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## **Structural Adjustment and Development Issues in Tanzania: Strategies and Tools for Environmental Policy and Programme Reform**

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### **Abstract**

Like many African countries, Tanzania has shifted from centralized command type economic development, characterized by top-down planning, towards people's involvement in decision-making. This process is being facilitated by an emphasis on pluralism, democratic processes and decentralization by the government of Tanzania. Environmental policy reform in Tanzania is discussed in this context. The focus of the discussion is public policies that influence the utilization of natural resources, also often cited as ultimate causes and potential solutions of environmental problems. Localized spatial entities are facing a complex interaction of natural disasters with human activities (of local and international origin) that result in the deterioration of the productivity of environmental resources. In the Tanzanian context, the key environmental concerns addressed include the degradation of the environmental and natural resource base; air and water pollution; and participatory environmental planning, especially at the sub-national level. An important recommendation is that efforts should be made to develop mechanisms for flexibility and innovation in the environmental policy and reform process. Such flexibility and innovation, alongside the democratic participation of stakeholders, is critical to the sustenance of the process.

### **Introduction**

Like most African countries, Tanzania has shifted from centralized command type economic development policies towards people's involvement in decision-making. Since the mid-nineteen eighties, Tanzania has adopted political and economic liberalization as a strategy of sustainable development. The reform process is reflected in the efforts of the government of Tanzania to promote pluralism, democratic processes and decentralization.

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Given that environmental and natural resources form the corner-stone of socio-economic development in Tanzania, and that the state of the environment is ultimately one of the limiting factors for the well-being of the people, there is need to propose strategies and tools for environmental policy and programme reform. One way of combating ecological and socio-economic depression has been for the government to opt for political and economic reforms that reflect the views of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other United Nations agencies on Africa's underdevelopment (Juma and Ford, 1991; Tripp, 1997).

In the past, development policies and programmes were not informed by local realities or the people who must live with these policies on a day to day basis. Consequently the programmes suffered from either partial implementation or total failure, leading, in turn, to the perpetuation of underdevelopment. Such underdevelopment is characterized by environmental degradation, poverty, famine, civil conflicts and migration (Rugumamu and Kishimba, 1993; Cardy, 1993).

It is now becoming increasingly evident that popular participation is a means and not an end goal in itself. As a tool of development, it empowers the people to effectively involve themselves in creating structures and designing policies or programmes that serve the interests of all. It also helps them to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits (Participatory Rural Appraisal Handbook, 1991; Brown 1993; Biodiversity Program, 1993; Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994).

This article focuses on the search for participatory strategies and tools for sub-national decision-making in environmental planning and management. It stresses participation to enhance sustainable socio-economic growth and environmental protection (Weber, 1991; Thomas-Slater et. al., 1993).

The environmental and natural resource base, which includes land, water, air, minerals, energy, soils, flora, and fauna, tends to behave as a natural system. These resources are sources of livelihood for the majority of the Tanzanian population, foreign exchange earners, and supporters of political stability and biodiversity. Thus policy and programme reform in the approach to those resources is urgently needed (URT, 1991; Biodiversity Support Program, 1993; Rugumamu, 1993a). The international community's concern with these resources adds urgency to such a need for reform. This is reflected in the 1977 United Nations (UN) Conference on Desertification; the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD).

## The Major National Environment and Development Issues

According to the National Environmental Policy (URT, 1997), the major environment and development problems in Tanzania that undermine economic development and are largely a function of unwise resource use are the degradation of the natural resource base, water and air pollution, and trans-boundary environmental issues (Rugumamu, 1996; Anon, 1996).

### Degradation of the Natural Resource Base

Being endowed with diverse natural resources, Tanzania's main problems are: (i) soil degradation; (ii) de-vegetation (loss of forests, woodlands, rangelands and wetlands; (iii) mismanagement of water and wildlife resources; and (iv) degradation of marine coastlines (URT, 1997). Although these problems are spatially parochial, they have, in some areas, reached a crisis level. This is exemplified by desertification around Shinyanga Region and beach erosion in Northern Dar-es-Salaam.

### Water and Air Pollution

Rapid industrialization, coupled with unplanned urbanization, has resulted in increasing levels of water and air pollution, thus threatening human health (Anon 1996). The main sources of pollutants include industrial effluent, sewage disposal, oil spills, and other wastes, especially toxic or hazardous chemicals.

As regards surface water sources, these effluents are a threat to public health. Since the effluents percolate to ground-water resources they are hazardous to people and other organisms. The rising discharge of waste gases from factories, homes and vehicles in urban centres is also contributing to an increase in the global climate change. If efforts towards the use of *clean technology* are not intensified, the current status may deteriorate, given the contemporary drive to attract foreign investment.

### Trans-boundary Environmental Issues

Tanzania shares a number of natural resources with her neighbours, especially those of Lake Victoria, the Indian Ocean, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa (Anon, 1996). Since there is environmental degradation around such resources, there are serious concerns with their use. The problems include industrial and agricultural effluents, as well as oil spills, which are a



threat to biodiversity and cultural and aesthetic values. Of late, the invasion of water by the water hyacinth has threatened socio-economic activities in Lake Victoria. The need for sub-national, national, regional and international initiatives to address these problems cannot therefore be overemphasized.

#### THE PARTICIPATORY ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING PROCESS FOR REFORM POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

##### The Debate on Participation in Sub-Saharan Africa

It should be noted that within the system of national natural resource use, there is a subtle boundary between private and common resources (Hardin, 1968; James, 1971).

At the local and lowest level the ecosystem is a complex system of land users, land, water, crops, livestock, pasture, forests and game (Matlock, 1981; Agarwal and Narain, 1992). Unless traditional institutions and values break down, as is happening in some areas in Tanzania (Rugumamu, 1993a; 1997b), what Hardin (1968) called the tragedy of the commons, that is, resource degradation, will not occur. This is due to community participation in resource management and conservation (Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop, 1975; Little, 1987; Rocheleau, 1992).

At the other end of the spectrum of environmental degradation is the political instability of many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. A lack of good governance and corruption, among others, have created ethnic crises and general lawlessness, in turn leading to an abundance of resource degradation, as well as an exodus of environmental and political refugees (Cardy, 1993; Rugumamu, 1997a). As a consequence, the environmental and natural resource base in refugee areas of origin and destination is characterized by de-vegetation, soil erosion, pollution, famine and socio-economic decline. This pathetic situation highlights the difficulty of enlisting the accountability of resource users in planning sustainable local development. As for corruption within the existing political systems, it should be acknowledged that it has eroded the limited economic base of the local communities and led to severe and irreversible socio-economic and ecological problems.

In order for the natural resource sector to sustain or enhance sustainable socioeconomic and ecological development, there is a need to address the

twin strategic objectives of guaranteeing a sustained or enhanced productivity of ecosystems and providing an enabling environment for genuine democratic participation of key stakeholders in the planning and management processes at all levels. The design of a pragmatic policy and programme to deal with these two objectives should be modelled on the material conditions necessary for their 'reproduction'. Central to these objectives is the condition that the sub-national level stakeholders are an integral part of the reform process. As this transformation calls for a change in behaviour, values and attitudes held by stakeholders with respect to resources, the need for a cautious step in this direction cannot be overemphasized (Field, 1991; Tripp, 1997). The reform process should therefore be pegged, among other things, to the stakeholders' experience, accumulated knowledge and perceptions of managing the environmental and natural resource base.

For a pragmatic policy researcher, it is imperative to search for participatory planning strategies and tools that go beyond sheer data collection to a more participatory learning environment (Kalyalya, et al., 1988). The data and information on natural resource utilization and environmental quality, gathered and based on stakeholders' perspectives, may be used to generate trade-offs to achieve goals of sustainable development and environmental health without compromising the welfare of future generations (Brundtland, 1986).

##### Environmental Policy and Programme Management in Tanzania

A review of the status of environmental policy and programme management in Tanzania is beyond the scope of this article. It suffices however to highlight key features typical of the national scene. Environmental issues in the country are under the mandate of the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC), a *parastatal* in the Vice-President's Office. In practice, the management of environmental issues falls under different line ministries (URT, 1997).

Institutionally, governance in Tanzania is both vertical and horizontal. Vertically it is comprised of the central government and local authorities, while horizontally it is made up of government departments, commissions, and *parastatals*. There is evidence that this set up poses problems in environmental policies and programme management (Anon, 1996). Major institutional weaknesses include ineffective coordination and networking mechanisms, inadequate financial resources, and low capacity in planning conservation policies and programmes.



On the policy front Tanzania has several sectoral environmental policies – all aimed at sustaining or enhancing environmental quality - which are either recently approved or currently under development (Anon 1996). Other than a few policies already passed by Parliament, such as the National Land Policy, the Science and Technology Policy and the Energy Policy, most of them have remained in draft form. Examples of policies still in draft form include the Forestry Policy, the Agricultural Policy and the Fisheries Policy. It should be noted here that poor integration of sectoral policies and the inadequacy of policy coverage have contributed significantly to national environmental resource mismanagement.

On the international scene, Tanzania is a party to a number of conventions and programmes. She is a signatory, for example, to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Convention on Biological Diversity (BIODIVERSITY), and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). The country also enjoys the international funding of environmental programmes. In spite of these efforts, however, poor domestic markets, coupled with the liberalized monetary and trade policies, have exacerbated environmental degradation processes in Tanzania (World Bank, 1991). It should be emphasized that as the reform process progresses, efforts should be made to integrate environmental concerns with development. These concerns should reflect the needs and aspirations of stakeholders, as well as the needs of the environmental resource base. These goals may be achieved through participatory environmental planning.

Although the phrase has become a 'catch word' among development researchers and politicians, there is a heated debate on the concept of participation in development circles (Leighton, 1986; Carruthers and Chambers, 1981-1; Conyers, 1986). Like many concepts in the development arena, the term 'participation' has met with what Cohen and Uphoff referred to as 'popularity without clarity' largely because individuals use it merely as a means to meet their own ends (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba 1994).

Due to the complexity of the debate, this article adopts the 1993 position of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 1993) on this question. USAID describes 'participation' as both the ends and the means – that is, the sustainable results sought and the way the providers and recipients of development assistance nurture and cherish those results. It is assumed that development by participation broadens access to economic opportunities; empowers local people, especially among marginalized groups, to engage in their society's decision-making processes; and improves the quality of life and the environment.

It is the contention here that policies should concentrate on effective means of popular participation with regard to services for which participation is likely to have the most positive impact. Policies should also focus on all the role occupants for whom participation is most useful (Leighton, 1986). People-centred development policies have indeed a socio-cultural dimension, which is critical to success, particularly in traditional societies. They have the potential to broaden the base of the role occupants and create a sense of responsibility and accountability at all levels. Therefore, as change in behaviour is contemplated, human development policies and programmes must take socio-cultural concerns into account, instead of ignoring them as they have done in the past.

In real life, two principles guide participatory planning, institutional and structural levels notwithstanding. First, the extent of participation of stakeholders varies according to the requirements of specific policy and programme types of planning processes (Leighton, 1986). Second, the degree of empowerment of stakeholders accounts for the 'punch' necessary to convert economic and related demands into effective political realities, a precondition for popular policy reform.

#### **Environmental Reform, Programme Planning and the Management Process**

This investigation takes place within the context of a spectrum of processes, actors and actions, and borrows heavily from Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba's (1994) comprehensive review of literature on participation in economic reform in Africa. The approach provides a framework for assessing participation as an end or means to sustainable development. Questions raised are:

- (a) Who participates and how does participation occur?
- (b) What organizational unit is best suited to policy and programme planning? Planning is broadly conceived as constituting three major interactive processes, which have a variety of feedback loops among, and within, refinements. These are design, implementation and monitoring, and critical evaluation.

#### **The Policy and Programme Design Process**

The design process for policies and programmes is constituted by a number of key operations, including analysis, design and adoption. As for the identification of participants in these operations, development researchers point to the top down planning approach employed by most African



governments. This strategy is devoid of contribution from the general public and members of the private and popular sectors. As a result, government bureaucrats tend to monopolize these functions.

Recent studies have documented signs of reluctance within the civil society to embrace policy reforms drawn by some African governments and national bureaucrats because the reforms are seen as having been dictated by 'personal' interests (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994; Tripp, 1997). It is observed that, given their characteristic ethnic, religious, political and economic coalitions, most African governments rarely implement policy changes that are contrary to the short-term interests of their major supporters, since such action would most likely jeopardize the tenure of a regime. More importantly, noting that their own interests are threatened by policy reforms, even bureaucrats tend to act in ways that sabotage reform processes. This is exemplified by Bratton and van de Walle's study, which examines fifteen African countries and proves the case in nine of them (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994).

A number of potentially key institutions at the national level, whose involvement in the policy and programme reform cycle would contribute to genuine democratic participation, have been identified by, among others, USAID (1993), Swartzendruber and Njovens (1993), and Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994). The philosophical underpinning of choosing participants, whether at the national or sub-national level, is that it is critical to identify existing and potential institutions that have been, or are likely to be affected by the reform process (Carrol 1992).

The first and foremost activity in policy and program formulation is an analysis of the current situation. The analysis, a key to understanding the flaws that are built into existing policies and programmes, has been the domain of state bureaucrats. Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994) provide evidence that some African government bureaucrats have displayed a degree of conservatism in policy reform negotiations with the World Bank and other donors. It is reported that most African government policies were tuned to keeping particular regimes in power. Any independent analysis contrary to this view was considered opposition to the government and was quickly suppressed in the name of 'national unity'. Furthermore, as a survival strategy, these African political elites sought to monopolize development efforts.

This state of affairs is often reproduced all the way down to sub-national levels. These lower levels are characterized by a limited devolution of

popular power. In addition, compartmentalization of ministry personnel, which renders development sectoral rather than holistic, almost always hinders community group input. This approach has ensured that local people are deprived of the ownership of development initiatives.

Since policy analysis in Africa is often limited in quality, and to the extent that there is only limited room for alternative perspectives by African participants, Africa's participatory experience in the donor-dominated stabilization and structural adjustment policy packages has been weak. In this scenario the perspective of African participants has thus been described as a donor pre-designed 'one-size-fits-all' reform package (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba 1994). As a result, the policy dialogue has, in some countries, completely failed to address the key inputs into reform, and the performance criteria leading to reform shifts.

Studies reveal that the program and policy design process is the exclusive domain of a narrow circle of actors who have privileged access to national decision-makers. Local African governments are reported to have played either a nonexistent or highly limited role in their own policy and program designs. By and large, wherever consultations were made, they followed the 'natural law', which is that a lack of knowledge, finance and trained personnel reinforces the creation of a top down policy plan. Being closest to the grassroots level, however, local government institutions have a great potential of undertaking informed and successful policy analyses.

There are also many case studies that describe limited non-state institutional participation in policy designs (Swartzendruber and Njovens, 1993; Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994). Lately democratic states, such as Mali, are reported to be involving NGOs as officially recognized entities in policy discussion. In South Africa, Ghana, and Uganda these institutions have contributed to various policy reform issues at the consultation level. But creating the mechanisms for processing emerging alternative policy scenarios into policy and program guidelines remain a challenge.

In relation to policy adoption, Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994) report that various governments employ such 'participatory' mechanisms as information dissemination through the media, national conferences, other organized fora, and informal consultations with affected institutions, groups and individuals. Government campaigns revolve around the explanation of particular program rationales, objectives and benefits. It should be noted,



however, that this is the only operation in this critical process in which all stakeholders 'officially' participate. Though it is a positive step towards the sustainability of policies and programs, participation at this stage may serve merely as a 'rubber stamp' aimed at hypocritically authenticating command planning.

In practice, policies and programs so created are subsequently passed over to the state institutions for enforcement and to the affected masses for implementation.

### **The Policy and Programme Implementation Process**

The actors in the policy and program implementation process may be broadly classified into three categories: the enforcing state institutions, the affected constituencies or beneficiaries, and the so-called developmental NGOs (Carrol, 1992).

In their comprehensive review of literature, Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994) report an abundance of case studies revealing weaknesses in the institutional capacity of this state-agent dominated process. The domination, it is argued, explains the poor performance of most African economies. A critical issue to the process is the question of the required inter-organizational networks, which have also been reported as either weak or nonexistent. It is generally acknowledged that most state implementing agents, at best, behave as captives of vested interests driven by the desire to maintain elite control over public resources for rent-seeking and patronage purposes.

By the very nature of the process, the implementation phase also involves a wide spectrum of civil groups - formal and informal, rural and urban - that are the affected constituencies. Although African governments prefer to have the unparalleled role in development leadership, they tend to give in to service delivery NGOs at the grassroots level (Bratton, 1989). This tends to reduce the state's weighty managerial and fiscal burden of providing public services on a nation-wide basis.

There is ample evidence in these studies that individuals, NGOs and CBOs have more capacity to influence policy implementation than policy formulation (Bratton 1989). Two types of participation, broadly defined on the basis of support or otherwise, have been identified, namely voice and exit. Voice participation refers to mass activities, including, on the formal side, such actions as public fora and, on the informal side, such actions as rumour mongering. The

recent proliferation of media outlets, especially the press, in the wake of political liberalization in Africa has created a conducive participatory environment for initiating an economic and political reform debate.

In a suppressed civil society stakeholders devise their own subtle, yet highly effective, means of exerting influence on policy reforms without drawing the wrath of the authorities. This type of participation is referred to as 'exit' and refers to such measures as individuals withholding support, retreating into the informal sector, evading a policy provision through bribery, and even migrating (thus creating economic or political refugees). Evidence from East and Southern Africa, however, shows that, with popular support, many local governments have operational capacity and have successfully participated in policy and program implementation.

The NGO community in Africa, operating as a citizenry building block, and as a bridge connecting governments, donors and grassroots organizations has been commended as an active force in program implementation in natural resources and environmental policy development (Swartzendruber and Njovens, 1993). There has been, in this sector, a demonstrable contribution in the building of local capacity and self reliance - the so-called stereotype activities. The result has been better project effectiveness.

Success in reform efforts greatly depends upon the patterns of coalition-building between implementing state agents and the key stakeholders willing and able to support policy reform. The approach is capable of avoiding the potential role of the exit group to derail long-term policies and programs characteristic of such key sectors as natural resources management.

### **The Policy and Programme Monitoring and Evaluation Process**

As in the preceding processes, monitoring and evaluation fall predominantly within the domain of state bureaucrats. The monitoring process is constituted by two types of participating actors: the state agents and the foreigners (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994). Evaluation is critical for managing the technical aspects of market-oriented reforms and for contributing to making the government more politically accountable and examinable. The available studies examining the participation of donor technical staff, target groups, local governments and national bureaucrats call for the strengthening of the evaluation capacity of the latter three groups. It was optimistically concluded by a 1989 World Bank seminar, however, that, despite administrative bottlenecks, local governments, if sufficiently empowered, offer the potential to help mitigate the negative effects of structural adjustment policies by



helping to fine-tune resource allocation, and by monitoring impacts on the target groups, especially the poor.

#### **Social Organizing for Identifying and Empowering Stakeholders: Some Assumptions**

As a matter of strategy, it is imperative for development policy researchers and practitioners to identify who the stakeholders are with respect to environmental and natural resources. There are many ways to reach this end (Johansson and Mlenge, 1993). Equally important, however, is the role of the researcher in facilitating the empowerment of individuals, existing grassroots groups and institutions, and the creation of new ones using prevalent concerns, values and aspirations.

There are several potentially key institutions at the national level, which may be replicated at sub-national level, and whose involvement in the policy and programme reform cycle would contribute to genuine grassroots democratic participation. These have been proposed by, among others, Bratton (1989), USAID (1993), and Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994). The list, based on an arbitrary categorization, includes state bureaucrats, international (bilateral and multilateral) donor agency officials, local government officials, NGOs (developmental and grassroots based), both national and foreign, CBOs, popularly supported local residents, women, youth, elders and the poor.

Further at the community level, development practitioners should strive to cultivate cross-networking, coupled with vertical linkages. The establishment of environmental and natural resources liaison within key government departments and the private sector at different levels would facilitate exchange of information and promote the learning process amongst stakeholders. It is self evident that with locally rooted knowledge of local conditions and with informed community members, the environment will be better protected than it could be with a distant and somewhat foreign bureaucracy. Being insiders, therefore, these individuals, groups and institutions are genuinely accountable and available to their community, local authority, central government and, indeed, the international community in which they are grounded (Otto, 1993, Anon, 1996).

#### **The Role of the Local Population**

It should be emphasized that the role of the people and their civil organizations is pivotal to meaningful development. They should press for

democratic participation at all levels of decision-making both as a matter of right and civic responsibility. To this end the people should establish independent organizations at various levels that are voluntary, grassroots based, democratically administered, and self-reliant so as to ensure community empowerment for self-development.

By creating autonomous grassroots institutions that are truly indigenous, people's democratic participation in the development and reform process will be promoted. These institutions should be charged with the responsibility of championing and strengthening people's initiatives.

It is essential that at various levels a consultative machinery that engages Government on various aspects of democratic participation be built. Basically the people and their popular organizations should develop networks across national borders to promote cooperation and inter-relationships on sub-national, national and inter-regional bases. This will indeed foster the sharing of lessons and experience, develop people's solidarity and raise political consciousness in democratic participation.

In introducing new ideas and practices, it is deemed important that people see them as meeting their needs. If felt needs do not exist, they must first be generated by a consciously planned action. The deep-rooted belief in the infallibility of modern scientific knowledge prevents technical experts and decision-makers from seeing the potential use of local knowledge (Peatti, 1968). People are indeed a source of useful knowledge for development (Fujisaska, 1989a; Edermann, 1993). Further, given the important role played by women in reproduction and production and hence their vital role in the process of African recovery and reconstruction, it is imperative to eliminate all types of gender discrimination to ensure women's full equality and effective participation in the reform process.

#### **The Role of Government**

As for the Government, its critical role should be the promotion of popular participation in the course of yielding to popular demands. By the same token it should broaden its social power base and tap the people's energy and commitment. It should be stated that in order to meaningfully create a new partnership between Government and the people in the common interest of society, there is need to ensure women's involvement at all levels of decision-making through the appointment of women in senior policy and management posts in all sectors of Government.



Government must also be fully committed to the promotion of human rights. It has to empower participants to freely air their views on issues that concern them as individuals, groups and associations. As already noted, this calls for power devolution, and also for education, both formal and informal, through which the cultivation of an informed, knowledgeable and vibrant civil society may be brewed. As a revolutionary tool, education is capable of creating behavioural changes towards the environment and natural resources management, but also teaches participants to defend their right of pursuing their aspirations, airing their views, and making informed contributions to the changing of policies, programs and rules.

### **The Role of the International Community**

Prominent actors in the international community, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and donors, should support the Government in its drive to internalize the development and reform process. It should also provide technical and financial assistance necessary for carrying the reform process forward. These inputs foster the democratization of development and activate the participation of the local population and its organizations (CBOs, NGOs, trade unions).

There is also the question of the international debt. A rational utilization of environmental and natural resources will be achieved only when the heavy debt burden is drastically reduced. Thus, the role of the international community in this regard is to reduce the debt and provide a long-term period of moratorium on it in order to save resources for investment in the environment.

### **Some Evidence of Participatory Environmental Planning and Management**

As outlined above, the planning processes in Africa's natural resources sector should involve all planners - state bureaucrats, donor communities, and members of the private and popular sectors. Efforts to integrate these groups are essential to sustainable development (Biodiversity Support Program, 1993). To this end, stakeholders at the sub-national level should be allowed to direct the planning process within their area of jurisdiction.

The private sector has not featured in any phase of the policy and programme planning cycle (although it participates in socio-economic and ecological development). Within the African context, two types of the private sectors are distinguished- the formal and informal sectors. Whereas the

former is constituted by a small number of predominantly male business persons, often with links to European and North American firms, the latter is made up of a large number of small traders and operators or producers who are increasingly youth-dominated and have a significant number of women participants (Tripp, 1997).

Many African governments have deliberately relegated the private sector to virtual oblivion, given their mistrust of both the people and the profit motive it embraces. It may also be hypothesized that the economic growth of a business community poses a power threat to the first generation of state elites. In these circumstances, most members of the business community are politically and economically suppressed, thus relying on state elites for protection and privileged support, rather than participating in policy reform to champion their cause.

However, efforts are underway to change all this in West Africa. For example, USAID is supporting the creation of national and regional networks of private entrepreneurs to engage in effective policy dialogue with governments and donor agencies with the intent to influence policy and programme formulation (Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba 1994). Examples in the informal private sector are also cited, whereby USAID and the World Bank have supported operators in the livestock sector to influence the governments in the region to lower regulatory and operational restrictions in sub-regional trade.

Local government institutions whose activities impact on the grassroots level are seldom cited as policy and programme reform actors. Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba (1994) report that the capacity of these institutions to participate in any operation in the reform process is severely circumscribed by, among other factors, A stifling and inefficient Central bureaucratic control over, and an extensive political interference in local authority operations. This is exacerbated by the local officials' lack of knowledge of the laws defining their powers and duties, which severely hampers their effectiveness as agents of change.

Like local governments, development oriented grassroots NGO activities have a direct impact on the livelihoods of the population in which they are situated (Clark, 1991; Carrol, 1992; Swartzendruber and Njovens, 1993). Their full potential for effective involvement in policy reform in Africa, however, is yet to be realized in terms of factors that enable or constrain success in



natural resources management activities (Otto, 1993; World Resources Institute, 1994). There is currently a mushrooming of indigenous NGOs and informal civil organizations on the African continent, which, though still somewhat weak and fragmented, promise an alternative development perspective through participatory planning (Dorm-Adzobu et al., 1991; Otto, 1993; Tripp, 1994). There is now a window of opportunity for democratic reform, given a recent shift in the donor community to fund programmes that involve NGOs. This shift has dramatically empowered NGOs and thus strengthened their bargaining power with governments in the reform process (USAID, 1993; Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba, 1994).

#### SUB-NATIONAL LEVEL PARTICIPATORY PLANNING STRATEGIES AND TOOLS

This subsection regards the new role of African bureaucracies to be one of policy and programme reform co-managers with key stakeholders in a participatory environment. The central role of the state, therefore, should be to create an enabling environment for the stakeholders to manage, protect and reclaim their environment and natural resources - a precondition for sustainable rural development. In essence, this means that community members and the private sector have a stake in streamlining the procedures for formulation, approval and amendment of environmental programmes (Rugumamu, 1996).

This approach has been adopted by the Clinton American administration, and it is exemplified by the launching of a new generation of environmental protection for the next century. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency administrator calls it a 'common sense approach' to environmental regulation that is characterized by flexibility and innovation (Browner, 1994). The agency's new direction is marked by the promotion of innovative environmental technology at home and abroad, and greater public participation in protecting human health and natural resources. The strategy is, undoubtedly, as sound for the African countries as for the U.S.A.

In view of the experiences outlined in the preceding subsection, the development of participatory tools should be pegged on strategies capable of identifying who the stakeholders are and how they should play a role in the planning cycle (Biodiversity Support Program, 1993). The philosophy underlying this article is that all segments of society should participate in making decisions that govern their behaviour and development as far as environmental and natural resources are concerned. It does not in any way

seek to jeopardize any particular party's role in enhancing sustainable natural resources management. Instead, it strives to redistribute responsibility and accountability to all parties in society- especially to those whose livelihoods have an effect upon natural resource systems. This may entail a process of empowering customary community institutions, as has been done in the Bariadi District of Tanzania (Johansson and Mlenge, 1993).

#### Strategies and Tools for Participatory Environmental Planning and Management

Development scholars have been in the forefront in designing methodologies of involving stakeholders in planning their development. The developing countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa have served as experimental sites for these tools.

A trans-disciplinary team of development agencies or researchers, together with community members, public officers, members of the private and popular sectors, should embark on a search for sustainable socio-economic and ecological development at different spatial and institutional levels (Bremer, 1984; Conyers, 1986; Cooke, 1991). Hence the strategies should evolve around, first, the propagation of partnership among key players and, second, the devolution of power from the state to the people. To this end, we propose a research methodology that will foster the strategies and hence revolutionize the conventional top-down approach to resource planning.

This trans-disciplinary perspective is based on the 'from the ground-up' approach with horizontal and vertical net-working. The methodology is deemed capable of capturing the dynamic qualities of society, its development agencies, and the resources that are essential inputs into the formulation of informed policies, programmes and legislation (Kalyalya, et al., 1988; Biodiversity Support Program, 1993). The tools for implementing the above strategy are documented in the Participatory Rural Appraisal Handbook (WRI, 1991).

#### Enhancing Stakeholders' Democratic Participation *Community Meetings*

At the community level, meetings of stakeholders may take several forms based on the socio-cultural setting. Regardless of the format, community meetings promote horizontal net-working and consciousness raising - thus boosting the exchange of information about opportunities and problems that



the members encounter in both similar and differing circumstances. At a higher level, such as the sub-national or national level, a conference of genuine stakeholders has great potential for designing, implementing and monitoring policy and program reform.

#### *Workshops*

Unlike community gatherings, workshops, symposia and seminars, which tend to address more specific issues by particular groups or institutions, have a great potential for analyzing and formulating resolutions regarding public policy and programme agenda. Multi-stakeholder workshops, when carefully planned, help participants to better understand complex issues involved in environmental and natural resources development. In state sponsored workshops, care should be taken to ensure that people's institutions and representatives are not 'workshop hostages'. The output of a candid debate will positively contribute to policy and program reform.

With the required arrangement, the workshop participants can elect their representative(s) to the higher decision-making level (vertical net-working and scaling up) to continue defending their interests.

In the reform cycle, the technique may be employed in policy and program analysis, in the coordination and formulation operations of the design process, in implementation and monitoring, and in the evaluation process.

#### *Spatial Mapping*

Spatial diagramming as a participatory learning process provides an equal opportunity to stakeholders to view their problems and opportunities from a *spatial* perspective, the scale notwithstanding. The spatial data gathering exercise seeks to clarify stakeholders' perspectives of cooperation, competition and conflict at household, community, sub-national, national and even international levels with respect to access, responsibility and control of resources.

On the basis of the above, *site specific* information and opinion generation can be transformed into inputs of a specific public agenda. This tool may be used by researchers to generate purposeful discussion with stakeholders on resource management and conservation issues. It may also be used as a final tool by both the stakeholders and the researchers to present the contemporary state of the human, institutional and natural resource base in a spatial setting. This information could be incorporated in environmental planning using geographical information systems (GIS).

#### *Drama*

A policy researcher may take advantage of this technique to gather data and information on people's and institutional perceptions of a particular public policy and programme agenda while also raising awareness. With this tool, stakeholders 'theatize' environmental issues by employing, for example, plays, songs and poems. The information so generated must be used to coordinate rule-making, improve compliance efforts and identify innovative approaches to environmental protection (Browner, 1994).

#### *Media*

In Africa, the media have proved to be an effective tool for popularizing occasionally unpopular government policies. In the current political liberalization era, the media have a strong role to play in disseminating alternative perspectives on a particular public policy and programme agenda. In the globalisation era, however, where the media are controlled by transnational corporations (TNCs), efforts should be expended to guard against useless information, and to promote knowledge that empower local communities and their development partners to make informed decisions in their development endeavours.

This tool, which includes radio, press, television, videography, photography and computers, may be used by stakeholders to exchange views, and by policy analysts to gather views from stakeholders as they air their own, thus generating informed debate and actions. More importantly, the tool may be used for raising consciousness, thereby enhancing community empowerment.

#### **The Spatial Dimension for Environmental Policy and Programme Reform**

It is of utmost importance that the search for natural resources and environmental reform be situated in a specific position within the power structure in society. As pointed out above, power in Africa lies with the national government and, in some countries, decentralized authorities.

A policy researcher should, at the outset, analyze the power structure to achieve two main goals. First, to develop a clear understanding of the responsibility of key role occupants in the power structure in question. Second, to create an understanding of the communication networks in the power structure, both horizontally and vertically. These two goals will serve as links between the centralized powers and the reform process, thereby capturing the notches in the hierarchy at which pressure for change can be



applied to bring about desired reforms. Equally important, though, is the 'catalyst' role of these goals - that is one of sustaining the reform process.

It is also important to identify the spatial scale of operation for policy and programme impact assessment. This can be an administrative area, ecological unit, functional or operational unit or a combination of these in areas where stakeholders live. It is imperative that a 'resource catchments area' be defined in order to capture the interplay of integrated socioeconomic, cultural, and ecological concerns of the individual unit and the global village.

During the design process, efforts should be made to ensure, first, that the stakeholders view the problems and opportunities in a systems context in the analysis phase. Second, that their perspectives are incorporated in the initial choice of problem-solving or solution-seeking options. Third, that the designation of priorities and performance indicators to gauge sub-national level sustainability takes into account stakeholders' accumulated knowledge in the formulation phase. In-built policy and program mechanisms, such as appointment of neutral liaisons (i.e. neither allied with, nor influenced by, an offending sub-national unit), should direct the design process.

The implementation process should, as far as possible, reflect the roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders as postulated in the design process. The output should be an institutional change, which does not result in increased material inequalities and social exclusion.

As for the monitoring and evaluation process, it is recommended here that the stakeholders be involved in assessing the set goals in order to create continued feed-back between stakeholders and researchers at sub-national, national, and international levels. This process should produce the tools with which to fine-tune institutional planning and correct problems as they arise, thus enabling change in the rules that govern development at sub-national and national levels. There is need, therefore, to publish an environmental and natural resources status report, and to disseminate it to all stakeholders.

### Conclusions and Recommendations

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the environmental and natural resource problems faced by Tanzania call for a participatory approach in resource management and conservation, and subsequently for equity in the sharing of benefits. The success of this course of action will very much depend upon the extent to which all segments of civil society, the

government and the international community will participate in an informed decision-making process. In this regard, partnership is the logical end-goal of participatory efforts.

Strategies and tools that enable the empowerment of stakeholders should be vigorously sought by all participants. Community based PRA tools, when scaled up, have proved their ability to form the basis for sub-national level public awareness, empowerment and participation, data collection and analysis, formulation of action plans and, hence, the sustenance of the reform process in the management and protection of environmental and natural resources in Sub-Saharan Africa. Coupled with an increased rate of investment in the environmental sector, there is evidence of local level capacity to raise the productivity of the human and land resources, and to break the vicious circle of poverty and resource degradation.

Finally, it may be stated that there is an urgent need for setting in motion participatory environment policy and programme management approaches to save the environment. It is self evident that, as local communities start working together, so will whole societies, the nation-state and hence the global community, in an effort to build a healthier world economy and environment for present and future generations. The approach should ensure built-in mechanisms for flexibility and innovation, the key features for policy and programme sustenance.

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## The Roles, Functions and Performance of Political Parties in Multiparty Tanzania<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

This paper attempts to assess the performance of political parties in Tanzania. It explores the traditional roles of parties, such as interest articulation and aggregation. The performance of Tanzanian political parties is discussed in relation to these roles, and in the context of the 1995 General Elections. Although other factors favouring a better performance by Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) are discussed, organisational strength and the ruling party's historical legacy are highlighted. The opposition is found to be playing its part in many traditional party roles, but it is found to be lacking in efforts to organise for its own survival, thus contributing to a picture of an uncertain future for plural and competitive politics.

### 1. Introduction

In this paper we have defined the roles and functions of political parties as understood widely, and have proceeded to discuss the activities of Tanzanian parties in and around the 1995 election in relation to those known roles and functions. The discussion is dominated by material relating to Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), largely because it has been around much longer, it is better researched, and its activities are more visible.

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