must take place under my control. Supervises almost everything in every corner. Distribute responsibilities to other leaders in other positions.

Q: Where does your position sit within the WMA governing structure?

A: WMA started by joining several villages together, who are the owner of the land and also the WMA. Representatives elected in general assembly meeting. has a vice chairperson and general secretary, and also a treasurer. Also have small committees under my control, which represent the villages e.g. Budget and finance, executive, environment and tourism, security and defence, and transport committees. Above me, is board of trustees (10-11 people) who can settle disputes.

Q: Accountability?

A: GA meeting - if any person does not agree with me, can send claim to GA meeting, where they have power. Can also send claims to board of trustees. GA is more powerful than me and can take any action.

--> all CBO members, village leaders and traditional leaders meet in the GA.

Q: What is the status of the WMA?

A: Government try to change policy to stop poaching, through participatory method of committees = start of WMA idea. Committees given portion of land to form WMA. Government raise awareness through the district government - people understand and can form AAs/CBOs. Then sit down to make constitution to create leaders; then village land use plan, which is a very strong tool which helps to solve conflict between villages = then write RZMP. then request user rights from ministry of environment and tourism. Natron WMA not yet got user rights though

Q: Were communities involved in the writing of the RZMP?

A: Yes. Collected ideas from villages, have to talk with women, trad and political leaders, with youth, with elders... Also use professionals to help write this, such as AWF to facilitate the process. Collected these opinions in 2010-13.

Q: In your opinion, how has the establishment process been going?

A: Very positive, very interested and not completely disappointed.

Q: What kinds of meetings are happening now?

A: No meetings - last meeting in June, where made some corrections to document to ministry. Waiting for them to reply. No meetings further planned. CBO members were present, district commissioner, executive, game officer, council chairperson, AWF

facilitators, people from ministry.

Q: What kinds of barriers are facing the WMA at the moment?

A: Only the RZMP waiting to be approved.

do not have any funds, so totally depend on AWF. When they dropped out of the Natron and Enduimet WMA process it became very slow. AWF programme completely over in northern Tanzania. Now We ask other people to donate to help CBO funds.

But I'm sure we can succeed and have user rights this year. We have done almost everything, now we are waiting.

Q: Has there been adequate communication with villages and CBO members?

A: Depends on representatives of the villages - some are not bringing info back to village.

But villages have power to change their representatives and replace them who is better. I can punish a CBO member if not in the right track.

Villages can write letter to me to tell me that their representatives are not doing their job. It is very important that they tell me otherwise I do not know. I don't normally visit villages to oversee, don't have access to funds to visit the villages, but if funds allow me then I can do that.

Q: Will Lake Natron try to avoid some of the issues that have arisen in Enduimet? i.e. frustrations due to lack of grazing land?

A: In beginning, other villages didn't want to hear about WMA e.g. Bomba. Came to join later. Few people misleading community about idea of WMA. Objective and idea of WMA is still not well know - must educate community about the benefits and disadvantages.

Community do not yet have that knowledge. Very strong challenge. Can be educated in school, but also in meetings the WMA can be a topic so can understand what they want to do. I had idea to establish a resource centre, where people can collect information about WMA. Challenge of poachers.

Have to create friendship between wild and domestic animal, and community in general.

How to conserve if you have to separate them? It's not natural, not God for the Maasai. Can not have lake natron WMA if you do this.

Oshumu - government policy says that animals should be separate.

Lekishon - one we have user rights we can have a say and use our communities to challenge and criticise the government. Look at Enduimet - one of best WMAs in Tanzania, and not separated. Can have our own voice to talk to leaders in National Assemblies to change the policy. I believe very strongly about this. If it a community conservation, let us use our communities ideas to manage the animals how we want.

Q: Will the villages be able to manage their land effectively?

A: Yes - villages have power to walk out of WMA if they choose to.

Q: Benefits of WMA?

A: Used to have game control area, government have complete power without any reference to villages. Community benefits very little from resources, they are still poor. Now we can

have power to discuss with investors directly. E.g. Enduimet employs and educates lots of people. Supports construction of roads, schools...

Villages are free to walk out if they don't see any benefits of WMA.

Enduimet - each village receives 29million each year because of WMA, used to receive 3 million.

Q: Will government or CBO control revenue?

A: Still conflict about revenue control. Better if CBO has it but government still interfering. But we fight on that and ask for control of it.

Q: When WMA is operating, how many meetings will CBO members have?

A: Three per year. But within every month there are small committee meetings. After three months GA assembly meeting.

50 meetings with CBO members and village government since 2010 - 2015. All 32 villages showed up.