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Foreword

The Journal of Policy and Leadership is published bi-annually (January and June) to advance the study and practice of leadership, policy and public management through publication of articles written by researchers and academicians well informed on the respected fields.

The main purpose of the journal is to bring together a compendium of papers that draw on the Tanzanian and larger African context to advance the science of leadership, policy and public management. By focusing on theory-guided research, we hope to not only stimulate a great integration of leadership, policy and public management but also to propose constructive alternatives and/or future research agendas to guide works in leadership and policy management in Tanzania and Africa.

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Articles submitted for publication must be original contributions and not previously published in any form and/or being considered for publication elsewhere. All papers submitted should be in English, double spaced and in Times New Roman font eleven. Articles should not be more than 7,000 words or more than 20 pages in length. The papers should be numbered and references presented using Harvard referencing system. Names and internal evidence of identity, for example self citations, should not be included. Since the articles shall be subjected to the blind reviews, the author's address and designation should appear on the title page only.

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Relevance of Village Assemblies for Governance at the Grassroots Levels: Experiences from Selected Cases in Ludewa District

Anosisye Kesale

Abstract

This article is an attempt to look on the extent to which village assemblies influence governance at the grassroots levels. In this regard, the article draws experiences from the selected cases in Ludewa District. It has been revealed that to some extent village assemblies have significance influences on the elements of governance, namely; accountability, participation and transparency. However, village leaders' accountability and transparency are largely influenced by civic education level, active participation and accessed to information by the village assembly members.

Key words: Village assemblies, governance, grassroots levels, local governance, local government

Introduction

Following the restoration of the abolished local government authorities in 1982, the Government of Tanzania adopted a number of measures to improve the capacity of these governments to make them meet the expectations and objectives outlined in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and the local government legislation. There are different initiatives carried out by the Government to ensure that the re installed local government authorities are growing in strength and meet the constitutional and legal goals that were mandated to perform. One of the key initiatives taken by the Government was by the introduction of administrative, legislative, institutional and sectoral reforms in the Government. The reforms played the significant and substantial impact to local government management in Tanzania.

Two major reform policy documents paramount to local governance in Tanzania were drafted. The first document was the Local Government Reform Agenda whereas the second document was the Policy Paper on Local Government Reform. In 1996 the government adopted the Local Government Reform Agenda which, among other things in governance aspect, focused on empowering local authorities in shaping and planning reformed local government systems, enhancing accountability and transparent in local government institutions,

strengthening the influence of local residents through their elected leaders and civic groups in their respective local authorities. That led to the publication of the Policy Paper on Local Government Reform in 1998 that formally pitched the Government to the actual realisation of the Articles 145 and 146 of the Constitution. The Policy commits the Government to the adoption of the policy of decentralisation by devolution commonly known as the D-by-D (Cowi, 2008).

Few studies on the impact of local government reform programme on the governance which have been done in Tanzania have not directly indicated the extent the two reforms have influenced governance at the grass root level in Tanzania. For instance, Fjeldstad (2001) and Repoa (2007) have assessed citizen participation in the decision making process. Other studies (See for instance Oliver, 2013 and Howard, 2012) have focused on assessing participation of women in the local elections. Moreover, a number of studies have explored citizens' satisfaction with service delivery in local government authorities (Pollit, 2009; Kiria, 2009 and Repoa, 2008).

The main objective of this study was to find out the extent to which the village assembly influences village governance particularly in three areas namely; accountability, participation and transparency of the village institutions. The paper starts by looking at the legal framework of local government and its institutions in Tanzania, then it looks the structure, governance and functions of village assembly, after that the relationship between village governance elements and villages assembly has been addressed. The methodology of how the study was been conducted has been explained as well and the last part is the finding and discussion of the study before concluding.

The legal framework of local government in Tanzania

Local government authorities in Tanzania exist constitutionally and legally, it is established under article 145 (1) of the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania of 1977. The Constitution stipulates that there "shall be local government authority in each region, district, urban area and village in the United Republic of Tanzania" (Constitution of URT, 1977). On the type and designation of the local government, the Constitution further explains that it will be the role of the parliament of united republic of Tanzania to prescribe. Article 146 (1) of the Constitution of the united of Tanzania provides the purpose of establishing local government that is

to transfer authority from the central government to the local people. The transfer of authority to the local people is meant to help them to engage in different matters such as planning and implementing different development programmes in their respective areas. The constitution of United Republic of Tanzania in article 146 (2) specifically has laid down the functions of local government authorities in Tanzania which are “to perform the function of local government within their jurisdiction, to ensure enforcement of law and Public safety of the people, to consolidate democracy within its areas” (Constitution of URT) 1984. Therefore, whatever done by local government authority is within these specified functions.

As indicated by the Constitution of United Republic of Tanzania that local government shall be established in regions, urban areas and village level, then establishment of local government authority in Tanzania has based on two broad types which are urban authorities and rural authorities. Both authorities have been established by two different legislations, the urban authority is established by the local government (urban authority) Act, 1982, No 7 of 1982 which stipulates that the urban authority shall consist of City authority, Municipal authority, town authority, ward authority and neighbourhoods (mitaa). On the other hand, rural authorities are established by the local government (District Authorities) Act, 1982, No 7 of 1982, as per act the district authorities consists of District authorities, township authorities, ward authorities and village authorities. In this structure it shows that village level is the lowest level and that is where the normal citizens contact direct with the government.

As this study dwells much on governance perspective in Tanzania, literatures in Tanzania (see REPOA, 2008) have divide local governments in two levels, firstly is higher level of local government which starts at the district level for the purpose rural authorities. In this level the governance body which district council is made up by representatives or councilors who are elected members from each ward in the respective district and bureaucrats recruited to perform professional duties. The main task of these elected councilors is to play supervision role to district government executives led by council director. The lower level government (LLG) does exist in the grassroots level or village level, this lower level government at the village level is made up by village assembly (VA) and village council (VC) which act as governance tools to

the village government. The village assembly (VA) is a meeting which contains village leaders and all adult village residents attend to discuss a number of issues concerning village welfare and development. Village council (VC) is made up by 25 elected members from sub-village.

Village Assembly: structure, governance and functions

In Tanzania village assembly is one of the two organs or institutions of the village government. Village assembly is a legal organ established under the section 24 of the Local Government (District Authorities) Act no 7 of 1982. It is a statutory village meeting headed by the village chairperson elected by the resident of the village after every five years tasked with discussing and approving all matters pertaining to village presented by the village council and government. Therefore, village assembly is a controlling mechanism of the village government. As per local government Act no 7 (District authority) of 1982 the members of village assembly are those ordinary people or residents from 18 years old of a particular village, village assembly meeting according to the law have to be done four times a year. That means village assembly has to be done at least once after every three months. Therefore, through village assembly ordinary citizen are given a room to oversee village government for the matters affecting. That is to say whatever is done by the village government and its institutions is reported to the citizen through village assembly.

Apart from that, section 141 of local Government (District Authorities) Act no 7 of 1982 has discharged village assembly with several functions:

Policy making function: village assembly has been tasked to make by-laws or to amend by-laws to suit the village demands and situations.

Therefore, village residents get room to engage in giving opinions and views during the process of making and changing those by laws whenever necessary.

A formal decision making organ of the village. Village assembly is responsible for making some decision concerning village operations and welfare and sometime to approve those decisions which have been made or put forward by the village council. Therefore, village resident engage in controlling other village organs such as village council and make decisions which stand as guidelines of village matters.

To elect village residents to become members of the village council; it is a role of the village assembly to elect other members of the village council who are residents of a given village. Whereas not less than quarter of them should be women. Therefore, village council which has been given power to discharge village affairs and business its members are elected and are accountable to the village assembly members.

To remove or replace members of the village council during the village assembly meetings. At anytime village assembly has a power to remove and replace any village council member if there sound reasons to do so with the conditions that procedures to do so are followed.

To receive reports from the village council and Hamlets related to the village regarding various economic and development activities. Village assembly also receive different reports from other village organs such as village councils and Hamlets and then village assembly members and are allowed to discuss those reports and approve or make any other decisions accordingly.

Village governance and village assembly

Different scholars and authors have been suggesting the ways the village assembly can use so as to influence good governance in the villages. Ideally, the main role of village assembly is to influence village governance through participation of village residents in village governance. Since village assembly is the meeting of all village residents from 18 years and above and their leaders and other village official. In that sitting village residents get a chance to engage in matters concerning them such as analysing the village situation, asks different questions and explanation to village governors, discuss different problems facing their villagers as well as identifying different opportunities the village has and set priorities depending to the number of problems and the resources the village possesses (Kaminyonge, 2008). Therefore, by doing all that good governance tends to be enhanced since all members of the village use their constitutional and statutory right to engage in governance process. For instance, The local Government District Authorities Act No 7 of 1982, Section 4(1) (b) states that, “the evolution, progressive development and perpetuation of local government institutions geared and devoted to the pursuance of the meaningful involvement of and participation by the people in the making of decisions on matters affecting or connected with their livelihood and wellbeing at all local levels

In addition to that, the relationship between village assembly and good governance occurs when village leaders report to the village assembly all activities done by the village government over the three months from the last village assembly to the current meeting. As village leaders they are supposed to communicate to the village assembly whatever have been done by them quarterly such as providing financial reports i.e. income and expenditure, the government plans for the coming period, also they are supposed to provide other explanations which were raised by the village assembly members in the previous meeting. All that in good governance is called openness or transparent, that is to say village assembly enhances openness to village government.

The last aspect which shows the relationship between village assembly and good governance is accountability. In Tanzania, village leaders (except village executive officer who is recruited by the higher authority) enter into power by being elected by the village residents or village assembly after every five years. Therefore, these people are accountable to the village assembly that is why village government reports to village assembly and citizens have a power to hire and fire village government. In other words, village assembly exercises checks and balance to village government. On other hand, there is social accountability when this check and balance is exercised where village residents they are supposed to attend the village assembly and make sure that all necessary reports and explanations are provided by the village government. Residents are supposed to ask questions, to engage in identifying village priorities and engage in contributing both manpower and finance to promote village development.

The methodology

The study was mainly qualitative; consequently, it used the qualitative methods of data collection: Interview, focus group and documentation. The study sample of 30 respondents was used to address the research problem. The sample included 2 village chairpersons (one from each village), 2 village executive officers (one from each village) 2 representatives of NGOs dealing with local development (one from each village), 20 residents (10 residents from each village). Purposive sampling was used to select village chairpersons, village executive officers' representatives while simple random sampling technique was used to

select village residents. Content analysis was used in analysing qualitative data gathered basing on specific themes.

The result and discussion

Local people's attendance to village assembly

The researcher wanted to know if village assemblies stimulate participation to village members. The experience from two villages shows that villagers turn up to village assembly meeting is not satisfactory because only few members are regular attendants of those meetings. The researcher got a chance to attend one village meeting which was held in January 2015 at Ludewa Kijijini village and observed that only 217 out of 654 residents were present at the meeting. Statistics taken from the 2014 village assembly meeting where 2 meetings out of four were held show that in July only 282 residents attended the meeting and in May only 127 residents attended. Ludewa Vijijini village ten residents who were interviewed six said that they regularly attend village assembly meetings while four out of the ten said that they do not attend village assembly meetings due to different reasons.

The experience is quite different in Ludewa Mjini (town) as a big number of the residents do attend the village assembly meeting. The researcher also attended one of the village meetings in Ludewa Mjini village and observed a big number of the residents attending the meeting though not all. Four hundred sixty eight (468) residents out of 750 total residents attended that meeting. For example, in Ludewa Mjini for year 2014 three VAs were conducted. Total number of those required to attend VAs was 750 residents. In September 2014 VA was attended by only 354 residents, June 371 residents and January 424 residents. The big attendance shows that may be town residents have better understanding on the importance of attending the village meeting. Also, from the interview seven respondents out of ten said that they are regular attendants of village meetings in Ludewa Mjini Village. And three out of seven said that they are not regular attendants of village meeting because of different reasons.

Reasons for why others are regular attendants and others are not

The researcher wanted also to know the reasons why some residents in both villages attend and others do not attend village meeting. Respondents from Ludewa Vijijini village who are regular attendants of village

meeting enumerated reasons which influence them to attend, as they said they attend because it is their responsibility to attend those meetings, some said they attend because it is their right to attend those meetings, also said they attend so as to know what is going on in their respective village. One of the respondents replied that “we attend village assembly meeting because if we do not the village government the send local police to catch and then we have to pay fine” and the other respondent said that

“I attend the meeting so as to know what are being done by the village government as well as giving out my opinion on what we should do to improve our development”

For those who said that they are not regular attendants in village assembly provided different reasons which impede them from attending the meetings which are; being busy with other development matters, some women said that they do not attend because they are taking care of their families, discouragement from blind financial reports and unawareness village assembly dates, some said in those meeting when they ask questions they are threatened by village leaders. One respondent when interviewed responded that,

“...I have stopped attending those village meeting because when we ask question or criticize village leaders in return they form hostility with us what they want is just to be praised therefore I don't see why should i be attending those meeting”

Awareness of residents on the power of the village assembly

Researcher was interested in knowing if the village residents understood the power and responsibility of village assembly in the process of making village government accountable. The researcher interviewed Ludewa Kijijini residents if they knew the power of Village assembly. The researcher found that many residents of Ludewa Kijijini village are less aware if they have power of making village government accountable. What they know is just to attend village assembly and thereafter they go. As one respondent responded:

”..... Our main role is to attend the village assembly and listen to our leaders and not otherwise”

But there were some respondents who were aware of the role of the village assembly especially in making local leaders accountable to them; one of the responded that “we as village assembly members we

have power to impeach village chairperson if she/he fails to discharge his/her duties.... the problem of our leaders is that they think we don't know that". But they blamed some villagers to be coward and others do not know the powers as village assembly members.

The question also was asked to Ludewa Mjini residents: if they understand about the power the VA have to make village leaders answerable. Most of the residents responded that they are aware of it and only few residents responded that they were not aware of the matter. Some residents through face to face interview with researcher said:

"We are the one who elected them and we are their employer so they have to be responsible to us"

"How can a leader go against us? The day he/she goes against is the same day he/she will be removed from the position"

If residents get chance to speak or ask question during meeting

The researcher was interested also in knowing if village residents do speak or ask questions when they engage in village assembly. The idea was that just attending the meeting is not an issue but how do you function in a particular meeting make more sense. The concept of good governance especially participation in local level requires citizens to question the leaders and leaders to respond to those questions so as to build trust and citizenship to the residents. It also requires residents to contribute or provide their opinion on different matters affecting them such as providing different ways of solving problems facing their villages and helping the village government to identify opportunities and priorities. The reality seems to be different from the theories in these two villages because few residents have the courage of asking questions to the local leaders. From ten respondents interviewed from each village only three village from Ludewa Vijijini and four respondents from Ludewa Mjini said that they managed to ask questions or speak in village assembly while seven respondents from Ludewa Vijijini and six respondents from Ludewa Mjini said that they never asked questions or spoke anything during village assembly.

Those who didn't ask questions gave the reasons that, firstly there is very short time set for questions therefore only few people get chance to ask questions, for instance the said that sometimes leaders require only three people to ask questions. One of the interviewed residents responded

“...the time set for questions is very short, sometimes we are given only ten minutes for questions or opinions”.

At the same time leaders very often pick or select people who are known or friends of them to ask questions; one resident responded:

“These guys are very fun because once they discover that you always ask critical questions them then they will never select or give you a chance to ask questions”.

Another reason provided was that unsatisfactory answers provided by village leaders discouraged them from being willing to ask questions during the meeting, when leaders are asked they do not provide clear answers especially about money instead they became angry against a person who have asked a particular question. The last reason that was provided was feeling sense of insecurity. Respondents responded that they were afraid to ask questions because that tendency creates enmity between them and leaders, once you ask challenging questions during the meeting the leaders start threatening you directly and sometimes village policy would be visiting your house by associating you with different bad practices in the village. Not only that; but also people who ask questions are termed as people from opposition parties. So, due the influence of part polarisation people are afraid of being called as people from the opposition side.

Village assembly influence access to village information

The researcher wanted also to know if the village assembly influences openness to the village government, as per regulations village government is required to provide information concerning the village to the village residents. In villages there is lack of information about government policies, regulations and legislations, circulars, citizens' rights and about what is happening in their localities. Village assembly is one of the avenues or channels of letting the residents know what is going on in their respective villages. In Ludewa Vijjini village respondents said that only little information is provided by the village leaders. But when they are asked to provide information about different issues affecting citizen which are being done by the village government, village leaders do not provide that information; sometimes village leaders would say that the

information will be provided in the next meeting that becomes the end of the story.

In Ludewa Mjini village most of respondents agreed that the information is provide but not timely. Respondents also said that sometimes when village leaders fail to provide information, villagers channel their concerns to their higher authority such as councilors then higher authority commands village leaders to realise information.

Conclusion

The objectives of local government reform programme in Tanzania (LGRP) in the village governance perspective were to enhance transparency, accountability and citizen participation. This study intended to find out the extent to which village assembly after local government reforms influences village governance. The study specifically focused on three elements of village governance which are accountability, participation and transparency.

Experience from the two villages show that those village assemblies to a great extent do promote village governance (participation, accountability and transparency). However, the study discovered that influence of village assembly depends on the situation of the village. For instance, the study revealed that the influence of village assembly is higher in villages located in town than villages located in peripheral areas, as the study found that residents living in Ludewa Mijijini village (village located at Ludewa town) were active participants in village assembly compared to their counterparts in Ludewa Vijijini village (peripheral village). In addition to that, experience has revealed that village leaders tend to be much accountable and transparent in the areas where members of village assembly are active participants, have high civic education and are aware of village issues.

Consequently, the experience has revealed that village leaders and bureaucrats are less accountable and not transparent in villages where citizen have low civic education, are less informed, engage in partisan politics and are lazy.

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The Use of Strategic Management in Cooperative Development

J.S Kikula and Ndikumana D. Emmanuel

Abstract

The use of strategic management for business enterprises operating in a competitive business environment is not a choice but a necessity for competitive viability. Strategic management helps in identifying the nature of opportunities and challenges surrounding the business environment around which the enterprise operates. On the basis of the strengths, the enterprise exploits the opportunities and the areas for improvements in internal strategies. Understanding the magnitude of the challenges as well as the attempts to convert the challenges into opportunities should be the management priority in the enterprises. This article reveals that cooperative unions are yet to make use of strategic management and therefore it is from this shortcoming that the cooperative unions find themselves ailing in terms of the performance.

Key words: Strategic management, cooperative development, cooperative unions, enterprise

Introduction

There are several uses of Strategic Management. These include; both the external and internal forces from the business environment on the basis of which the opportunities are identified and exploited by the enterprise's internal strengths. Another major ingredient to strategic management has been to assist the organization to formulate better strategies. According to Keller *et al.*; (2008); Norburn (2006); Van Weghberg *et al.*; (2001); Kim and Lim (2000); Peele (2005); and Wright *et al.* (1998), the process rather than the document remains to be the most effective ingredient of strategic management. Strategic management embodies such major inputs as strategic plan to ensure competitiveness of the business enterprises. For this to take place, participatory approach is vital in ensuring that all primary stakeholders are involved and that ownership of the process is guaranteed. The process of ownership is important because these primary stakeholders would be involved in the implementation so as to achieve the vision, mission and objectives of the business enterprise.

When primary stakeholders have awareness as to what the enterprise is doing and why they often feel that they are a part of the

enterprise and therefore they become committed in supporting the enterprise. For this process to be effective, employees should also be aware of the linkages between their own compensation and organizational performance. In this way, the primary stakeholders become exceptionally creative and innovative toward supporting the enterprise's vision, mission, and objective. According to; Gooty *et al.*, (2009); Mayer (2006); Thomson and Strickland (2007), the opportunity of the process to empower stakeholders reflects one of the benefits of strategic management. Empowering is the process of enhancing the sense of responsibility by encouraging the employee to participate in decision making and to take initiatives and become imaginative.

Literature Review

Strategic management has a remarkable contribution in managing enterprises in a competitive business environment. Strategic management starts with the analysis of business environment in terms of external and internal analysis. According to Mayer (2006) ; McGee *et al.* (2005) ; Wright *et al.*, (1998) and MacMillan, (1997) Strategic management refers to a set of decisions and actions used to formulate and implement strategies that will provide a competitively superior fit between an organization and its environment so as to achieve organizational mission and goals. The purpose of strategic management is to maintain a favourable balance between the organization and its environment over a long period.

According to Hans Centre for strategic management Integrated Lines of Business, (1990) strategic management is defined along the following lines; Strategic Thinking - Strategic Planning - People - Leadership and Strategic Change Deliver Customer Value. The operational definition of strategic management is that, it consists of quality managerial decisions and actions, as there is no decision without a price tag, therefore strategic management help to ensure that the enterprise formulates and maintains a beneficial fit with the business environment. The objective of the paper was to assess the use of strategic management in the cooperative performance in Tanzania.

Methodology

The study based both on primary and secondary data. Primary data involved several methods, these included; key informants interview guide,

questionnaires, focused group discussion and observation methods. The sample size (n) was 796 extracted from the target population of 2375. The parameters of the uses of strategic management included; availability of corporate/strategic plan, sense of ownership, involvement in the formulation of corporate plan, implementation, financial resources, agricultural input price, monitoring and evaluation systems (Lusambo, 2009; Welman, *et; al* 2007; Kothar, 2004 and Krejcie *et; al* 1970)

Findings of the study

The theory of strategic management was applied to develop objectives of the study which later were analysed to get results. The results in objective (4.3) were such that cooperative unions failed to use strategic management. As it has been mentioned the first objective of the research was to find out the use of strategic management by the studied cases through the support of cooperative managers. In order to meet this objective questionnaires were administered to farmer members, interviews were contacted to directors, top managers and focused group discussions were organized to AMCOS and FGs, Table 4 provides the results in the subsequent sections.

Managing business in a competitive environment

It is widely acknowledged that managing business operations in a competitive business environment without the use of strategic management is risky because of the competitiveness of business environment (,Keller *et;al* 2008; David, 2006; Hurbert *et a l.*, 2005; Metcalfe *et; al* 2005; Kaplan *et;al* 2001; Wright *et al.*, 1998). In order to help farmer members to manage their operations in such a competitive business environment the author attempted to establish the parameters considered useful on the use of strategic management which included; the availability of corporate plan, a sense of ownership, involvement in the formulation and implementation of corporate plan, access to financial resources to capital, affordability of the prices of agricultural inputs and monitoring and evaluation systems as Table 1 shows.

Table 1: Use of Strategic Management of the Studied Cases

| Parameters | MBOCU | | | | MOFACU | | | | SONAMCU | | | |
|--|-------|-----|------|------|--------|-----|------|------|---------|-----|------|------|
| | Yes | | No | | Yes | | No | | Yes | | No | |
| | Freq | % | Freq | % | Freq | % | Freq | % | Freq | % | Freq | % |
| Availability of corporate plan | 3 | 1.2 | 267 | 98.8 | 2 | 0.9 | 230 | 99.1 | 3 | 1 | 290 | 99 |
| Sense of ownership | 4 | 1.5 | 266 | 98.5 | 3 | 1.3 | 229 | 98.7 | 2 | 0.7 | 291 | 99.3 |
| Involvement in formulation of Corporate Plan | 5 | 2 | 265 | 98 | - | - | 232 | 100 | 3 | 1 | 290 | 99 |
| Implementation | 8 | 3 | 262 | 97.0 | 21 | 9.0 | 211 | 91.0 | 2 | 0.7 | 291 | 99.3 |
| Financial resources | 3 | 1.2 | 267 | 98.8 | 2 | 0.9 | 230 | 99.1 | 54 | 18 | 239 | 82 |
| Agriculture input price | - | - | 270 | 100 | - | - | 232 | 100 | 54 | 18 | 239 | 82 |
| Monitoring and evaluation | - | - | 270 | 100 | - | - | 232 | 100 | 3 | 1 | 290 | 99 |

Source: Kikula, (2012)

The results in Table 1 show that there was hardly any strategic management in place. For a number of years they operated under the umbrella of monopolistic situation. For all these years, they could not realise that there was a foreseen competition in doing business and for which they were supposed to get prepared. The shift of business environment from monopolistic to a competitive business environment was almost a surprise to them and they were caught unaware. However, for competitive viability, cooperative unions must be reorganized so that they are able to compete and therefore improve their operations through capacity building on strategic management among others. One indication of lack of strategic management according to the results is non existence of corporate plan in these cooperative unions.

When the results for these parameters as shown in Table 1 (i.e. availability of corporate plan, sense of ownership, formulation and implementation of corporate plan, affordability of inputs prices, availability of capital, and availability of monitoring and control systems) are compared across the three cases, the following picture is depicted: on the availability of corporate plan; MOFACU scored 99.1, SONAMCU scored 99, and MBOCU scored 98.8 percent. The figures indicate that all

the three cases across had no corporate plans. As it can be seen, the difference between the availability of corporate plan across the three cases is far from optimal.

On the availability of corporate plan, for competitive viability, corporate plan sets a long term direction for a business enterprise. For it to be effective the plan requires effective coordination of all primary stakeholders (Kazmi, 2008; Nandain; 2006; Norbun; 2006; Pearce; *et;al* 2005; Pollard *et;al* 2006; Poister *et;al* 2005; Brison, 2004 and Ndunguru, 1999 ; Mace *et;al* 1985).

Corporate plan

The results in Table 1 show that about 98.8 % of the respondents at MBOCU revealed that the corporate plan did not exist. Similar results were reported by 99.1 percent and about 99 percent of the respondents at MOFACU and SONAMCU respectively. The availability of corporate plan particularly in a competitive business environment is important as it sets a long term direction for the enterprise for competitiveness. Unfortunately the studied cases had no practice to have the same, this affected agricultural performance.

Sense of ownership

Sense of ownership, has to do with participatory approach whereby all stakeholders are involved in various processes in the firm, in this way ownership is guaranteed and commitment is enhanced (Sule; 2009, Prasad, 2009; Kazmi, 2008; Norburn,2006 Kaplan, 2001 and Polard *et;al* 2006 and Vinzant *et;al* 1996). In the case of MBOCU the study shows that about 98.5 percent of the respondents reported to lack the sense of ownership. In the case of MOFACU, the study results also indicate that about 98.7 percent of the respondents show having no sense of ownership. In the case of SONAMCU, the study results show that about 99.3 percent of the respondents revealed of their lack of sense of ownership. Sense of ownership enhances dedication, unfortunately the studied cases lacked ownership as such agricultural performance was affected.

Involvement in formulation and implementation of corporate plan

With regard to involvement in the formulation and implementation of corporate plan, both managers and employees together with the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) must be involved in this exercise, short of this

the corporate may become dysfunctional. In this respect, the study results indicate that about 98 and 97 percent of the respondents at MBOCU revealed that there was no involvement in the formulation and implementation of corporate plan respectively. This logically confirms the earlier mentioned argument of non availability of corporate plans.

With regard to the involvement in the formulation and implementation of corporate plan, the study results indicate that 91 and 99.1 percent of the respondents at MOFACU reported of there being no involvement in the formulation and implementation respectively of corporate plan. Similar results were reported by 99 and 99.3 percent for the two phenomena at SONAMCU. When members are involved in formulation and implementation in various processes in the enterprise feel part of it as such it has influence in performance of the enterprise, but this was a reverse in the studied case as such it affected negatively the performance of agricultural performance.

Access to financial resources

With respect to access to financial resources, it can be said that though capital is a major input in facilitating the implementation of corporate plan, but capital remains a major challenge to cooperative unions. In this respect, the study results indicate that about 98.8 percent of the respondents at MBOCU revealed that financial resources were inadequate. Similar results were reported by 99.1 and 82 percent of the respondents at MOFACU and SONAMCU respectively.

When asked about capital the response from MBOCU top management was that the union in question had a weak capital base in the sense that it was unable even to pay salaries, leave alone executing its core functions in relation to collecting and handling agricultural produce. In this respect the total production of coffee in Mbozi district for the year 2007/08 was 11500 tons, but MBOCU managed to collect only 64 874 kgs or 6.4 tons.

The survival of the union

The union survived through revenue realized outside its core functions. In addition, the revenue collected was based on the levy from coffee collected through primary societies. The union had a coffee realization account through which funds were deposited after the collection has been done. For example, in 2007 the union received only Tshs 70 per kg x 15

000 or Tshs 1 050 000. Other sources of revenue included rental of its warehouses to coffee dealers.

The MBOCU warehouses which private dealers used to store their agricultural produce were dilapidated. The MBOCU general manager reported that the government debt relief in the case of MBOCU had no significant impact as only Tshs 10 million was given to the union out of which Tshs 8 million was paid to Mbozi District Council, and Tshs 2 million was paid to the Cooperative Audit and Supervision Cooperation (COASCO) out of the total debt of Tshs 313 466 698. Similar studies (e.g. Banturaki, 2000; URT, 2005) found that cooperatives have such a poor and weak capital base that they failed to carry out their operations effectively and efficiently. According to URT (2005), the Presidential Committee on cooperatives, report, underlines lack of financial resources as one of the major constraints facing cooperative unions

Affordability of agricultural inputs

According to (Hurbert *et;al*, 2005; Hunger et ;al 2006 and Habergberg et al, 2007) on the issue of affordability of agricultural inputs, when there is financial demise, businesses using strategic management show improvement in sales, profitability, productivity and helps firms avoid financial demise compared to firms without systematic planning activities. Agricultural inputs are a major factor which enhances productivity, but exorbitant prices of such inputs is a constraint to the majority of farmer members who cannot afford the same (Banturaki, 2000). In this respect, the study results indicate that 100 percent of the respondents at MBOCU reported that agricultural inputs were not affordable. Similar results were reported by 100 percent and 82 percent of the respondents at MOFACU and SONAMCU respectively.

Similar results were echoed by one of the respondents from the Mbozi Institute of Coffee Research who remarked, *suppliers were an evil to MBOCU performance*. The reason behind this remark was that since the introduction of trade liberalization, the role of distribution function of agricultural inputs shifted from MBOCU to private traders. The interest of private traders was to maximize profit through increased prices of agricultural inputs and through decreased producer prices. The private dealers sold agricultural inputs at very high prices which farmers could not afford and at times such inputs were of poor quality, and this, in turn, discouraged farmer members. Although coffee production trend was

slightly on upward trend but the same could have been improved more had it been the agricultural inputs prices were better.

With respect to affordability of inputs, this was reported as being one of the major problems. This is because the majority of farmers in the studied cases were unable to purchase agricultural inputs due to prices that have always been exorbitant. Thus, majority of farmer members were so discouraged that they chose to carry out agricultural activities without applying such inputs something which has affected production.

Board members of the cooperative unions for MOFACU and SONAMCU reported to have been surviving through renting offices and warehouses. A similar trend has also been reported by MBOCU. The revenues collected from these rentals were used to meet the costs of office overhead. Fig. 1 portrays the categories and prices of agricultural inputs from 2002/03 to 2007/08.

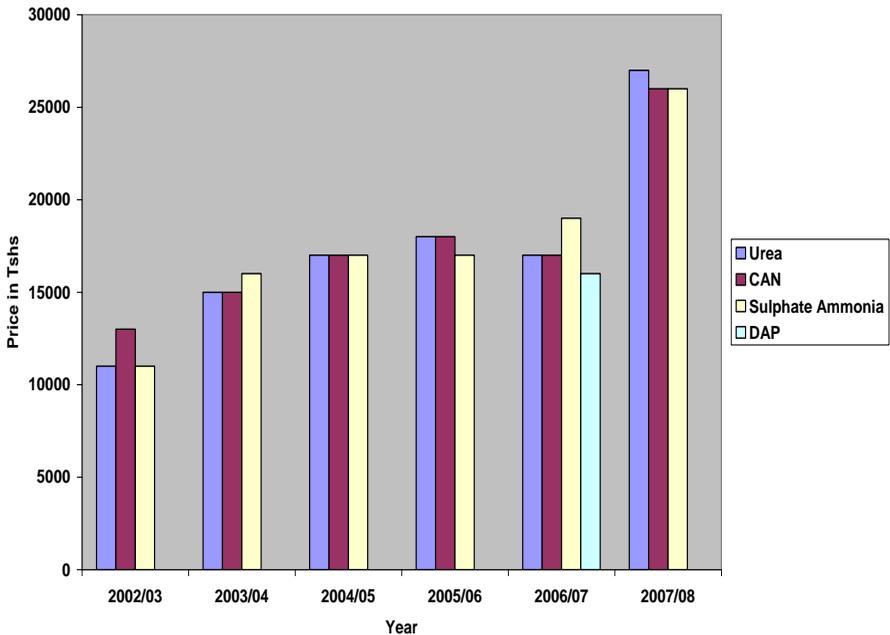


Figure 2: Categories and trend of prices of agricultural inputs for the period 2002/03 up to 2007/08.

The findings of the study show that the prices of agricultural inputs have been increasing as time passed by to the extent that farmer members were unable to afford to acquire such inputs; such a situation discouraged them from applying the inputs, and this in turn, affected agricultural production. Fig. 2 indicates the manner in which average input prices have affected average production reflected in tons. According to the Fig. 3, while the average input prices kept on increasing every year, the average production in tons kept on declining, indicating a negative correlation between the two variables (i.e. average input prices and average production). This relationship is illustrated in Fig. 3

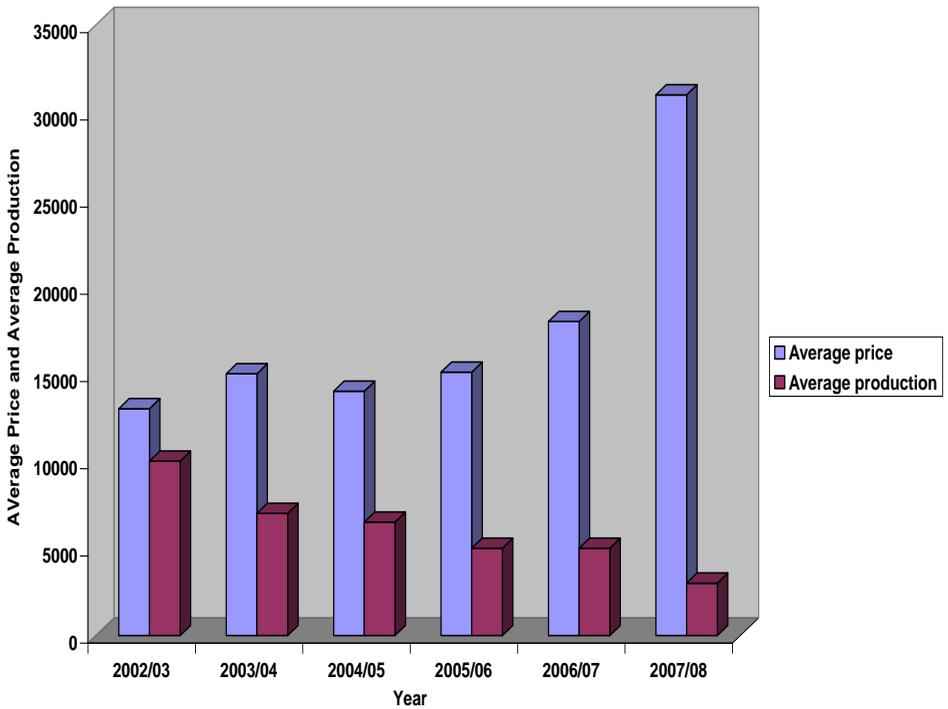


Figure3: Relationship between average agricultural input prices in Tshs and the average production in Tons for the period 2002/3 up 2007/08

Fig. 3 shows that, the average agricultural inputs having a impact on the average production to the extent that as the average prices increased the

average production decreased. A significant increase in prices for agricultural inputs was triggered by two main reasons; first the increased trend of inflation rate, which weakened the purchasing power of not only the farmer members, but also that of cooperative unions. And secondly, the world financial crisis, which also affected the economy in the sense that exports function, was affected particularly in cash crops like coffee and cotton. For example, in January 22, 2009 about 138 011 bales of cotton were piled up in ginneries due to lack of purchasing orders.

The demand for Tanzania cotton declined in the world market; this led to a crisis in the domestic market as international prices fell by 40 percent. Also, the crisis led to the pulling out of investors from Tanzania thus leading to an increase rate of unemployment and government tax denial thus affecting the economy (URT, 2005).Fig. 4 shows the exchange rate in Tshs against a dollar and its effects on the prices of agricultural inputs.

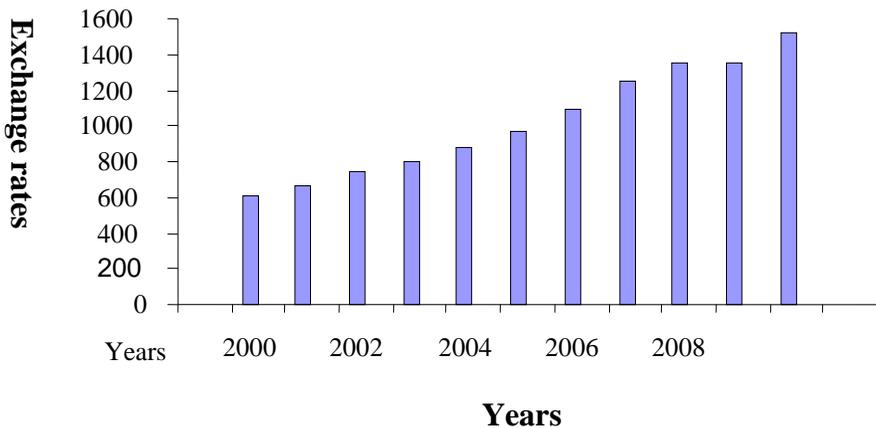


Figure 4: Exchange rate trend for the period 2000 up 2008

Fig. 4 indicates the exchange rates trend over 8 years; such a trend has affected importation function, as more dollars were needed to import the

same goods imported in previous years. In the case of MOFACU, although the union was unable completely to collect and handle a single ton of agricultural produce, the researcher had to survey the prices of agricultural inputs in relation to production. As it has been the case with suppliers in the aforementioned cases, the pattern was also the same with respect to the prices of agricultural inputs. The suppliers sold the inputs at very high prices as Fig. 5 indicates.

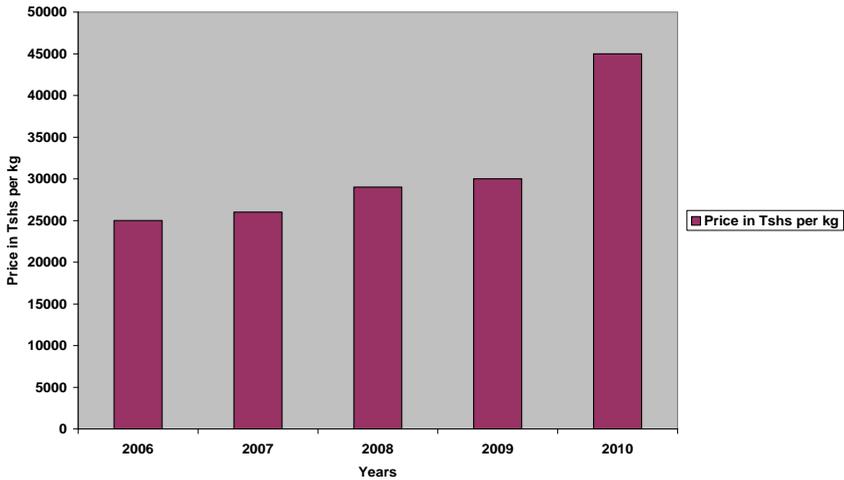


Figure 5: Agricultural input price for cotton for the period 2006 to 2010

Fig. 5 shows the trend of agricultural input price for cotton since 2006 through 2010. The same pattern featured in the prices of seed cotton, which indicated a fluctuating upward trend, the prices of agricultural inputs also affected production.

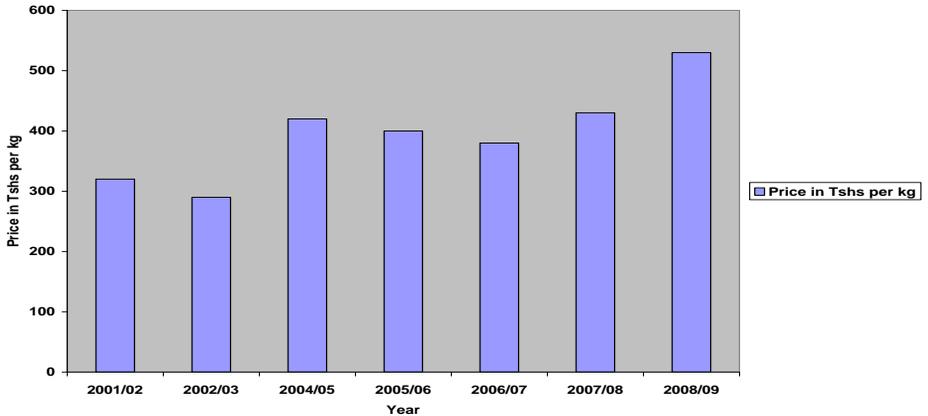


Figure 6: Seed cotton price trend for the period 2001/02 – 2008/09

Fig. 6 shows the prices of agricultural inputs in terms of seed cotton. Generally, the prices have been increasing as time passed by. In all the situations, farmer members have been overburdened, in a sense that the producer prices have been declining while the export prices have been indicating an upward trend as Table 2 illustrates. Fig.6 shows the disparity between the producer prices and the export prices. The export prices have been increasing on average when compared with the producer prices.

Fig. 6 shows the relationship between the producer prices and export prices. Producer prices have been low throughout as compared with export prices which were high throughout. The same pattern was displayed at SONAMCU, the prices of agricultural inputs increased to unmanageable proportions as time went by.

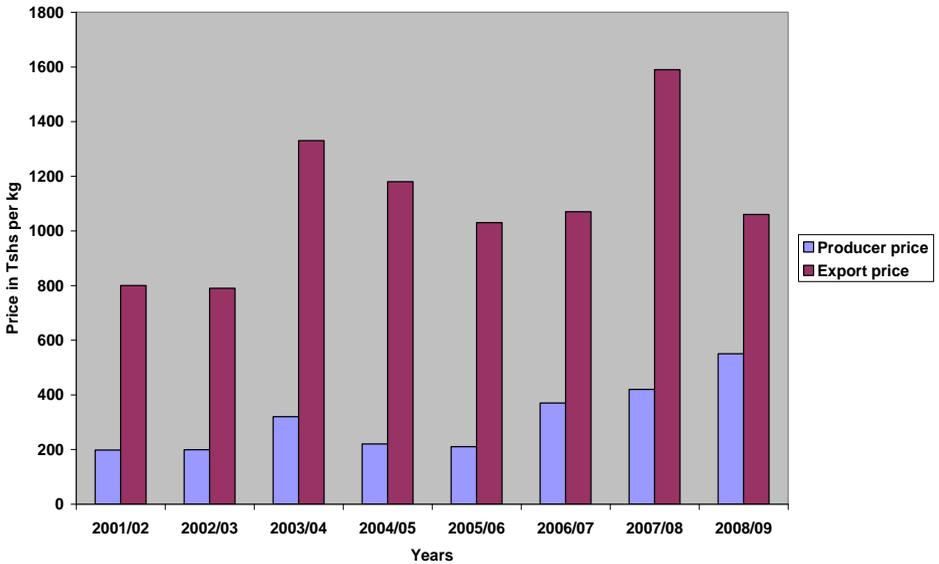


Figure7: Producer price as related to export price for the period 2001/02 up to 2009/10

Fig. 7 shows that the producer prices is lower than export prices the reason is that farmer members do not have strong representation when it comes to price negotiations as opposed to export prices which have strong presentation when it comes to price negotiations. Table 5 shows tobacco average producer price.

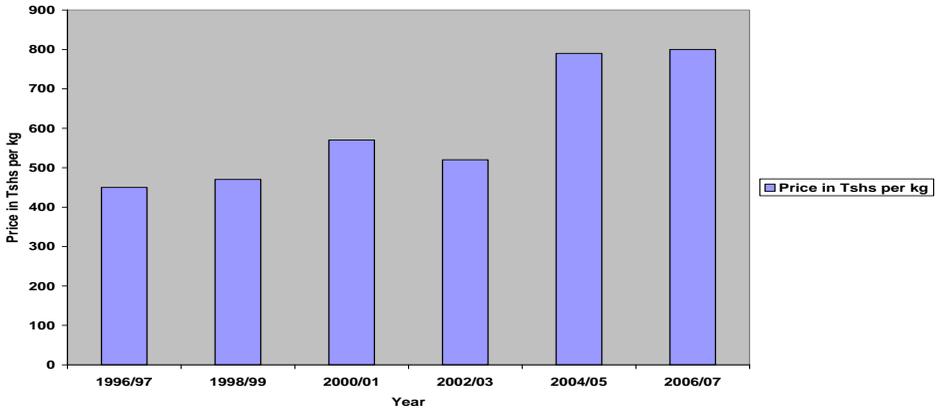


Figure 8: Tobacco average producer price for the period 2006/07-2008/09.

Fig. 8 shows the pattern of average tobacco producer prices which have been displaying an upward trend. This is because the demand of tobacco has always been exceeding that of the supply; this is unlike the case for coffee and cotton whose producer prices have been displaying a downward trend throughout. Similar studies (e.g. Banturaki, 2000; Mhando 2005; Maghimbi, 2010) found that the agricultural inputs were sold at such exorbitant prices that majority of farmer members could no longer afford the inputs as such agricultural production was affected.

On the existence of monitoring and control systems, monitoring was based on tracking of performance as the end results of an activity, while control was about ensuring that things were carried out smoothly and remedies are made in cases where things go astray (Green and Madlin, 2003). In the case of MBOCU, the study results indicate that 100 percent of the respondents revealed that monitoring and control systems were not existent.

A similar pattern was observed in MOFACU, whereby the results indicate that 100 percent of the respondents reported lack of monitoring systems while the results in SONAMCU indicate that 99 percent of the respondents reported not having the system in place. A similar study by Banturaki (2000) found that there is pervasive dishonesty, corruption, greed, abuse of committee powers, irresponsibility and non-accountability within the ranks of cooperative leadership indicating that the system of monitoring, evaluation and controls were not in existence.

When the results for these parameters (i.e. availability of corporate plan, sense of ownership, formulation and implementation of corporate plan, affordability of inputs prices, availability of capital, and availability of monitoring and control systems) are compared across the three cases, the following picture is depicted: on the availability of corporate plan; MOFACU scored 99.1, SONAMCU scored 99, and MBOCU scored 98.8 percent. The figures indicate that all the three cases across had no corporate plans. As it can be seen, the difference between the availability of corporate plan across the three cases is far from optimal.

On the sense of ownership, MBOCU scored 98.4 percent, MOFACU scored 99.5, and SONAMCU scored 99.3. On this aspect there was no significant difference across the three cases. On the formulation and implementation of corporate plan, MBOCU scored 98.8 percent and 96.8 percent respectively, while MOFACU scored 100 percent and 91 percent respectively, and SONAMCU scored 99.3 and 99.1 respectively. The results here show that on the formulation of corporate plan MBOCU ranked first by scoring 98.8 and MOFACU comes last by scoring 91 percent. On the implementation of corporate plan on this aspect however MBOCU ranked first by scoring 96.8 and SONAMCU ranked last by scoring 99.1. On the whole, the difference is insignificant. In all three cases, the involvement in the formulation and implementation stages has always been problematic. It therefore indicates that strategic management is not a common practice in cooperative unions.

On the availability of capital MBOCU ranked first with a score of 97.1 percent, the two other cooperative unions had a tie score of 99.1 percent each. The difference across the cases is therefore insignificant. This is because the issue of capital is a headache of every stakeholder in the studied cases. On whether input prices were affordable, SONAMCU ranked first as it scored 82 percent while the other two unions ranked second as each one of them scored 100 percent. Since the introduction of trade liberalization, there has never been any government subsidy which cooperatives would use to support farmer members. On the availability of monitoring, evaluation and control systems SONAMCU ranked first, with a score of 99 percent while the two ranked second with a score of 100 percent each.

When the overall results are measured using defined parameters, the use of strategic management by the farmer member through the

support of cooperative managers was far from optimal, implying that this variable was almost non-existent. On the whole, the majority of the respondents indicated that strategic management was not a common practice for all the parameters, a situation which led to disappointing performance.

Results of Chi-square Test on the Use of Strategic Management in the Studied Cases by Parameters:

Chi-squared test on the availability of corporate plans

Table 2: The observed frequencies and expected frequencies for chi-square test on the availability of corporate plans

| | Presence of corporate plan (%) | Absence of corporate plan (%) |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Observed frequencies | 1 | 99 |
| Expected frequencies | 50 | 50 |

Using the values in Table 2 , the computed chi-square statistic (χ^2) was 96.04, implying that the respondents in the study area showed statistically significant difference in their response on the availability of corporate plan, $\chi^2_{(1, n = 795)} = 96.04, p < 0.05$.

Chi-square test on the sense of ownership

Table 3: The observed frequencies and expected frequencies for chi-square test on the sense of ownership

| | Presence of sense of ownership (%) | Absence of sense of ownership (%) |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Observed frequencies | 1 | 99 |
| Expected frequencies | 50 | 50 |

Using the values in Table 3 , the chi-square statistic was then computed and found to be 96.04. The respondents in the study area thus showed statistically significant difference in their response on the sense of ownership, $\chi^2_{(1, n = 795)} = 96.04, p < 0.05$.

Chi-square test on the involvement in the formulation of corporate plans

Table 4: The observed frequencies and expected frequencies for chi-square test on involvement in the formulation of corporate plan

| | Presence of involvement in the formulation of corporate plan (%) | Absence of sense of ownership involvement in the formulation of corporate plan (%) |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Observed frequencies | 1 | 99 |
| Expected frequencies | 50 | 50 |

Using the values in Table 4, the chi-square statistic was then computed and found to be 96.04. This reveals that the respondents in the study area showed statistically significant difference in their response on the sense of ownership, $\chi^2_{(1, n = 795)} = 96.04, p < 0.05$.

Conclusion

Drawing from the summary of major findings, it emerges that the study cases have failed to use strategic management. The results from the use of strategic management point to a conclusion that the studied cases did not make use of strategic management through the corporate plans, sense of ownership, involvement in the formulation and implementation of corporate plan, access to capital, affordability of agricultural inputs prices as well as monitoring and evaluation.

Recommendations

Strategic management has an important role to play in improving the performance of cooperative unions. In this case support from policy makers is needed to promote strategic management process in their policy frameworks so that it can contribute to the development of cooperative unions in Tanzania. For sustainable strategic management it is proposed that the government should also support the “implementation policy” in terms of resources so that vision, mission and objectives of cooperative unions are achieved.

For competitive viability cooperative unions in Tanzania have to apply strategic management. However, strategic management as a process will take time to feature in cooperative unions systems, to begin with it is recommended that cooperative unions start with ensuring that they have strategic plan.

Corporate plans as a major input to strategic management, Cooperative managers should look at the possibility of having corporate

plans so as to guide the implementation of various developmental issues. The government have to make it mandatory so that every cooperative union possess corporate plan which is critical for competitive viability.

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Approaches and Challenges of Motivating Educational Staff: Some Insights from Morogoro Municipality

Edward Makorere and Mushumbusi Kato

Abstract

The article aims at highlighting the approaches and challenges of motivating staff in the education sector. The article draws some insights from Morogoro Municipality and reveals the existence of various motivation packages in the educational sector ranging from cash facilities, free housing, and health services to meals service. However limited funds, different workers' desires, poor management, inadequate government motivation and evaluation strategies, limited motivation autonomy, and political intervention are found to be the challenges encountered in the course of motivating employees in the educational sector.

Key words: Motivation, motivation packages, education staff, challenges, government schools, teachers, education sector

Introduction

Motivation packages are the essential elements to hold workforce in the organizations and enable them to realise the set objectives (Jackson, 2007). However, the main factor which seems to pose a question on whether the motivation packages are effective or not is the occurrence of employee turnover. It is commonly agreed that high turnover rates have the negative effects to organisations and may seem to be the challenge resulting from the way organisations approach and deploy the motivation packages (Mrayyan, 2005). Employee turnover is a signal that the organisation is unable to utilise the advantages found within the motivation packages (Robbins, 2003).

The essence of deploying motivation packages is to ascertain that the working environment becomes attractive for employees to stay and continue to work towards realising the objectives of the organisations. In this perspective, Michael (2008) argues that motivation packages influence employees' commitment as well as determine their decision to remain with the same organisations despite knowing the existence of job opportunities outside their current organisations. Bardwell (2007) provides that commitment and satisfaction, being the outcomes instilled

by certain motivation packages, influence the extent to which employees are likely to be retained in the organisations. As far as teachers are concerned, Berry *et al.*, (2008) note improved working conditions as part of the motivation packages to them are looked at as the supportive factors towards their retention and continual working in the educational sector. Korkmaz (2007), on the other hand, argues that demeaning the motivation packages at the workplace is always the factor which is likely to result into job related stress and lack of commitment on the part of employees.

Employee turnover, as the outcome of what seems to be demeaning motivation packages, has been affecting the teaching profession in the Tanzanian public service over the years. Between 2008 and 2011, about 50% of those who joined the teaching profession left soon after they were employed and allocated to work in the government primary and secondary schools throughout the country (Tanzania). Within the same period, the Morogoro region suffered significantly from employee turnover due to what was reported as the newly recruited teachers not being attracted to work in certain parts of the region, especially those which were viewed as being remote with no attractive working environments (Morogoro Region Profile Report, 2012). Having different understanding towards the motivation driving factors between the management and workers leads to employees either to feel willing or not willing to continue working with the organisations (Gubman, 2008; Lin, 2007; Bowen & Radhakrishna, 1991; Kovach, 1987). Lin (2007), further notes that, discovering what motivate employees within the motivation packages is one of the most challenging aspects confronting organisations. Every employee is motivated differently from one another in the organisation (Kovach, 1987). This is due to the fact that each employee has own wants within the motivation packages targeted by the organisations. However it is the obligation of the organisations to understand this assumption and ensure that motivation packages become the force against employee turnover (James, 2009). Therefore, this article draws insights from the selected empirical study from the Morogoro Municipal Council for the purpose of highlighting and discussing the factors which influence employee motivation in the education sector.

Concepts of Motivation and Motivation Packages

Motivation has been defined as the psychological forces which provide behaviour, purpose and direction. It refers to the predisposition to behave

in a purposive manner to achieve specific unmet needs. Kreitner (1995) argues that when employees are not motivated, turnover is inevitable. Employee's motivation is a major factor in the success or failure for any organization. Without having the motivated workforce; productivity, morale, profits, product and service delivery are likely to suffer. Employee motivation is influenced by the employee himself or herself, the management and the environment (Birkin, 2006).

Based on Locke and Latham's integrated model of work motivation, employees are motivated in various ways. These ways are well explained through the following theories, namely: Maslow's need hierarchy, McClelland's personality-based approach, Vroom's theory, Locke and Latham's goal theory, Bandura's self-efficacy theory, Weiner's attribution theory, Herzberg's job characteristics model, the organizational commitment theory and Adam's equity theory. These theories attempt to explain employees' behaviour. They provide understanding to both managers and employees on how to approach employee motivation (Drafke & Kossen, 2002). Lindner's approach to employee motivation and Nelson's ten ways to motivate today's employees are the new approaches to employee motivation (Gwavuya, 2011).

Motivation packages are viewed within the framework of work contents basing on the type of work employees do. These include remuneration, promotion and recognition for the work done. Other things seen as motivation packages to employees include working conditions which provides the opportunities to mix with colleagues, provision of working facilities and fostering of the interpersonal relations. Likewise motivation packages are also seen from the point of view of the benefits which are likely to be obtained by employees, these include such benefits as pension, medical schemes and leave allowance. Other motivational factors which also may be viewed as part of the motivation packages at the workplace include promotion of long-term relationship, provision of good wages, appreciation for job well done, personal loyalty to employees, opportunities for development and growth within the company, and the organisations being sympathetic to employees' personal concerns (Gwavuya, 2011).

Therefore, motivation packages are within the overall concept of compensation strategies. That means they are defined as the deliberate utilization of the pay system as the essential integrating mechanism through which the efforts of employees are directed towards the

achievement of organization strategic objectives. Moreover motivation packages are the management tools which aim at influencing employees’ behaviours and enable them to hopefully contribute towards achieving the organizational objectives. In this way, motivation packages are used as a business strategy for improving organizational performance. However, the failure to properly utilize the motivation packages may lead to employee turnover (Drafke & Kossen, 2002 and Gwavuya, 2011).

Approaching Employee Motivation

To stay competitive organizations must invest in effective strategies to motivate staff. According to Beardwell (2007), employees are differently motivated; some people are motivated by money, others by professional development, flexible schedules, or sense of accomplishment. Thus understanding the factors that motivate employees at the workplaces is the key factor to gain the human resource advantage towards realising the objectives of the organisations (Beardwell, 2007). However in the course of approaching employee motivation, there are challenges which may be encountered (Gwavuya, 2011). These challenges are shown in Figure 1 below and are associated with the selection of the right motivation packages in the course of influencing employees’ behaviour for achieving the organisational goals.

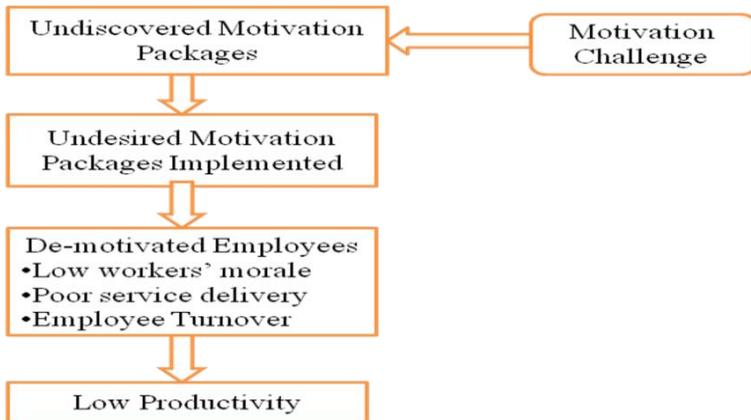


Figure 1-Problem of discovering what motivates Employees

Influence on Employee Motivation

Strachota (2005) provides that motivating employees in organisations encompasses the following critical factors: employee engagement, organizational vision and values, management acknowledgement and appreciation of work well done, and overall authenticity of leadership. It is further argued that employees are expected to come to the workplace with the intrinsic motivation and desire to be successful, be value-added and contribute in achieving the vision of an organisation. In turn the employers should provide resources, opportunities, recognition and proper work environment for employees to be successful (Farag, 2008 and Lephala, 2006).

On the other hand, Basha and Hunter (1980) advocate important ways to motivate employees in the organization. These include the following: to provide employees with the information and resources they need to do a good job; to ask employees for their input by involving them in decision that affects their jobs, to find out directly from employees what motivates them; to personally congratulate employees for their excellent work, to recognize the needs of employees, to establish good channels of communication-be (physically) accessible and available; to use performance as the basis for promotion, to have promotion from within policy, to publicly recognize employees for good work (if culturally appropriate to do so publicly), to include recognition as part of morale- building activities to celebrate group success, to have clear goals; and to foster a sense of community.

Need for Motivated Employees at the Workplace

Why do we need motivated employees? Motivated employees help organizations survive (Smith, 1994). Motivated employees are needed in our rapidly changing workplaces and competitive market environments. Motivated employees and their contributions are necessary for the organization's survival and success. Motivated employees are more productive. To be effective, managers need to understand what motivates employees within the context of the roles they perform (Bowen & Radhakrishna, 1991; Kovach, 1987; Robins, 2003; Spector, 2008; Tull, 2005).

Motivation of Educational Staff: Some Insight from Morogoro Municipality

This article, basing on the data collected from fifty five education staff drawn conveniently from the government primary and secondary schools in the six purposively selected wards (Mazimbu, Boma, Kingo, Kichangani, Kihonda and Lukobe) in Morogoro Municipality, reveals two main types of motivation packages available in the education sector. These types are direct and indirect motivation packages.

Direct and Indirect motivation packages

Direct motivation package include the material packages in the form of cash, housing, health, and meals facilities. The indirect motivation packages refer to the moral packages. Most importantly the indirect motivation packages are in the form of moral appreciation system delivered to the educational staff in the schools found in the selected six wards of the Morogoro Municipal Council (see Table 4.1).

Table1: Motivation Packages Available to Staff- N=55

| Motivation Packages | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------------|-----------|---------|
| None | 15 | 27.3 |
| Free Housing Facilities | 7 | 12.7 |
| Free Lunch (Afternoon) | 3 | 5.5 |
| Health Facilities | 55 | 100 |
| Cash Facilities | 10 | 18.2 |
| Moral Appreciation System | 11 | 20 |

Source: *Survey Data (2013)*

As indicated in Table 1 above, the findings from the survey conducted in the six selected wards show that fifty five education staff who responded to the questionnaires had different opinions and views regarding the motivation packages available in their respective schools as follows: The survey findings show that out of 55 respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 15 (27.3%) seemed to be unaware of the motivation packages available to staff in their schools. Cash facilities as the common and quickest motivation package used in the schools were mentioned by 10 (18.2%) respondents as being available. Cash was given to the teachers who meet or exceed the schools' targets. For instance, the respondents from primary and secondary education declared that for those

teachers with students who have scored “A” in their subjects in the national examinations are awarded a token ranging from Tshs 10,000 to 20,000 per “A” scored for the job well done as the appreciation.

Moral appreciation is an indirect motivation package used in some school. This motivation package usually is given to staff orally, there is no material package issued to staff. Most of the staff who did excellent job, the manager or supervisor preferred to say “thanks you for the job well done” or “shows some kind of moral appreciation in front of the colleagues”. In some cases, supervisor tended to show his/her appreciation in terms of certificate of appreciation for job well done. Out of 55 respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 11 (20%) indicated that moral appreciation was the kind of motivation package used in their schools. This group of the respondents pointed out that moral reward was used despite being less valued compared to material packages such as cash facility. Provision of housing facilities as something to motivate educational staff was also noted in the six selected wards of the Morogoro Municipal Council. The survey revealed that out of 55 respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 7(12.7%) mentioned free housing facilities as their direct motivation package. Despite being one of the motivation packages, the housing facilities were found to be inadequate as these facilities covered less than 5% of the educational staff in the six selected wards in the municipality. Hence very few educational employees were found to be motivated by this package.

All 55 (100%) respondents in the survey mentioned health facilities in the form of National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) as one of motivation packages available at their workplaces. The respondents noted that they usually pay for this service via the deductions from their monthly salaries. However the respondents had the view that health facilities become an effective motivation package when one receives better services through their insurance without being demanded to pay in cash for the services. Out of 55 respondents in the survey, 3 (5.5%) mentioned free breakfast/ tea provided to them by their supervisors or heads of schools as part of the motivation packages. Some schools in the six selected wards in the municipality offer meals as one of motivation strategies to facilitate their teachers to stay longer in the school premises for teaching purposes.

Consequences of the Approaches on Educational Staff Motivation in Selected Wards

The respondents in this survey fell into two categories in terms of their views regarding the way their schools approached motivation packages. Out of 55 respondents who were provided with the questionnaires, 41 (74.5%) seemed to have the radical mind set and they were planning to change their current job while only 14 (25.5%) of respondents were indifferent as they did not plan to leave from their teaching profession as shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Responses on whether planning to change the job or not – N=55

| Job Status | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Planning to change the current employment | 41 | 74.5 |
| Planning to remaining in the same job | 14 | 25.5 |

Source: Surveyed Data (2013)

The 41 (74.5%) respondents who planned to change their current jobs had the views that such motivation packages as work incentives and working environments were not attended as per their expectations and hence had not reasons to stay any longer in the teaching profession as noted here under:

Poor working Incentives

Out of 55 respondents participated in the survey, 27 (49.1%) complained about incentive strategies in their schools. The respondents noted that there were no any incentive strategies in place and they recommendations were not listened to hence their option was to leave their current employer. With that, most of respondents thought to change job.

Poor Monthly Salary

Out of 55 respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 17 (30.9%) said they were planning to change their current job because of poor salaries. This seemed to be main challenge from the direct motivation packages expected by the ones who work in the teaching profession. Thus to these respondents, it seems failure to receive satisfactory salaries was the reason for them to leave.

Poor Working Environment

It is obviously that every employee wishes to work in excellent and attractive working environment for better output as well as staff motivation. However, out of 55 respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 7 (12.7%) complained about working environments and noted that the working conditions were not friendly. These respondents mentioned that they encountered poor office equipment and teaching equipment. They also noted that such facilities as toilets were damaged beyond repair and situation was not hygienic at all.

Challenges in employee motivation process in government schools

Table 3 shows different factors that challenging and downstream employee motivation process in education industry:

Table 3: Challenges Downstream Motivation Process

| Motivation Packages | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| Limited Funds | 18 | 32.7 |
| Poor Management Skills | 8 | 14 |
| Different Worker Aspiration/Desires | 13 | 23.6 |
| Political intervention | 2 | 3.6 |
| Poor Government Motivation and Evaluation Criteria | 6 | 10.6 |
| No identified Criteria to Consider | 5 | 9.1 |
| Limited Motivation Autonomy /Authority | 3 | 5.5 |
| Total | 55 | 100 |

Source: Surveyed Data (2013)

Limited Funds

The organization can formulate good motivation strategies in a form of cash material but if funds are not available nothing can be realised. Out of 55 respondents, 18 (32.7%) mentioned that fund was the limiting factor. Most of respondents specifically supervisors and head teachers/mistress failed to motivate their staff to perform well because they had limited funds. Shortage of funds could lead organization management to suffer consequence. It was observed that most of the supervisor or management did not have enough budgets for staff motivation because most of motivation packages operated from government manifesto.

Different Workers Needs/Desires

Each employee had different goals, desires and aspiration during recruitment and after recruitment process. The study found that most of respondents interviewed had their own desire different from the employer. Some wishes their employer to improve monthly salary, workers incentives, provide housing and transport facilities. This gives employer hard time in determine which one among these should be given first priority. Out of 55 respondents, 13 (23.6%) said difference in workers desires/aspiration from their employers could be a challenging factor for motivation process.

Poor Management Motivation Skills

Poor management motivation skills regarding how to determine appropriate motivation packages were a challenge. Out of 55 respondents, 8 (14.5) noted poor that management skill was a challenging factor to heads of schools. Most of them have failed to plan or identify the kind of motivation packages needed by educational staff.

Poor Government Motivation Implementation and Evaluation strategies

Poor government motivation implementation and evaluation strategies seem to be a challenge encountered by the motivation package. On this, 6 (10.9%) of respondents who responded to the questionnaires commented that motivation process becomes challenging due to poor motivation and evaluation strategies portrayed.

No Identified Criteria to Consider

Most of head teachers who responded to the questionnaires noted that there were no identified criteria to consider in the motivation process in the schools from the six wards of the municipality. Out of 14 respondents of whom, 5 (9.1%) responded that the criteria to motivate the teachers were not known to them.

Limited Motivation Authority/Autonomy

Limited motivation authority or autonomy held by managers or supervisors of government institutions was among the factors that downstream motivation process within education industry. Out of 55 respondents, 39 (5.5%) noted that their leaders in the schools had limited

authority or autonomy to spend government budget for motivation purposes.

Political Intervention

Out of 55 respondents, 2 (3.6%) indicated that political intervention had direct influences on the way motivation packages were approached. Political intervention was one of challenges limiting the effectiveness in implementing motivation packages. Several times teachers and other government staff salary increments were delayed for no apparent reason.

Conclusion

The process of motivating individuals in the education sector is still confronted by a number of challenges. That means there is a need for those concerned to put more efforts in devising the solution to minimize the impact of such challenges. This seems to be the necessary conditions if the aim is to ensure that the education sector delivers according to the expectations. Having divergent views regarding the motivation packages found in the education sector seems to be the main challenge in the process of finding the balance and determine the way educational staff motivation should be approached.

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Climate Change and Socio-Economic Vulnerability among Maasai Pastoral Communities in Northern Tanzania

Mrisho Malipula and Theobald Frank Theodory

Abstract

Climate change has posed many socio-cultural and economic impacts in many sectors especially the livestock sector, thus hampering the livelihoods of pastoral communities. This article is based on the study that was conducted in Monduli District in the Northern part of Tanzania. The purpose of this study was to assess the socio-economic vulnerability posed by climate change among the Maasai pastoral communities. The lives of Maasai communities are directly connected to pastoral activities to earn their daily living. Through interviews, questionnaires and direct observation, the findings revealed that there has been rural-urban migration of many young Maasai pastoralists from their original villages to urban centres in searching for other jobs after losing huge number of their herds as a result of drought. Consequently, the Government of Tanzania and development partners should focus on creating conducive environment, in terms of the policy framework and education to the pastoral communities.

Keywords: Climate Change and Socio-Economic Vulnerability

Introduction

Climate change is no longer a potential future threat, rather we are currently experiencing the impact of a changing climate and an increased incidence and changed pattern of extreme weather events. The Fourth Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report (2007) concludes that there is high evidence that the observed changes in the global climate systems are influenced by human activities. In support of the conclusions of the IPCC Third assessment report (IPCC, 2001), the Fourth assessment stresses how human-induced climate change will not only affect global temperature, but will lead to changes in the entire climate, including precipitation patterns and intensity, wind patterns, sea level rise, frequency and intensity of extreme weather events. It also points out that the impacts of these changes will be felt differently in different regions of the world (Carlo and Sgobbi, 2008).

Africa is already a continent under pressure from climate stresses and is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Many areas in

Africa are recognized as among the most variable in the world on seasonal and decadal time scales. Floods and droughts can occur in the same area within months. These events can lead to famine and widespread disruption of socio-economic well-beings. For example, estimates, reported at the African Regional workshop organized by United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on climate change, indicated that one third of African people already live in drought-prone areas and 220 million are exposed to drought each year (UNFCCC, 2007).

Overview of Climate Change in Tanzania

In Tanzania the worst impact of climate change is its interference with food security and livestock production (United Republic of Tanzania, 2003). Nowadays climate change plays a diminishing role in virtually all value chains in Tanzania including to more than 90 % of the population dependent on agriculture (Shemsanga *et al*, 2010). Agriculture in the country largely depends on rainfall which is increasingly becoming unpredictable and unreliable with worsening climate change impacts. Some societies in Tanzania - Maasai, Barabaig and Nyaturu - have their livelihood largely dependent on livestock husbandry and have found themselves in trouble due to the prolonged drought seasons that result into scarcity of grazing land (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007).

Livestock sector in the country is among the nastiest hit by the climate change impacts via repeated droughts. With the current climate change, livestock output, survival and distribution are more affected through reduced quantity and quality of range-land and prevalence of vector-born livestock diseases. Deaths of large numbers of livestock due to lack of water and pasture have been a common incident in Tanzania (Shemsanga *et al*, 2010). Some hopes, however, exist as a number of pastoralist societies have started to come up with coping mechanism to support their livelihood activities. Such adaptations however are only useful for short-term. Worth noting is that the existing number of livestock in Tanzania devastates the carrying capacity of grazing lands in central and north-west Tanzania where droughts are common.

Consequently, pastoralists are forced to relocate to places where pasture and water are available (Shayo as cited in Shemsanga *et al*, 2010). This scenario has already caused conflicts between different pastoralist societies on one hand and farmers and pastoralists on the other.

Additionally there are reported conflicts between livestock and wildlife. Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania, like many other pastoralists in the world, face a number of acute challenges including a shortage of land for grazing, lack of water, frequent cases of cattle rustling, poor delivery of social services, population increase and a break-down of traditional institutions (Mubezi, 2011). Furthermore, inadequate recognition of pastoralists' viewpoints and their lifestyle in national policies has resulted in a great deal of conflict, mainly over land issues. This, in turn, has contributed to a negative state perspective on the pastoralist culture, way of life and its value as an economic activity (Irish Aid, 2010). This can be evidenced by the squeezing of pastoral livestock onto lands that are too small to be sustainable for livestock rearing (Oxfam, 2008). The eviction of pastoralists by government from game reserves and parks in the name of environmental management and protection causes environmental refugees in different places such as Mbalali (Ihefu and Usangu), the establishment of Mkomazi National Park, and the great eviction of pastoralists from Loliondo in 2009 in order to establish the wildlife corridor posed more stress to Maasai (PINGO, 2011).

The impact of climate change as one of the challenges facing the Maasai pastoralist livelihood is the matter of fact. Long droughts as one of the consequences of climate change cause death to millions of livestock, increase pastoralist mobility, increase poverty to the family. Cattle, which is the main resource the pastoral community depends to gain their daily needs, is also affected (Saringe, 2011). Lack of rainfall in many parts of Maasai pastoral communities has caused the disappearance of pastures and water which are the potentials need for sustainability of livestock. The Maasai pastoralist in drought faces serious conditions of lack of food and sometimes leads the pastoralists to sell their livestock at cheaper prices (Mubezi, 2011). The frequent droughts in recent years have meant that households have had no opportunity to rebuild their assets, including livestock, with many becoming locked into a spiral of chronic food insecurity and poverty (Oxfam, 2008). Therefore it is apparent that the ongoing climate variability has posed more threats to the Maasai pastoralist community. The article aims at documenting the socio-economic vulnerability caused by climate change to Maasai pastoral community in Northern Tanzania. The rationale is to bring out the understanding of socio-economic vulnerability that Maasai community encounters due to the climate change and inform policy makers to

integrate climate change adaptation strategies to the pastoral communities like the Maasai.

Methodology

The study upon which this article has its foundation employed mixed methodologies in collection and analysis of data. A total of 65 respondents from two randomly selected villages of Eslalei and Oltukai in Monduli district were involved in this study. However the household was mainly used as the unit of analysis for measuring and assessing the socio-economic impacts of climate change. Village Extension Officers from two village and elders within the community were purposively selected as key informants to provide their experience pertaining to climate change impacts. The primary data from interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured questionnaires were further corroborated with secondary data from reviews of published books, manuscripts, journals, research reports, newspapers and unpublished works to gain insights on the climate change impacts. The data gathered were subjected to content analysis and in some instances summarized in tables and percentages.

Conceptual and Theoretical Underpinnings

Conceptual Underpinnings

This article expounds the socio-economic vulnerability to climate change which has been experienced by Maasai pastoral communities. It seeks to draw an understanding on how Maasai pastoral communities are vulnerable as a result of the ongoing climate change. The term vulnerability has been conceptualized differently by various scholars. Fussel (2009) defines vulnerability as the failure to resist a hazard or to react when a disaster has occurred. In actual fact, vulnerability depends on several factors, such as people's age and state of health, local environmental and sanitary conditions, as well as on the quality and state of local buildings and their location with respect to any hazards. Turner II *et al* (2003) reveal the normal use of the word vulnerability as the capacity to be wounded; this means the extent to which a system is likely to experience damage due to exposure to a hazard. The IPCC Second Assessment Report, conceptualized vulnerability as the degree to which climate change may harm or spoil a system. It adds that vulnerability depends not only on a system's sensitivity, but also on its ability to adapt to new climatic conditions (Watson *et al* cited in Olmos, 2001). One

famous definition of vulnerability to climate change was given during the presentation made at the Sixth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP-6) by Robert T. Watson, Chair of the IPCC who notes that:

Vulnerability as the extent to which a natural or social system is defenceless to sustaining damage from climate change, and is a function of the extent of climate change, the sensitivity of the system to changes in climate and the ability for the system to adapt to changes in climate. Thus, a highly vulnerable system is one that is highly sensitive to modest changes in climate and whose ability to adapt is severely constrained. (IPCC 2000)

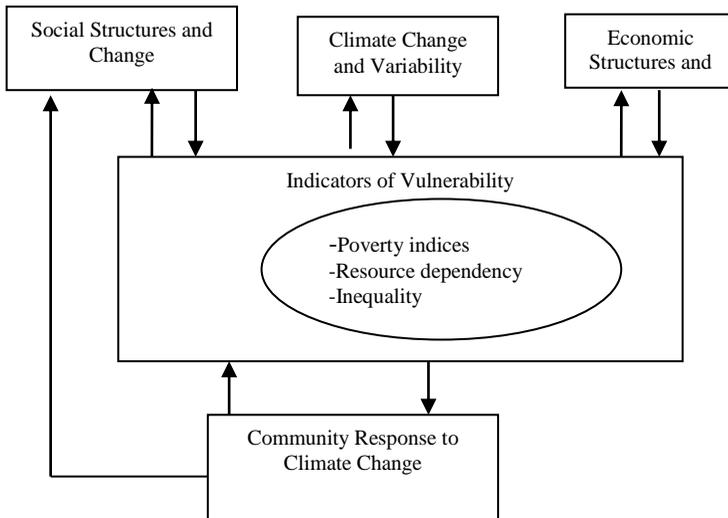


Figure 1: Conceptual frameworks depicting interpretations of socio-economic vulnerability to climate change.

Source: Modified from (O'Brien et al, 2007).

The above conceptual framework depicts socio-economic vulnerability to climate change in order to better understand the processes of socio-economic adaptation to climate change impacts, particularly in Maasai pastoralist societies. Socio-economic vulnerability is the exposure of groups or individuals to stress as a result of social, economic and environmental change. A set of indicators is developed to examine the relative vulnerability of any given set of individuals or social situation. These indicators are; poverty, resource dependence and inequality. These vulnerability indicators have great impacts on the socio-economic

structures changes of the Maasai community hence easily more vulnerable to climate change.

Poverty is an important aspect of vulnerability because of its direct association with access to resources which affect both baseline vulnerability and coping with the impacts of extreme events (Adger, 1996). Poverty is used in this article as an imperative indicator of individual vulnerability to climate change, since poverty can be directly related to marginalization and lack of access to resources which are critical when faced with the risk of hazards and the resultant stress on livelihoods. Another vulnerability indicator as indicated in the conceptual framework above is resource dependency. Adger (1998) conceptualized the term resource dependency as an element of individual vulnerability that is comprised by reliance on a tapered range of resources resulting into social and economic stresses within livelihood systems. These pressures are apparent in volatility and increased discrepancy in income and risk of failure of particular sources; and social instability as manifest through for example the impacts of migration. Resource dependency, in this sense, demonstrates the co evolutionary nature of the social and natural systems being examined, with social and economic systems themselves being resilient to their apparent vulnerability.

The last vulnerability indicator is inequality; inequality of income within a population is a vital indicator of vulnerability. This is evident through the concentration of resources in few hands hence constraining the individuals' ability to cope with external stress based on private resources. Adger (1998) contends that at the combined level, social vulnerability is determined by relative allocation of income; access to and diversity of economic assets; and by the operation of formal and informal institutional coping mechanisms. Specifically, vulnerability to climate extremes is determined by the formal institutional arrangements which organize warning, planning and other services but also by the institutions of the wider political economy.

These indicators which lead to social and economic vulnerability are the characteristics of the climatic threat; the government and individual communities have been attempting to minimize or manage for the benefit of society.

Climate Change among the Maasai

Social Vulnerability of Climate Change

The findings from the survey, as summarized in Table 1 below, indicate that 43% of the respondents revealed that they experienced family separation. In this regard it was noted that majority of men left their homes for the search of pastures for their livestock. It also happened that sometimes men stayed away for more than three months. The findings further show that 32% of the respondents pointed out that majority children failed to continue with their studies due to lack of food and school fees as their parents lacked a reliable source of income. About 8% of the respondents provided that the community members failed to contribute to their development programmes, this was due to the fact that most of their income was from already affected livestock. The most significant social impact revealed in the survey was that women had to walk long distance to fetch water thus limiting their abilities to handle other domestic activities such as taking care of children. It was further noted that during the drought periods almost all development initiatives got stuck, this was the view from 5% of the respondents.

6% of the respondents claimed to be affected psychologically due to the prolonged periods of drought that caused massive loss of cattle. These findings are similar to the ones provided by Mung'ong'o cited in PINGO (2011) that the Maasai communities had to cover up to 30 kilometres to get water and lacked grazing land during dry seasons. Shortage of grazing land prompted conflicts between Maasai and agriculturalists since the Maasai were trying to search for the good pastures and found themselves in the agriculturalist localities. Likewise Christian cited in Shemsanga, *et al* (2010) noted that the impacts of climate change in Kenya accelerated the prolonged droughts and resulted into unprecedented water shortage and lack of grazing land hence triggered inter-communal conflicts and misunderstanding.

Table 1: Responses on Social impacts of Climate Change

| Social Impacts | Frequency | % |
|--|-----------|-----|
| Family separation | 28 | 43 |
| Increase of school drop-outs | 21 | 32 |
| Failure to contribute to development program | 5 | 8 |
| Psychological problems | 4 | 6 |
| Shortage of grazing land | 3 | 5 |
| Women walk very long distance to fetch water | 4 | 6 |
| Total | 65 | 100 |

Source: Field survey (2011)

As for the case of cultural aspect, findings show that 37% of the respondents from Eslalei and Oltukai were of the opinion that some of their traditional leaders and majority of youth left their villages for causal employment in urban areas. For them the new practice was against their embedded cultural value as it is not acceptable for Maasai to be employed by non-Maasai. Similar notion has been indicated by Mbonile and Mwanfupe cited in Yanda and William (2010) that due to the problems faced by the pastoralists, they lost their ability to maintain their mobile livestock economies sustainably, which has given rise to pastoralists to change their livelihoods strategies.

As a result some have turned to agro-pastoralists; others live on off farm-livestock activities and the rest of the youngsters have migrated to urban areas to seek for wage employment. Also Paavola as cited in Shemsanga *et al* (2010) found that climate change has forced people to move from their villages to urban areas for paid employment. The implication of such movements is disintegration of family ties among other impacts. In the same line of argument, Mung'ong'o cited in PINGO (2011) revealed that Maasai family members migrated to other areas in search of alternative economic fortunes. Likewise the findings from survey revealed that 7.8% of the migrants had moved to Arusha and Dododma and the dominant migrant cohort was of age 19-30. 41% of the respondents had the view that some important events which were fundamental in maintaining family ties had stopped because of resource inadequacy. Money and livestock to facilitate such events as traditional ceremonies and marriages were lacking. During the Focus Group Discussion in the village of Oltukai, one participant reported that:

Youth at the age of getting married have opted to get married to the non-Maasai girls because in other tribes they don't require many cows. Such

inter-marriage practices dilute some Maasai cultural norms. This poses the danger of diminishing our culture. Also their tendency of going and coming back from urban areas provides a challenge in our life styles and conflicts our culture. *Morans* are no longer providing safety and security in our villages, they have moved to urban centres to seek for new employment opportunities.

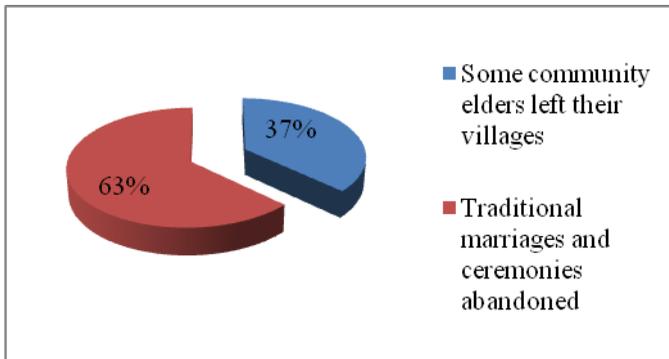


Figure 2: Cultural impacts of climate change
Source: Field survey (2011)

Economic Vulnerability of Climate Change

The survey findings show that about 60% of the respondents experienced drastic reduction in their income due to the impact of climate change. During drought season there was a huge loss of cattle resulting from the shortage of water and lack of good pastures. Mung'ong'o cited in PINGO (2011) provides that many pastoralists in Maasai land lost up to 70% of their livestock due to draught. The Maasai economy was completely jeopardized by the severe drought and as a result the communities were pushed into gross poverty as well as being dependent to the government and other local and international aid organisations.

23% of the respondents revealed that competition over land resource was another economic impact that emerged because of climate change. Due to the prolonged draught, land as the factor of production was diminishing and pastoralists started to fight against each other for the limited good pasture.

17% of the respondents noted that activities in the local markets in the two selected villages (Eslalei and Oltukai) also declined. Local communities in these villages lacked livestock and livestock products

such as milk, hides and meat to sell in these markets. During the interview, one respondent from Eslalei village provided that:

This situation has caused the market days to decrease, we used to have two to three market days but currently we have only one day and sometimes none... This is due to the fact that the livestock and livestock products have been highly affected.

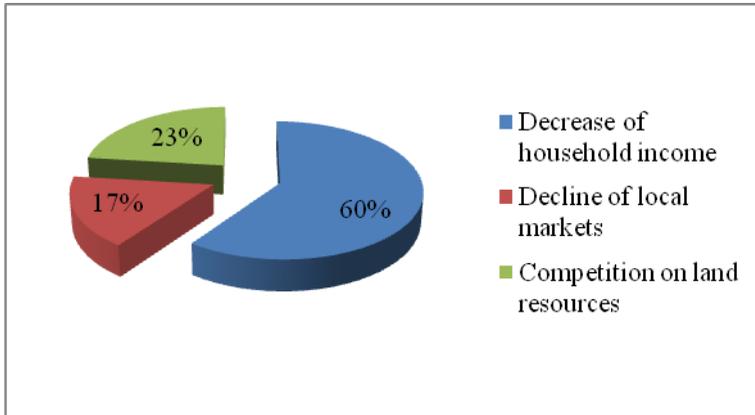


Figure 3: Economic impacts of climate change
Source: Field survey (2011)

Measures for redressing climate change

It is imperative for this article to reveal the views of Maasai pastoral communities on what should be done for redressing the socio-economic vulnerability caused by climate change. The following are the opinions given by respondents drawn from survey as provided in Table 2 below:

36% of the respondents proposed that in order to rescue the situation there is a need to create awareness among the Maasai pastoral community. This awareness should focus on the practice of modern livestock keeping, stop overgrazing, conducting periodic afforestation in their localities and destocking the herds of cattle during dry season. On the contrary 26% of the respondents requested the government to restock their lost herds as a result of climate change.

15% of the respondents proposed the need to mainstream the traditional adaptation knowledge to climate change impacts. The respondents argued that, there were traditional ways of adapting to climate change impacts but they were not documented. 14% of the

respondents went further and provided that traditional early warning system to climate change impacts should be recognized in climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies.

9% of the respondents requested the government and other development partners to facilitate the Maasai pastoralists to have entrepreneurial education. In this perspective the community members can diversify their economic activities as a way of coping with climate change.

Table 2: Proposed Measures to be taken by Government to Solve Pastoralists' Problems

| Proposed measures | Frequency | Percentage % |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| Raise awareness on environmental conservation | 23 | 36 |
| Government should facilitate to restock lost herds | 17 | 26 |
| Entrepreneurial education | 6 | 9 |
| Mainstreaming of traditional adaptation knowledge | 10 | 15 |
| Merging traditional early warning systems with modern climatic prediction models | 9 | 14 |
| Total | 65 | 100 |

Source: Field survey (2011)

Conclusion

Maasai pastoralist communities have been facing adverse socio-economic stress due to climate change which affects their livelihoods. As a consequence, the community has experienced diminishing manpower and security; increased school dropouts, long distance travel for the search of grazing land and water and some cases of stoppage of traditional and cultural ceremonies. As a means of coping with the impact of prolonged drought, some Maasai have decided to migrate to the urban areas.

Policy Implications

There is a need for the pastoral communities to be mobilized to take part in other economic activities rather than involving only with pastoralism. Such initiative should be undertaken concurrently with dissemination of knowledge on the importance of utilizing financial institutions such as

banks and SACCOS (Savings and Credit Cooperative Society) for the safety of their resources instead of keeping big herds of cattle.

The National Growth and Poverty Reduction strategy (NGPRS) will not be achieved if pastoral communities in their area are not given priority, it is important to note that livestock sector has a vital contribution to the national economy. Therefore special attention is required in this respect. Meanwhile, the government should educate the pastoral communities on the laws governing livestock movements, and should set stringent control mechanism and strengthen the laws in order to protect continuous environmental degradation. This measure should go hand in hand with the allocation of adequate resources in terms of budget and human resources to enhance availability of technical assistance to the pastoral communities.

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Policy Implementation at the Cross-Road: Dilemma Facing Management of Water Allocation in Tanzania's Selected Irrigation Schemes

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Abstract

This paper assesses implementation of the formal water use rights in selected small scale irrigation schemes in Wami-Ruvu Basin in Tanzania. The formal water users' rights are legal instruments stipulated in Tanzania's National Water Policy (NAWAPO) under the guidance of donor countries and organizations particularly the World Bank. Adoption of the water use rights is influenced by the rational choice theorists who insist that water should be managed through formal, explicit and universal rules. Among other things the water users' rights are considered effective institutions for excluding the illegal users and promote efficient utilisation of the water resource. Despite emphasis by the rational choice scholars and also the Tanzanian national policy, the formal water use rights have been widely criticized. The opponents, particularly the critical institutional scholars argue that, exclusion of the illegal water users has been emphasised without considering its impacts on people's livelihoods especially the poor. This paper buys into line of thoughts of the critical institutional theory. It aims to show how implementation of the water use rights in the selected small scale irrigation schemes in Wami-Ruvu Basin in Tanzania ignores people's livelihood strategies and exposes the policy implementers in a dilemma of choice between enforcing the rules and protecting such livelihood strategies. As a way to overcome the dilemma, the paper recommends design of the water use rights that will accommodate the livelihood needs of the small scale water users such as the small scale irrigators.

Key words: Water allocation, water right, livelihoods, small scale irrigation schemes, exclusion, conflicts, property right systems

Introduction

Water allocation is “a process whereby an available water resource is distributed to legitimate claimants and the resulting water rights are granted, transferred, reviewed, and adapted” (Le Quesne *et al.*, 2007).

Water allocation is a process managed through the property rights which are either formal or informal and which determine who should get water and how. While the formal rights are granted through the government or private bodies or their agents, and backed up by government policies and laws the informal rights evolve spontaneously as people interact in water arena. The major aim of the property rights and associated rules is to facilitate exclusion of ineligible users from the benefit streams of the resource. Specifically, as Komakech *et al.*, (2012a) contend “property rights define an individual’s rights, privileges and associated limitations of a specific resource use” (pp. 116). The property rights grant formal rights over water and set a boundary up on which the resource can be legitimately accessed and utilized (Ostrom, 1990). In water resource management, property rights have been adopted to exclude those who fail to acquire the formal water rights and pay the taxes. The exclusionist approach in water resource management is evident in various institutional reforms around the globe epitomized mainly by publication of the design principle for enduring collective action institutions (Ostrom, 1990) and other international blueprints from the Dublin and Rio de Janeiro resolutions (Merrey and Cook, 2012). In the formal water allocation systems this approach is marked by definition of geographical boundaries for resource management basing on river basin settings, establishment of boundary rules to demarcate the eligible and ineligible users and administration of graduated sanctions for the rule breakers (Ostrom, 1990). The aim is to make sure that only those who contribute to production and provision of the resource access and utilize it.

The users are not only excluded in consumption of the resource but also in decision making processes. Adoption of the formalized decision making structures in particular the Water Boards, Catchment and Sub-catchment Committees, Users’ Associations and Groups, has restricted the number of water users who could participate in decision making processes (Cleaver, 1999). The formal allocation rights, rules and mechanisms confer the rights to participate in decision making only to the few users who are able and willing to join the formal decision making structures.

As pointed out by Cleaver (2001) and Cleaver and Franks (2005) exclusion rules are insisted by the rational choice institutionalists who believe that access to resource can be restricted through establishment of effective rules. Apart from rules the rational choice theorists emphasise

establishment of effective systems for rewarding the cooperators and penalising the defectors (Ostrom, 1990). Their assumption is that through effective sanctioning systems the illegal users automatically comply with the rules so as to avoid penalties and enjoy the benefits from the resource. Such view, as argued by critical institutional scholars undermines agency in the way that the actors respond to various institutional orders because it consider the actors as creatures who always respond to external objects passively (Cleaver, 2001). Basing on critical institutional scholars actors are shaped by rules from the external world but are also capable of negotiating such rules according to their needs, interests and other circumstances that they face. Through mediations, rules can be supported, altered or completely rejected depending on how the people perceive them. As indicted by Sesabo (2007), local communities' support of the resource governance rules and programs is high if people perceive them to have benefits on their livelihoods. This implies that through mediation processes rules which jeopardise peoples' livelihoods have high possibilities of being violated. In most cases the formal water use rights and rules around the world have been adopted without considering the people's livelihood needs as a result, in many areas especially in developing countries they have been rejected (van Koppen *et al*, 2004; Meinzen-Dick and Nkonya, 2007; Komakech and van der Zaag, 2011)

While the focus of the formal allocation rights is on exclusion, most of the people in developing countries depend on water for their livelihoods. Due to high dependence on water, the people in developing countries knowingly or unknowingly have continued to use it without having the formal rights. If the rational choice approach is to be insisted these users must be expelled and punished so as to prevent free riding. But, in practice such coercive measures are difficult to implement due to presence of some social and cultural barriers in communities where the policies are implemented. For example, as argued by Meinzen-Dick and Nkonya, in African societies the implementers are also influenced by humanitarian culture on their decisions on who should get what in water distribution (Meinzen-Dick and Nkonya, 2007). Such culture, as also insisted in social dimension of water allocation (Adams *et al*, 2001, UN, 2000) encourages allocation of water for livelihood needs regardless of whether the people have paid for it or not. The concern for humanity places the policy implementers in African countries in a dilemma during enforcement of the formal allocation rights and rules. The dilemma exists

because the implementers in these countries are normally faced with dual and incompatible obligations of enforcing the law and considering humanitarianism through observing the peoples' rights to use water to meet their basic needs.

One of the contexts in which implementation of the formal water rights faces a dilemma is in small scale irrigation schemes. The small scale irrigation schemes in developing countries comprise of the farmers whose access to alternative livelihood strategies is highly limited. In most cases such farmers depend on water to meet their basic needs (Kisawike, 2008) thus excluding them from getting it does not only disrupt their survival strategies but also violates their rights to survive. Due to inherent flexibility in the criteria used to allocate water, the customary water rights seldom face a decision dilemma. Such rights normally provide a room for negotiating allocations for basic livelihood needs of the people; therefore they have a big chance of preventing management dilemmas. This is different from the formal rights which are normally designed rigidly to reflect the national and international water principles (Merrey and Cook, 2012, Komakech *et al.*, 2012a).

Exclusion Trends in Management of Water Allocation in Tanzania

Historically small scale irrigators in Tanzania have been marginalised in various decisions concerning utilisation and management of the water resource. The marginalisation trends for the small scale irrigators dates back to 1900s when the colonial administration imposed the formal rules in control of access and utilisation of the water resources in the place of the customary rights used by the people in various local areas. In such efforts priority was given to the areas where intensified water use existed, for instance Kilimanjaro (Van Koppen *et al.*, 2004, Bender, 2010). The essence of the formalisation efforts was to improve supply of the water resource to the settlers and restrict access to the native farmers. This goal was evident in various water legislations adopted between 1923 and 1959 (Komakech *et al.*, 2011) by the colonial government.

Consolidation of power over access and distribution of the water resource did not end with the colonial rule. The first water legislation after independence (Water Utilisation (Control and Regulation) Act No. 42 in 1974) made a requirement for the formal water use rights mandatory to all users who intended to “divert, dam, store abstract and use” water for different economic purposes (van Koppen *et al.*, 2004). The law made it clear that only formally registered users' rights were legitimate. The state

monopoly in water management was further enhanced by the 1991 National Water Policy. The policy and legal reforms on water resource allocation have gone hand in hand with some structural changes. The major structural changes took place when the regional water offices were replaced by the river basin offices as the next tiers below the ministry responsible for water. Such changes took place through the 1981 amendments in the Water Utilisation (Control and Regulation) Act No. 42 of 1974. At the beginning only two basin offices were established namely Pangani and Rufiji. Later on more basin offices were created including the Wami-Ruvu Basin which was established in 2002. Currently there are nine water basin offices that manage the water resource in the country. According to NAWAPO and Water Resource Management Act, No.11 of 2009 these water basin offices have exclusive authority to allocate the water use rights to different users. The national water law and policy have categorically prohibited allocation of the water for economic use through other government authorities, private organisations or open access regimes.

Through the above formalisation trends control of access and utilisation of the water resource has been moved away from the people. Although the intention in the government policy was to prevent control by the few powerful individuals or groups and ensure peaceful and equitable allocation of the resource to all citizens, the experiences in different areas have proved the opposite (van Koppen *et al.*, 2004, Komakech *et al.*, 2012). In most cases such formal systems have resulted to exclusion of the poor in water allocation decisions and destruction of the water based livelihood strategies that they depended up on for long period of time. In addition, such formal trends have always placed the decision makers at the cross roads of choice between protection of the peoples' livelihoods and enforcement of the policy and legal instruments guiding water allocation processes, thus reducing their competence in water policy implementation.

Study Areas and Methods

The study was conducted in Mkindo and Kiroka irrigation schemes. These are among the small scale irrigation schemes located in WRB, which is one of the nine basins established after 1981 amendments to the Act No.42. The Mkindo and Kiroka Irrigation Schemes are both found in Morogoro region in Mvomero District and Mkindo village and Morogoro

District and Kiroka and Kiziwa villages respectively. The schemes were differentiated by the type of technology used in water abstractions, presence or a Water User Association (WUA) and nature of the surrounding communities. Mkindo Irrigation Scheme (MIS) is an improved scheme with a complete lined canal, modern intake facility, and is nested within an umbrella organisation known as Mkindo WUA. Moreover, this scheme is surrounded by ethnically heterogeneous community of farmers and pastoralists. In the other hand the Kiroka Irrigation Scheme (KIS) is a semi-improved scheme, with a canal which is partly lined and partly earthen, not nested in a WUA and surrounded by a relatively homogenous community of farmers in terms of ethnicity. Due to their differences the two schemes were considered comparable enough to provide comprehensive account of the policy implementation dilemmas in small scale irrigation schemes in WRB.

Data collection methods included in-depth face to face interviews with the key informants who comprised of the scheme and village leaders, government officials, and FGDs with the farmers in both schemes. Questionnaire was also distributed to the farmers. From the questionnaire information about the livelihood strategies of the farmers were obtained. Documentary reviews were also done to supplement the data from interviews and questionnaire. The documents reviewed included the National Water Policy (NAWAPO) (2002), National Irrigation Master Plan (NIMP) (2002) National Irrigation Policy (NIP) (2010), the Water Resource Management Act No. 11 of 2009, Water Sector Development Programme (WSDP) (2005-2025), National Water Sector Development Strategy (NWSDS) (2006-2015) and DADP guidelines (2010). Others are JICA report on the Study on Water Resources Management and Development in Wami-Ruvu Basin (2013), irrigation schemes inception and progress reports for Kiroka irrigation schemes, the MFIS and Mkindo WUA constitutions and meeting resolutions for the UWAIKI group.

Content analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data which comprised mainly of the data on participation of the farmers in irrigated farming before and after formalisation of the traditional irrigation systems and compliance towards rules. Descriptive statistical analysis was employed to analyse data concerning livelihood strategies of the farmers. Before the analysis was done, the statistical data was organised and coded using SPSS version 20.

Results

Livelihoods Strategies in KIS

The main economic activities of the communities surrounding this scheme have been summarized in Table 1. Basing on this Table, agriculture both rain fed and irrigated is the main livelihood activity. Agricultural activities involve production of rice, maize, coconuts, bananas and fruits, sometimes supplemented by off and on farm wage employment. Moreover, some off- farm self employment also sustains peoples livelihoods in the surrounding communities. The pet business mainly involves buying and selling of fruits, vegetables, and roots products such as cassava and yams. Participation in pet business has been facilitated by availability of markets for farm products in Morogoro municipality, Dar es Salaam and other nearby regions. Accessibility to such markets has been facilitated by proximity to Morogoro municipality and availability of a road which is passable throughout the year. The scheme is about 20 km south of Morogoro municipality. Livestock keeping is sporadically conducted by few villagers or sometimes the Maasai pastoralists who use Kiroka village as a transit area when they move from southern villages in Morogoro Rural District to other places in Morogoro region.

Table 1: Irrigators 'Livelihood Strategies by the Order of their Importance in KIS

| Livelihood Strategy | Farmers' Rating | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| | UWAUKI Members – N=50 | | | | | Non-member Irrigators- N=50 | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Irrigated rice farming | 70% | 30% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Rain fed rice farming | 20% | 60% | 0% | 0% | 10% | 0% | 0% | 10% | 30% | 60% |
| Rain fed maize farming | 10% | 18% | 36% | 30% | 6% | 10% | 30% | 38% | 12% | 10% |
| Irrigated vegetable farming | 0% | 0% | 0% | 6% | 94% | 60% | 24% | 10% | 6% | 0% |
| Off farm wage employment | 12% | 4% | 14% | 6% | 64% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 24% | 54% |
| Off farm self employment | 14% | 8% | 4% | 18% | 56% | 0% | 0% | 30% | 24% | 46% |
| Livestock keeping/poultry | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| Others (remittances) | 0% | 0% | 24% | 36% | 40% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 48% | 52% |

Source: Household Survey in KIS, 2014

As shown in *Table 3.1* most of the livelihood strategies in KIS depend on water. But water is not anybody's property. The government has declared the exclusive ownership and control over water through property right systems stipulated in the National water Policy (NAWAPO) of 2002 and law (WRMA) No.11 of 2009. Under the government policy and law people must acquire water use permits and pay annual fees for water withdrawn and used for economic purposes. But, before introduction of the formal allocation rules in this scheme people accessed and used water to meet their livelihood needs without permits and annual payments. Such free abstractions are still preferred by most irrigators around the KIS although the government considers them illegal. Theoretically the law enforcers must abide with the government in the move to eliminate free abstractions of water however, the existing dilemma has made it difficult for them to do so. Before discussing the dilemma contributed by the formal water right system, it is important to have a glance at historical roots of the rights in this scheme. Through such historical roots one can see how the existing tension has evolved in water allocation processes in this scheme.

History of Formal Water Use Rights in KIS

Before improvement of the scheme started, the farmers in villages surrounding the KIS had already started to engage in traditional irrigation farming in a land of about 50 to 70 hectares (MDC, 2014). The villagers abstracted water from the traditional intake facility once built for the purpose of collecting water for domestic use and watering of the domestic vegetable gardens. Traditional allocation rights basing on participation in maintenance of the intake determined access to the resource. Later on, irrigation practiced in a traditional way was found to be highly challenging by the farmers. The hardships faced during irrigation and the strong desire to improve their irrigation system made some irrigators to organise and form an irrigation group known as Kiroka Association for the Irrigators or in Swahili *Umoja wa Umwagiliaji Kiroka* (UWAUKI) in 2004. In addition to the needs by the farmers, establishment of UWAUKI was also an initiative to comply with the directive from the NAWAPO and WRMA that small scale water users in the country must formulate formal groups to enhance payment of the fees and of course to qualify for the support from the government and donors. Following establishment of

UWAUKI and improvement of the irrigation infrastructures, the rules of engagement in accessing and utilizing the water resource changed. Instead of free and informally regulated abstractions, the farmers had to acquire permits and pay tariffs through UWAUKI so as to use the scheme. Apart from capacity and willingness to pay tariffs, membership to UWAUKI was granted to only those who were ready to cultivate rice. As a result of formalisation of the rules and mono cropping patterns in KIS, the number of beneficiaries from the scheme was reduced to only 265 farmers who have membership to UWAUKI from among the entire villages workforces involved in irrigation. As Kisawike (2008) has pointed out, requirement for mono cropping patterns is one of the factors contributing to social differentiations among the farmers in African countries Tanzania included. In most cases the social differentiations have resulted to grievances and opposition which have in turn made implementation of the policy challenging.

Exclusion Experiences in KIS

As indicated by the Councilor for Kiroka Ward and chairmen for Kiroka and Kiziwa villages during the interviews the major factor contributing to farmers' exclusion in KIS is resistance to join UWAUKI. During the FGDs with the non-member irrigators most of them said that they have resisted joining the group because of the condition that requires them to cultivate rice only, as one of them pointed out:

“UWAUKI wants everybody in the scheme to cultivate rice but it is difficult for the poor farmer to manage modern rice farming. If other crops were allowed we would love to join the group so as to get easy access to water because the sources which we depend for abstracting the water are very uncertain”

In this regard the farmers were referring to the challenges of getting the farm inputs needed in irrigated rice cultivation. Irrigated rice farming for the members of UWAUKI is conducted basing on the experts' guidelines. Such guidelines require the farmer to follow the calendar in each step involved in farming and also insist the use of modern rice species and application of fertilizers in each step. Generally, modern irrigation farming for rice requires some financial investments which are difficult to make for the farmers with low income.

Although all farmers are affected the challenges are severe in Mahembe hamlet where the existing topographic features do not allow cultivation of rice. In case the villagers in Mahembe opt to become members of UWAUKI group, in addition to normal membership fees they have to pay 50,000/= as the cost for hiring the rice plots because most of them do not have them in the project area. As a result of this, as household survey has indicated instead of seeking membership to UWAUKI, about 90% of the irrigators from this area have opted to buy water from the scheme as external customers so as to continue with cultivation of vegetables rather than rice. This option is viable however, due to low income most of the external irrigators fail to afford the water use fees charged by UWAUKI group. Due to low capacity to pay most of these irrigators have been excluded from the scheme although by virtue of their residence to the villages surrounding the scheme they were supposed to be amongst the beneficiaries. During the FGDs some of the villagers from Mahembe could not hide their anger towards UWAUKI for what they said its exploitation:

This scheme has no benefit to us. It has brought us hunger and more suffering than development. Before it was built, we were very free to use the water for irrigating our gardens. Now only one person, the UWAUKI leader has the mandate to decide if we should get water or not; if I had capability I could just dismantle it.

Like the other non-member irrigators, the villagers in Mahembe hamlet have depended on subsistence irrigation in vegetable gardens for long period of time. Although the farmers in this area have other activities, irrigated vegetable farming is the most important source of income of livelihoods (*see table 3*). Findings from the household survey indicated that 86% of the non-member irrigators including those from Mahembe depend on irrigated farming for their livelihoods. The money that they get from this activity helps them to meet other needs such as food, clothing, health, education etc. With the arrival of the modern irrigation scheme most of the water from the Rivers they formally depended for irrigating their gardens (Mahembe, Kiroka and Mwaya Rivers) has been diverted away to the KIS, benefiting only the few villagers (UWAUKI members) leaving majority who are outside the scheme with little to share.

Dilemma in Implementation of Water Use Rights in KIS

As a result of being outside the UWAUKI, most of the irrigators in villages surrounding the KIS are not eligible to use water from the scheme. However, most of them have continued to access water illegally because they have no any other means to meet their livelihood needs. This situation does not only create tension between them and members of UWAUKI but also leads to dilemma in making the decisions as the scheme chairperson indicated during the interviews:

Whenever we catch the illegal users the first idea is to punish them severely to make them learn a lesson and stop such acts. But most of the water thieves use water to irrigate small gardens just to meet basic needs at home. We do not like taking severe measures such as sending them to court because that may affect their abilities to take care of their families although the law says so for those repeating the offenses several times. Instead of imposing severe and graduated sanctions what we do normally is to give them punishments such as paying small fines or assigning them communal works.

When the above words from the scheme chairperson are examined one can see a challenge in punishing the illegal water users in KIS. Due to illegal abstractions, the non-member irrigators were supposed to face graduated sanctions as stipulated in the WRMA and indicated in scheme's meeting resolutions. The government officials, scheme and village government leaders know pretty well that failure to impose serious punishment contributes to persistence of illegal abstractions. However, such officials and leaders seem to face a dilemma because they know that if seriously administered the sanctions may provide harm to the farmers and their families, something which goes against the humanity culture.

As a way to overcome the decision dilemma, the UWAUKI leaders have opened the door for discussions with the non-member irrigators so as to find possibilities of including them in the scheme if they agree to pay as external customers. Some non-member irrigators have agreed to buy water from the KIS if the charges will be reduced from the current 15,000 TSHS to 10,000 THS per acre per month; the proposal which the UWAUKI leaders do not agree with. The non-member irrigators are now trying to negotiate their deal with the UWAUKI through the councilor and village chairpersons (VCPs) for Kiroka and

Kiziwa villages. To be able to get water legally from the scheme the non-member irrigators must wait for the results from this negotiation. Not only that but also, these irrigators must wait for the approval from the Wami-Ruvu Basin Water Board (WRBWB) (the highest organ with the authority to approve or deny allocation of water to the users in the basin), before they can enter into legal water trading with the UWAUKI group. While the matter on water pricing is under discussions and decision to seek approval from the WRBWB is considered by the UWAUKI, some of the non-member irrigators have continued to abstract water from the scheme through illegal means.

According to the scheme chairperson, the members have proposed three options to deal with the non-member irrigators. (i) To completely expel those who use water illegally by imposing severe punishments including sending them to court so as to comply with the national policy and law (ii) Take a humanitarian approach and leave them to access and use water without paying the fees until the matter about the prices is settled and permission from the WRBWB is granted. (iii) To continue with the existing approach whereby water is allocated to those who pay the current fees and impose fines to free riders. According to the scheme and village government chairpersons, the first decision was rejected by majority of the members because they thought that it was against the brotherhood culture existed in their communities over the years. Furthermore, the decision was not favoured because the farmers thought that it would spoil peace and unity, and deprive most of the people the water based livelihoods that have been sustaining their lives for many years. The second decision was not suitable either because it was against the economic principle (Adams *et al*, 2001, URT, 2002). According to the scheme chairperson, the farmers have adopted the third decision which allows selling of water to non-members and penalizing those who steal water but, without sending them to court. In doing so according to this leader the UWAUKI group avoids the 'sin' of sending their 'brothers' and 'sisters' to prison and destroy their lives at the same time reminding them that law breaching will not be tolerated. It is hoped that the shirkers will eventually understand the lesson and retune their behaviours towards water access. The above scenario demonstrates presence of a dilemma in management of water allocation processes. The study has found that the UWAUKI members prefer the decision to sell water to non-member irrigators and avoid graduated sanctions not because

it is the best option but because the existing situation has forced them to do so. Generally, the experiences in KIS show how policy decisions made at the centre can be reversed during the implementation stage due to existence of informal rules which contravene such decisions. Such experiences conform to the assertion that policies are put into practice through the rules that are in action (rules-in-use) rather than those stipulated in the formal legal documents as rational choice theorists may believe (Ostrom, 1990, Polsk and Ostrom, 1999).

Livelihoods Strategies in MIS

Irrigated farming is the main economic activity in Mkindo; the village where the scheme is located followed by rain fed farming. Rice is the main crop for both irrigated and rain fed farming. Other crops are cultivated by small number of people to just supplement the rice and these are maize and vegetables. Agricultural activities are supplemented by pet business mostly involving buying and selling of rice. This business has expanded following improvement in market access due to presence of a road from Morogoro Municipality to the area, passable throughout the year. Livestock keeping is eminent and is mainly conducted by the Maasai immigrants residing in the nearby Kambala village.

Table 2: Livelihoods Strategies in MIS

| Livelihood Strategy | Farmers' Rating | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------------------------|-----|-----|------|------|
| | MFIS Members – N=50 | | | | | Non-member Irrigators- N=50 | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Irrigated rice farming | 80% | 30% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 90% | 6% | 4% | 0% | 0% |
| Rain fed rice farming | 24% | 70% | 0% | 0% | 10% | 30% | 40% | 10 | 10% | 6% |
| Rain fed maize farming | 0% | 0% | 10% | 30% | 60% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% |
| Irrigated vegetable farming | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 20% | 80% |
| Off farm wage employment | 12% | 4% | 14% | 6% | 64% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 56% | 44% |
| Off farm self employment | 14% | 16% | 4% | 18% | 8% | 0% | 0% | 34% | 24% | 42% |
| Livestock keeping/poultry | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100 | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0%) | 100% |
| Others (remittances) | 0% | 0% | 30% | 40% | 44% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 48%) | 52% |

Source: Household Survey in MIS, 2014

Generally, the scheme is surrounded by heterogeneous ethnic groups with different economic powers and livelihoods strategies largely depending on water. Being a major livelihood resource, most irrigators in communities surrounding the MIS have no option but to use water although some of them understand that they have no legal mandate to do so.

History of Formal Water Use Rights in MIS

Mkindo is also one of the small scale irrigation schemes that have been earmarked for improvement in the Wami-Ruvu Basin. The scheme was formed in 1985 and is comprised of 250 members. The ownership of the scheme is vested in the hands of the farmers group known as Mkindo Farmers Irrigation Scheme (MFIS) which has been registered under the cooperative Society Act (2002). Through various government programs, the scheme has managed to improve its infrastructure and it is now classified as improved small scale irrigation scheme (NIMP, 2002) and it is governed through the formal national and local rules. Following formalisation of water resource management and provision, bureaucratic communal management structures (Kisawike, 2008) have been established in the scheme. Such structures comprise of three committees namely the executive, farm and planning and finance Committees.

Before the MIS was established, irrigated farming was not known to most of the people in Mkindo, the village where the scheme is found. Only some few villagers practiced irrigation through some traditional mechanisms. These few irrigators used the water from natural ponds around the village to irrigate small farms where onions were cultivated to supplement the income from rice, maize and other food crops. During that time no irrigation structures were built and irrigation was conducted manually using buckets. Generally access to irrigation water was controlled through the general traditional rule under *Mfumwa* chiefdom instead of any specific allocation rules. Later on the government sent its experts to educate the farmers on the effects of climatic variability on agricultural productivity and the importance of irrigated agriculture on food security. Following abolition of chiefdoms in Tanzania in mid 1960s, the *Mfumwa* rule just like many other traditional rules declined leaving a vacuum in management of the water resource in the areas surrounding the MIS. After long period of open and unregulated access to water, the villagers experienced restrictions following up lifting of the

scheme from traditional to improved small scale irrigation scheme. This took place after the villagers were sensitised and agreed to release their land to the government so as to enable it construct modern irrigation infrastructures with the agreement that the farmers who owned pieces of land in the project area would be the first beneficiaries when the scheme starts to operate. This privilege however was accompanied by the obligation to join a formal irrigators' group (MFIS) and contribute to management activities of the scheme. This marked the beginning of the formal users' rights and exclusion trends which have fuelled opposition against the policy instruments from the water users.

Exclusion Experiences in the MIS

In the early years of the scheme's establishment, most of the farmers rejected the modern irrigation practices therefore they automatically excluded themselves from the scheme. As more farmers realised the profits of the improved irrigation and more education provided, this attitude slowly changed. According to the scheme chairman the number of farmers that have joined the group has expanded from less than 50 in 1985 to about 250 farmers in 2015. Generally, irrigated rice farming has become the primary livelihood strategy to most of the farmers in Mkindo Irrigation Scheme and the surrounding areas.

As indicated by the findings from the household surveys, irrigated rice farming is the major livelihood strategy to both the members and non-member irrigators in MIS. The FGDs with the farmers revealed that increase in productivity among the MFIS members has stimulated the farmers in the surrounding areas to change their attitude and adapt to modern irrigation. Due to increase in irrigation activities by the farmers, the land in phase one and two has not been enough to meet the demand. To fulfill their aim, the farmers have decided to go beyond the initial area earmarked for irrigation towards the borders with the pastoralist village and establish irrigation activities under the supervision of the group they called *Umoja wa Umwagiliaji Mgongola (UUMGO)*.

As the chairman of MFIS group explained during the interviews initially the farmers in UUMGO were advised to seek membership to their group so as to get allocations from the MIS but most of them rejected that idea and chose to use water from the returning flows. Consequently these irrigators were formally excluded from the scheme because of the failure to meet the rules. Exclusion of the UUMGO members from the scheme

has denied them access to regular allocations of water from the scheme. Sometimes they get excessive allocations which destroy their crops and sometimes they do not get enough supplies. Interviews with the chairmen for UUMGO and MFIS groups revealed that the MFIS group uses the advantage of being at the upper course and having a control of the intake facility to manipulate the flows so as to force the UUMGO members to abandon their group and seek membership to MFIS. While the MFIS leaders want to take the UUMGO members so as to increase income from contributions, most of the members in UUMGO prefer to remain in their group and use water from MFIS as external customers if the fees will be reduced (currently each irrigator pays 30,000 TSHS per season) as they provided during the FGDs:

The MFIS leaders force us to be part of their group if we want to fully enjoy the rights existing in the scheme. But this is not appropriate because we have our own group registered by the government.

According to the UUMGO chairman, the farmers in this group are not happy with the blanket fees charged in the scheme because the amount of water that they receive is not equal to that allocated to MFIS. So, instead of buying the water as external customers or joining the MFIS group this leader has indicated that more than 80% of the farmers in this group have chosen to continue with the informal ways of accessing water especially from the return flows so as to avoid paying the fees. To a large extent rejection of the water use fees has contributed to exclusion of the UUMGO members from the benefit streams of MIS. As it has been pointed out earlier, free abstraction of water for economic uses is an offense that must be punished by the law. However, in this scheme just like in KIS the government officials, scheme and village government leaders have been facing a dilemma on how to impose the punishments without jeopardising the livelihoods of the people.

Dilemma in Water Right Implementation in MIS

As it has been pointed out previously the non-member irrigators from UUMGO have three options to get water from the MIS: to divert the return flows, to buy water as external customers or join the MFIS group. According to the Water Officer in Wami-Ruvu, abstractions done by the UUMGO farmers who divert the return flows are illegal. Those who have accepted to buy water as external customers meet the requirement of the

MFIS leaders however, their abstractions are not legal either because, the MFIS group has no mandate to sell the water rights to other users without the consent of the Wami-Ruvu Basin Water Board (WRBWB). Surprisingly no penalties have been imposed to stop such abstractions.

The study revealed that the scheme and village government leaders and the government officials in WRBWB have failed to administer the penalties to illegal users due to humanitarian reasons. As contended by the government official and village government and scheme leaders during the interviews, it is difficult to stop people who have no other means of livelihood from using the scheme water. In their views such officials and leaders seem to prefer diplomatic than coercive ways in addressing free abstractions as indicated by the Basin Water Officer during the interviews:

We know pretty well that there are illegal users of water out there. Currently our focus is mainly on education to make the public understand the law, than imposing punishments to them. Eventually, as more people become educated I believe that such informal behaviours will fade out.

As far as the government officials, scheme and village government leaders are concerned the water users need to be educated so as to formulate the formal WUGs or formalise those which they have, apply for the permits and pay the fees. Basing on NAWAPO, the use of education and sensitization programs is important however; this does not preclude imposition of penalties for those breaching the law as provided under Section 44 (2) of the WRMA No. 11 of 2009. Although the law has been clear that the rule breakers must face punishment which will make them exclude themselves or comply, the local circumstance has prevented the leaders and officials from imposing the penalties. Generally, implementation of the policy decision to exclude the illegal users in MIS just like in KIS has been at the crossroad due to infusion of the informal rules in water policy action arena.

Conclusion

The National Water Policy (NAWAPO) and Water Resource Management Act (WRMA) No. 11 of 2009 have insisted the use of formal property right systems in control of water abstractions and use.

This article explored the challenges in management of such systems. Due to importance of water for human survival, people in areas surrounding the schemes under the study have always negotiated the rules that restrict its access and utilisation. Such situation has exposed the government officials, village and scheme leaders on a dilemma of choice between enforcing the law and observing the people's fundamental rights to survive. Generally, experiences from the case studies have shown that it is difficult for the policy implementers to strike a balance between protection of the fundamental right to survive as insisted in the social principle of water allocation and enhance the economic and environmental principles emphasized in the national water policy and law. This situation however can be improved through establishment of pricing mechanisms that can flexibly accommodate the people's capacity to pay and rights to lawfully pursue their livelihood strategies.

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Synthesis of Political Economy of Biofuel in Tanzania

Eliaza Mkuna, George Mgendi and Gulilat Tariku

Abstract

Biofuel, as the recent emerging source of energy, has gained much emphasis on the political economy of various countries. This article through the review of literature aims at synthesizing the political economy of biofuel in Tanzania. The article points out that there is a policy dilemma regarding biofuel production. That means there is no specific policy for the sector, something which has a negative effect to the political economy of biofuel in the country. Further to that, the article recommends on the need to have the policy for the purpose of adequately addressing the interests of different groups regarding the biofuel production.

Keywords: Biofuel, Political Economy, interest group, biofuel production

Introduction

A biofuel is energy carrier that store the energy derived from biomass. A wide range of biomass sources can be used to produce bioenergy in a variety of forms. For example, food, fiber and wood process residues from the industrial sector can all be used to generate electricity, heat, combined heat and power, and other forms of bioenergy. Biofuels may be referred to as renewable energy because they are form of transformed solar energy. Biofuels can be classified according to source and type. They may be derived from forest, agriculture, or fishery products or municipal wastes, as well as from agro-industry, food industry, food services, by-products and wastes. They may be solid such as fuel wood, charcoal and wood pellets, Liquid, such as ethanol, biodiesel and pyrolysis oils; or gaseous such as biogas (FAO, 2008).

Global Biofuel Outlook

Global demand for biofuel energy is driven by different source such as rising world fuel prices, the growing demand for energy, and concerns about global warming. This has resulted in energy analysts around the world to seek alternatives and renewable source of energy (Rajagopal and Zilberman, 2007). Biofuel already constitute the major source of energy for over half of the world's population (Msangi et al, 2006). Today, Brazil

is a world leader, second to only the U.S., in the production, use, and export of ethanol.

Global production of biofuels has been growing steadily over the last decade from 16 billion litres in 2000 to more than 100 billion litres in 2011. At the moment, biofuels provide around 3% of total road transport fuel globally (on an energy basis) and considerably higher shares are achieved in certain countries. Brazil, for instance, met about 23% of its road transport fuel demand in 2009 with biofuels (IEA, 2013). Moreover the projection shows demand for biofuel will continue to expand to reach more 197 billion litres by 2020. The main ethanol producing countries are the United States, Brazil and the European Union. Today some 50% of Brazilian sugar cane, and about 40% of the United States' corn production are used as feedstock for biofuel production (AETS, 2013). IFPRI projects that this demand for grain for biofuels will continue to increase to 2020-25 before leveling off as second generation technologies based on biomass conversion become available (FAO, 2009).

Current Status of Biofuel in Developing Countries

In 2010, biofuels production was significantly below expectations in most developing countries having implemented ambitious targets for the use of biofuels (FAO, 2011). However, currently biofuel energy is expanding to Africa while offering the great opportunity for investment. Different programs such as the Global Sustainable Biomass Programme and the Netherlands Programme for Sustainable Biomass are active in promoting sustainable bioenergy in Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and other countries. Moreover, Competence Platform on Energy Crop and Agro forestry Systems for Arid and Semi-arid Ecosystems-Africa (COMPETE) aim to stimulate bioenergy implementation in arid and semi-arid regions in Africa (EBTP, 2013).

Ethanol production in Africa reached 1.6 Billion in 2011, representing less than 1.6% of global production. Biodiesel production in Africa is also very small and was around 0.3 billion in 2011; this is, less than 1.1%. This implies that biodiesel production is concentrated in a few countries in Africa. Projections for biofuel production in many developing countries are quite uncertain following little or no production increases in recent years (OECD-FAO 2012). Therefore the overall objective of this article is to review the political economy of the Biofuel production in Tanzania.

Literature Review

Global Scenarios for Biofuels

The use of biofuels is growing around the world and a debate between biofuels supporters and opponents is intensifying. Given the rapidly increasing demand for energy which is projected to double by mid-21st century, it is expected that biofuels will become an important part of the global energy mix and make a significant contribution to meeting energy demand. Drivers for a wide introduction of biofuels vary across the world and include a broad range of issues from land-use to energy security, to economics and environment. The main challenge for the future is to develop biofuels which do not compete with the food chain, which are sustainable and efficient both in terms of costs and energy, and for which the carbon footprint is a net gain (World Energy Council, 2010). However other studies as Msangiet *al* (2006) pointed out that in recent years, bioenergy has drawn attention as a sustainable energy source that may help cope with rising energy prices, moreover bioenergy may provide income to poor farmers and rural communities around the globe. Rising fuel prices, growing energy demand, concerns over global warming from GHG emissions and increased openness to renewable energy resources, domestic energy security and the push for expansion into new markets for crops in the face of the world trade outlooks are all factors driving interest in expanding bioenergy use.

Impacts and Implications

The economic motivation for biofuels is that they are a convenient, low-cost, domestically producible substitute for oil, a fuel that is getting costlier by the day and is also imported from politically volatile regions. The increased demand for agriculture from biofuels can also address the worldwide problem of declining farm income (Rajagopal and zilberman, 2007). Biofuels are intensive in the use of inputs, which include land, water, crops, and fossil energy, all of which have opportunity cost and Rajagopal and zilberman (2007) summarized as follows:

Energy: The biofuel sector is both a consumer and supplier of energy. As a supplier of energy, biofuels displace oil or electricity while they consume coal, natural gas, and electricity during production. One common way of assessing a fuel's energy balance is the net energy return

on investments (EROI) (HLPE, 2013). Based on this criterion different biofuels have different returns even which differ across locations.

Food: Biofuels increase the price of food either because food crops are converted to fuel or because energy crops displace food crops on agricultural lands. In less than one decade, world biofuel production has increased five times, from less than 20 billion litres/year in 2001 to over 100 billion litres/year in 2011. And concomitant to this sharp rise in biofuel production especially in 2006/2008, quickly accompanied by food riots in the cities of many developing countries (HLPE, 2013).

Land: Allocating land to biofuels means taking land away from other uses like food or environmental preservation. Biofuel production, except when relying on crop residues and waste, requires land (HLPE, 2013). It thus competes for land with other agriculture activities, including production of other forms of bioenergy, other economic activities, urbanization and, increasingly, with land protection for environmental objectives, especially protection of biodiversity and carbon sequestration (Ibid).

Water: Agricultural water demand will also increase either due to expansion of agriculture or if biofuel crops are more water intensive than traditional crops. This new rise in demand of water for biofuel production will derive the optimal water price up. This might lead to reduced availability of water for food crops lowering yield and affecting food supply (Rajagopal and Zilberman, 2007).

Labour: Biofuels are more labor intensive than other energy technologies per unit of energy-delivered basis.

Political Economy of Biofuels

Citing different authors Shah *et al* (2012), noted that biofuels have been promoted as a solution to a variety of public policy issues ranging from energy security and rural development to adaptation and mitigation of global climate change. Some African countries (Malawi, Zimbabwe) have an established tradition of biofuels/bioenergy production from sugar-cane molasses (HLPE, 2013). The motives have been varied, ranging from increasing energy self-sufficiency and foreign exchange savings to rural development objectives (Ibid). Biofuels as they have advantages over fossil fuels they have also negative impacts. According to Jasson Hill as cited in Notaras (2011), there is a need to understand politics and how closely biofuels are related to elections.

According to Borrás, McMichael and Scoones (2010), the recent expansion of industrial biofuels expresses several trends in global political economy. The biofuels revolution responds to an assumed 'energy crisis', as the cost of capital inputs (production, processing, transport) rises in an age of peaking oil supplies and a desire to reduce dependence on Middle Eastern oil drives governments to develop an industrial biofuels complex which delivers 'energy security' (Ibid). A global biofuel complex is still just beginning, as neo-mercantilist practices (protected subsidised national biofuel sectors, with offshore complements managed through tariff structures) continue alongside emergent globalizing recombinant corporate/ state arrangements (Neville and Dauvergne 2010 as cited in Borrás, McMichael and Scoones, 2010).

Example of Politics of Biofuel in USA

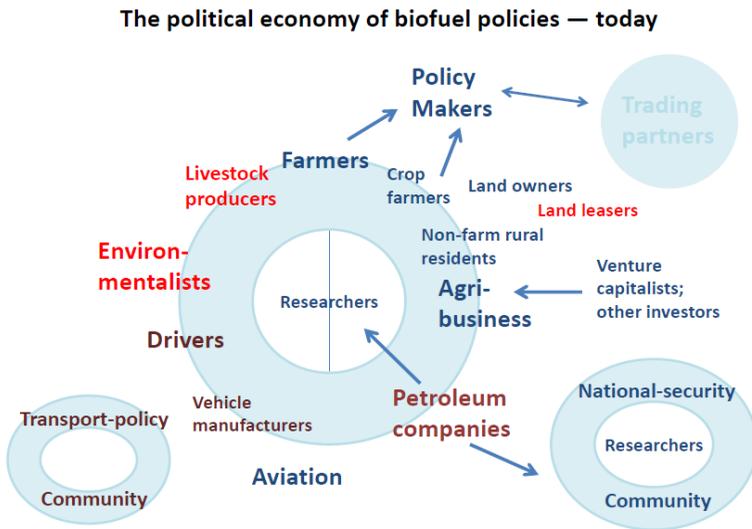
As one of the articles written by Magdoff (2008) described that in United States of America (USA) over the time the development of the large ethanol production capacity was done by the private company known as ADM, which is one of the world's largest buyers, sellers, and processors of grains and oil crops. It has based much of its profit making on federal government assistance. In 1995 the conservative Cato Institute issued a policy analysis on ADM profiting from government programs. It was estimated that 43 percent of the company's profits came from products heavily subsidized by the government and that every dollar of profit from the production of ethanol costs taxpayers \$30.60. ADM's chairman, Dwayne Andreas gave huge sums of money to both Republicans and Democrats from the Nixon administration through the Clinton years. At the time of the sentencing of the corporation's executives the New York Times (July 10, 1999) described Andreas's influence as follows:

For decades, the grain giant was run as a virtual family fiefdom under the iron-fisted control of Dwayne Andreas, one of the nation's most politically powerful executives, who is known to Presidents and prime ministers alike.

The amount of money that Andreas spread around to politicians was substantial and the contributions continued for many years. When OPEC restricted oil shipments in the late 1970s, a waiver was pushed through Congress by the Carter administration to exempt 10 percent or more ethanol (E-10) from the four cent per gallon federal tax. The

scenario continues in like fashion up to the present with massive and continuing lobbying campaigns to influence Congress as well as the various administrations. Some political figures, like some of the senators, became especially identified with ADM and with pushing government support for ethanol production. This led to infusions of government duties to build new ethanol plants and give ethanol producers free corn (in the mid 1980s), and create subsidies of various types that exist to this day.

As seen from the schematic presentation in the figure below, the political economy of Biofuel production has many stakeholders and is complex. Briefly researchers are at the core of the political economy around them are farmers (crop and livestock producers), environmentalists, petroleum companies, non farmer rural residents and agribusinesses among others which have strong interest on biofuel. Despite interests are rotating around researchers on the field, policy makers are the final decision makers on which all arrows are directing. Apart from the unidirectional relationship with the technical side of biofuel (relationships which rotate around researchers), policy makers have bidirectional relationship with trading partners which indicates that policy makers have to consider about the comparative advantage of producing biofuel in international trade relationship.



Political Economy of Biofuel in Tanzania

Biofuel investment in Tanzania has been welcomed on the grounds of its expected ability to reduce energy costs, increase national income, and help in transport and agriculture sectors by providing income and rural energy, thereby alleviating poverty. However, in Tanzania biofuel investment is unfolding in absence of a biofuel policy (Kweka, 2012). Other studies revealed that only recently the government has formed the National Biofuels Task Force (NBTF) chaired by the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, to steer a process of formulating biofuels guidelines as a short-term solution while waiting for the process to formulate a national policy for the same.

However the study by Action Aid (2009) pointed out that in the absence of a biofuels policy, the government borrowed some sections from various national policies to make decisions on biofuels investments. The identified policies includes: National Energy Policy (2003), National Environmental Policy (1997), Agricultural Policy (1997), Forestry Policy (1998), Wildlife Policy (1998) and Land Policy (1999). In addition to that the new Tanzania agriculture policy of 2013 it has acknowledged the biofuel sub-sector in the country under section 3.23, with less emphasis on biofuel production in the new policy as there is only a single section with the policy issue on Biofuel production and utilization with three policy statements only which might not be sufficient enough to guide this sub-sector. *Jatropha*, sunflower, palm oil and sugarcane are some of the crops to be grown on both large-scale (plantations) and small-scale by smallholder farmers as biofuel feed stocks.

Interest Groups in Biofuel Production

Large and small scale investors

This group aim at generating profit from engaging in Biofuel market, for instance Rufiji (SEKAB), Kisarawe (SunBiofuels), Bagamoyo (SEKAB), Lindi (BioMassive), Kilwa (BioShape), and Arusha (Diligent and KAKUTE) which are operating in Biofuel market activities.

Local communities

This is the group which aim at earning income out of the biofuel market i.e rural employment, energy uses and without compromise their *food security*, this group is based on those people whom they live to the areas where the biofuel plantations are allocated in the country such as Arusha,

Singida, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Kisarawe, and Shinyanga (see the appendix 1.0 on the map of regions in Tanzania with Biofuel plantations)

Government

Which is aiming at regulating the entire sector of energy and its role in Biofuel is to design appropriate policies, and regulations so as to utilize the resources effectively and efficiently in the country.

Policy Dilemma on Biofuel

Biofuel and land acquisition scenario

Many biofuel investors and scholars on the issue, in Tanzania and in Africa in general, hold the view that there is plenty of land for biofuel development (Hoogwijk *et al.* 2009). Concepts such as idle, barren, underutilized, marginal, biofuel and unproductive, degraded, or abandoned lands have been used to justify the allocation of land to large-scale investors, often without consideration of the interests of all land users by which in this case it referred to Local community members whose life depending on subsistence agriculture in large.

As the government is on the process of creating the policy to guide this sector, the emphasis given by the government on allowing the biofuel Investment in large scale has caused the problem to the land ownership in Tanzania. As majority of people in the Local communities are displaced out of their farms to allow biofuel production as supported by the study done by Oxfarm (2008) which gave a case of *Jatropha* in Kisarawe District in Tanzania showing thousands of people have been displaced after the beginning of *Jatropha* production. Being displaced from their areas, local communities might face difficulties in establishing their livelihood in new areas and possibly the new areas might have lack of fertility to support agricultural activities, thus the government is facing the challenge on designing the policy that will at least provide incentives for both producers (Producers welfare) and local communities (Social welfare).

Biofuel and Food Security scenario

Tanzania with policy of promoting Economic growth thus in order to attract more investors, the government has analyzed many fertile regions of the country. These regions are the ones with the best access to water, and are therefore usually the areas where farmers are already growing

food. In the study that was done by Mkindee (2007) gave empirical evidence for instance in Kigoma, an area with good access to fresh water, a proposed palm oil biodiesel project by Malaysian and Indonesian investors will involve cultivation of 8,000 hectares of oil palm using a combination of plantations and out growers. And oil palm requires major investment, and the trees can live for 30 years or more. Any farmers entering into contracts to plant and grow palm trees may be forced to sign away use of their land for many decades to come.

Other cases are Usangu Plains, another area identified for potential sugarcane production, have already seen the government's willingness to accommodate large investors over the interests of small farmers. Again in Kilosa, a rice growing area, and Babati/ Hanang, where maize and wheat are grown, have also been identified with potential for out grower sugar cane programmes. That means farmers who currently grow cassava, rice and maize will be encouraged to become *Jatropha* out-growers. These investors play the role of Lobbyist who lobby the government on acquiring land for biofuel production with promising of creating more rural employment, increasing in GDP of a nation and other benefits as increase in supply of energy. Mkindee (2007) concluded that with Tanzania routinely dependent on imported food aid as drought occurs with increasing frequency, the policy of producing fuel for export instead of food for Tanzanians, will deepen poverty and food insecurity in Tanzania in the years to come. But again as the food grains will be scarce the price will rise and lead to increase in cost of living which will have impact on election as people won't be encouraged to vote for the politicians who will influence the rise of cost of living particularly rise in prices of food.

Conservation and Environmental Issues scenario related to Biofuel Policy

As majority of private companies which are now ventured into biofuel investment in Tanzania are also play the part as Lobbyist to see that their desire for being given priority in terms of policy guidance to favor their investment. But the debate is still persisting against the government, environmentalists and ecologists as the study done by Sosovele (2010) shows that environmental and ecological implications of biofuel production have not been adequately addressed in Tanzania. Some of the large-scale biofuel projects are located in ecologically sensitive areas and have resulted in the deforestation of valuable forest areas. For example, a

biofuel project in Kilwa District resulted in the harvesting of valuable coastal and miombo woodlands in order for them to be replaced with jatropha plantations. Other projects are located in watershed areas suitable for irrigation farming or biodiversity conservation: the ethanol project in Bagamoyo District is close to the Saadani National Park on the Wami River and thus threatens the watershed and elephant dispersal areas. The location of biofuel projects is a matter that requires policy decisions and guidance but as the policy is not in place at the moment however private investors have managed to lobby the government to begin investment.

Prediction on Future Biofuel in Tanzania

The land use changes associated with the establishment of biofuels plantations especially in Kilwa District have negatively affected the surrounding communities in various ways such as loss of building poles, areas for charcoal making, timber, traditional medicines and biodiversity, due to massive land clearing (Action Aid, 2009). It is likely that similar effects can be predicted in other districts where cultivation has not started. For instance, firewood and charcoal are dominant energy sources by most Tanzanian rural communities, accounting for more than 98 percent of the household energy consumption because people lack alternative energy sources such as electricity (ibid).

Based on these facts, the expected massive land clearing will put the livelihood of the rural communities at stake. Thus, the irresistible dependency of rural communities on common pool resources coupled with massive clearing of vegetation is expected to greatly contribute to severe land degradation. Given the current demand of biofuels, all these ecologically important plant communities are to be cleared to give way to biofuels plantations, a situation which will limit the availability and accessibility of communities to these common pool resources, including land itself.

Conclusion

It can be summed that Tanzania's absence of policy on biofuel production has actually gave a room to private investors to venture in the biofuel production in large scale through lobbying the government to allow the investment while the policy is on formulation. And this has resulted into displacement of majority of people from the fertile lands that may lead to threats in food security and their livelihood in general. Moreover

Tanzania is facing a competition in biofuel production with other countries as the demand for it globally has tremendously increased which has made it to allow the investment of biofuel production in large scale. But without the specific policy for the sector, this has caused the policy dilemma regarding attracting foreign direct investment in the sector and improving the livelihood of the communities by rejecting the investment offer until the policy guideline is made.

Recommendation

The country should speed up the process of policy formulation of the sector, and the policy should embrace all the actors or interest group such as investors, local communities and the government itself. Also though the policy environmental and ecological implications of biofuel production should be adequately addressed. However the policy should take into consideration other countries experiences on biofuel production so as to see the challenges and opportunities on how to improve the sector. The role of private investors who act as lobbyist in this case should also be guided under the policy. Also biofuel plantations which do not depend on fertile lands such as *Jatropha* should be encouraged so as the fertile lands will be left for food grains crops in order to secure the local communities on food security.

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**Co-existence between Councilors and Staff in Local Government
Authorities: Reflection on Conflict Management in Bukoba
Municipal Council**
Venance Shillingi

Abstract

Managing conflicts between councilors and employees in local government authorities provides the opportunities for defining better ways the two parties can coexist and work together in these local institutions. This article uses the experience from the Bukoba Municipal Council to provide the mechanisms used to resolve conflicts between councilors and employees. Through both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, the findings show that conflicts between councilors and employees arise due to delays in project implementation, personal interests, scarcity of resources, interference on duties of the other party, among other factors. The article also notes the negative effects such as delays in project implementation, low morale, resignation of potential employees, and increases of unnecessary costs. In order to redress the conflicting situation in the local government authorities, such mechanisms as mediation, negation, meetings, collective bargaining and accommodation, however the choice of any of these mechanisms depends on the issue in conflict.

Key words: Local government authorities, conflicts, conflict management, and conflict resolutions.

Introduction

Conflict can be defined as the behaviour by a person or group intended to inhibit the attainment of goals by another person or group (Hughes, 2001). Conflict is viewed as an interpersonal process that arises from disagreement over the methods to be used to accomplish the goals (Newton, 2002). Conflict is a naturally occurring phenomenon with both positive and negative effects depending on the ways it is managed. He further comments that, conflict can arise due to task interdependence, ambiguity of roles, policies and rules, personality difference and ineffective communication. Also, it can be due to competition over scarce resources and underlying difference in attitude, beliefs, and experiences (Hughes, 2001). Therefore, at the personal level, conflict is seen as a

distinct category of social behaviour, especially; when two parties try to get something they both cannot have (Rummel, 1996). Thus Hughes (2001) provides that conflict is the struggle due to incompatible or opposing needs, feelings, thoughts, or demands within a person or between two people or more people. On the other hand, incompatibility of goals and differences or disagreements over a fact may be the reason for the rise of conflicts at the interpersonal level (Mishran, 2001). Moreover, organizational conflict is a state of discord caused by the actual or perceived opposition of values; needs and interests between people working together (Newton, 2002). Human beings have been in conflict since the very beginning of history, but the beginning of conflict can be said to be when the popular and remarkable conflict that brought attention to many people working in different industries as it was during the era of Industrial Revolution of the 1800's (Clarke, 1999). According to Newton (2002), conflicts at the organisational level become the inevitable due to clashes between those in the formal authority and power and those individuals affected by such authority and power. This may go far to include how the work should be done.

Overview of Causes of Conflicts at the Workplace

Darling & Walker (2001) provide the dimensions on the causes of conflicts as follows:

- Need based conflict, this is due to that employee differ in their perceived needs, hence depend on the varied nature of needs, conflict will due to multiplicity of need, incongruence of needs, need dissatisfaction and dilemma of the choice
- Working environment, also work environment is source of conflict due to job roles of individual employees, their job interaction, line, and staff conflict
- Organization factors, often organization factors such as authority and responsibility, excessive or low standardization, transfer, communication and scarcity resources.
- Goals incompatibility, also conflict arises due to the differences in goals and objectives, to both side between individuals and between individual and organization, this kind of conflict could be win-win conflict, lose -lose conflict win-lose conflict.

- Individual factors, also people differ themselves in term of their culture, education, status, ideology, attitude, experiences, competition, such difference will be the source of conflict to them

Conflict Management

Conflict management is what people who experience conflict intend to do as well as what they actually do (Johson, 2004). Although an infinite number of conflict management strategies may be conceived of, conflict research and theory tends to converge on the following:

Dual Concern Theory

Dual Concern Theory argues that, conflict management is a function of high or low concern for self, combined with high or low concern for others. High concern for self and low concern for others results in a preference for forcing, focused on imposing one's will on others (Robbins and Sanghi, 2006). Forcing involves threats and bluffs, persuasive arguments, and positional commitments. Low concern for self and high concern for others results in a preference for yielding, which is oriented towards accepting and incorporating others' will. It involves unilateral concessions, unconditional promises, and offering help. Low concern for self and others results in a preference for avoiding, which involves reducing the importance of the issues, and attempts to suppress thinking about the issues. High concern for self and others produces a preference for problem solving, which is oriented towards an agreement that satisfies both own and others' aspirations as much as possible (Robbins and Sanghi, 2006).

Two-dimensional conflict behaviour model

Blake and Mouton developed a two-dimensional conflict behaviour model that is still referenced today. The two dimensional model of conflict includes: assertiveness, defined as a party's attempt to satisfy his own concerns, and cooperativeness, defined as attempts to satisfy the concerns of another person (Pareck, 2002). Darling & Walker, (2001), however, suggested that conflict could be classified as functional (means impact to organization not individual) or dysfunctional based on how the conflict affects an organization's performance. However, Conflict has positive as well as negative consequences on organization if that difference is impersonally treated and discussed on common platform the conflict will

give positive result (Mishran, 2001). Positive impact of conflict such as energizing them to be more creative and to experiment with new ideas and negative effect like facilitate failure of organization to achieve its goals effectively.

Ways of Managing Conflict

Conflict management is the process of avoiding conflict, Pondy, (2009), continues by saying that, resolve conflict in real basis. The conflict is not the problem when it is properly managed. According to (Mishran, 2001), conflict can be managed effectively through managing organization behaviour, developing an appropriate organizational structure and adopting the system and process cooperative culture. Conflict management is responding to problems stemming from conflict (Clarke, 1999). There are five basic methods to dealing with conflicts; namely: avoidance, accommodation, compromise, competition, and collaboration.

Avoidance is the attempt to avoid conflict by postponing it, hiding their feelings, changing the subject, leaving the room or quitting the project. Avoidance usually does not help to solve the problem; it just postpones the problem for another day. However, avoidance can actually be a good idea when it is a small matter not worth disrupting the harmony of the workplace over or when we need to calm down before addressing the issue.

Accommodation is a convenient strategy to satisfy an immediate need for individuals or the group. It emphasizes the things conflicting parties have in common while de-emphasizing the differences. This method helps the people to focus on the current issues and put differences aside till a later time. It is slightly more effective than mere avoidance as finding common ground helps to prevent lingering ill will more simply than avoiding an argument.

Compromise is a technique where by the opposing parties in a conflict make concessions to each other in order to peacefully resolve the issue. It can be effective when each side is willing to negotiate and settle for less than they originally wanted, but falls apart if the demands of each side are too great or neither side honours their end of the bargain.

Competition method is basically finding a way to resolve the issue other than fighting or arguing. Some contests where the winner gets his or her demands met. It can be used to resolve a conflict, but often causes cooperation to deteriorate, so it is best used as a last resort.

Collaboration is when the opposing parties decide to put aside their differences and work together to accomplish the objective in a manner that satisfies everyone. This strategy encourages teamwork and cooperation within a group. This is most effective when the members of the group respect and trust each other, and are willing to remain open-minded. Unfortunately, these are ideal conditions, and not all groups will have such defined unity.

Bargaining is the process in which two or more parties in disputes with each other exchange offers, counteroffers, and concession in an attempt to find a mutually acceptable agreement. When conflict arises between individual, groups, or even entire organization, the most common ways to resolve them is to negotiate a solution that is acceptable to all parties. In order the bargaining to be effective, the parties involved must be willing to adjust their stances on issue at hand and for the people involved to be willing to make such adjustment, they must believe that, they have found an acceptable outcome which allows them to claim victory in the negotiation process. Third-party Intervention occurs when negotiation solution between the parties with conflict interests do not reach consensus. The effective means used to break that deadlock is to use third party individuals who are not involve in conflict but called upon to intervene in the interest of finding solution. However, deciding which method to employ requires an understanding of the conflict in order to choose the best possible solution (Greenberg, 1999).

Conflicts in Local Government Authorities

Local government authorities like other organizations, conflicts are inevitable, and have both positive and negative impacts on organizational performance. Historically, local government authorities are characterized by conflicts and misunderstandings between councilors and permanent employees; this kind of situation facilitates to the failure of local government authorities to achieve their goals (Kunkuta, 2003). Local government authorities in Tanzania have no exception when it comes to the management of conflicts. To these local institutions, conflicts are unavoidable as far as people who possess different stands, ideals, perceptions, levels of education and beliefs interact on the regular basis.

Typologies of Conflicts in Local Governments: Insights from Bukoba Municipality

The findings of the research study entitled “*Conflict Management in Local Government Authorities: A Case Study of Bukoba Municipal Council*” which form the base of this article revealed the existence of different types of conflicts in Bukoba Municipal Council. The notable conflicts are conflict between councilors and employees; conflict between opposition parties’ councilors and councilors from ruling party; elected (ward) councilors and women councilors from special seats and conflicts among employees themselves.

Conflict between councilors and employees

This happens when councilors who are decision makers via council standing committees, in most cases, do not agree with technical advice from employees (Heads of departments and Units) in areas which do not favour their interests. For instance; councilors in one of the meetings were pushing to reallocate funds from planned projects to another projects or donor funds to be used for paying allowances and other activities, which were not planned and budgeted at the beginning of the year or are not activities targeted by the donor fund. As the Municipal Treasurer commented “*councilors do not understand that, their priorities are taken care during budgeting and not otherwise; and donor funds have their directives on which projects should be used. It is unfortunate we are arguing for something which is very clear. For instance; you cannot use money from road fund for different activities rather than construction of roads.*”

Conflict between opposition parties' councilors and councilors from ruling part

This also is another conflict, which was found at BMC; the council has six (6) councilors from opposition parties. It always happens that councilors from ruling party do not like to see any fund located to the ward, whose councilor is from an opposition party. One councilor from the ruling party lamented; *“hatuwezi kuwapelekea maendeleo upinzani; ni sawa na kukiua chama chetu; hatupeleki maendeleo huko ili wananchi wajue walikosea kuchagua upinzani, ili uchaguzi ukifika wasiwachague tena”* which means that, we cannot allocate funds for development projects in opposition wards as that will boost them in next election; we want people to see that, they made a wrong choice in electing councilors from opposition parties.

Elected (ward) councilors and Special seats councilors

This kind of conflict was also found at BMC whereby the issues that facilitate the existing of the conflicts were the leadership of the standing committees of the council. Despite the fact that there is no regulation which prohibits special seat councilors to be elected as chairperson of the standing committees but the elected councilors consider them as not proper candidates for those positions. As one councilor commented *“haiwezekani viti maalumu wawe wenyeviti wa kamati za kudumu; sisi tuliochaguliwa na wananchi ndio tunatakiwa tuziongoze hizi kamati”* which means that, special seat councilors cannot be elected as chair of standing committees but councilors representing wards as are responsible for planning and implementing wards projects. However; there are no regulations that prohibit special seat councilors to contest for chairmanship of standing committees; that is why; a standing committee of land and environment of BMC in one term was chaired by a special seat councilor.

Causes of Conflict at BMC

As indicated in the Figure 1 below, the causes of conflicts between councilors and local government employees, councilors and fellow councilors and among employees in BMC can be explained as follows: different level of education, delay of project implementation, personal interest, negative attitude, poor communication, scarcity resources, and interference in work. For instance, in noting the existence of the conflict

between councilors and appointed staff, one councilor provided the following comments: *“Hawa wakuu wa idara hatuna imani nao, wanafuja tu mali za manispaa, ndo maana miradi inachukua muda mrefu kutekelezwa...”* which means that, councilors have no trust with heads of department as they believe probably are embezzling council fund for their own interest, that is why many projects are not well implemented or implementation do take long to be completed.

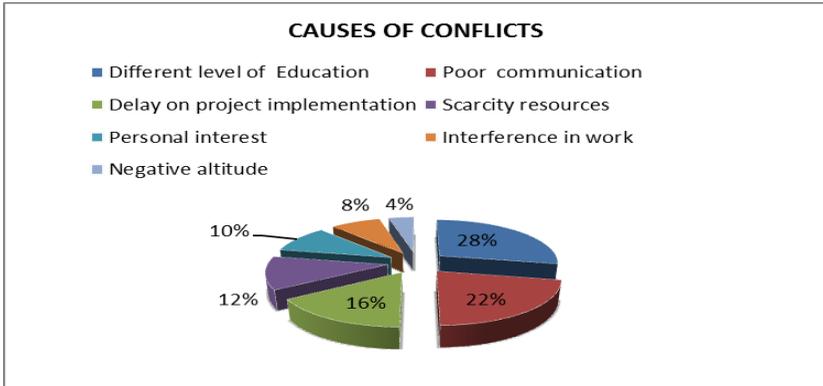


Figure 1: Causes of Conflicts
Source: Field data, 2014

Negative attitude towards each other

Negative attitude of council employees towards councilors, which seemed to centre on the employees’ belief that councilors are not educated and are just there to foster their personal interest, is another cause of conflicts at BMC. For instance, one Head of department claimed that *“Because of their selfish interest, councilors are not ready to preside a meeting if their meeting allowances are not guaranteed by the Municipal director; and sometimes do delay the meeting for two to three days in order to get more allowances. These people are not here for the interest of their wards, but their personal interest.”* On the other hand, Kunkuta (2003) provides that conflicts between permanent local government employee and councilors in Tanzania are caused by the councilors’ belief to consider permanent local government employees to be stubborn, dishonest, corrupt and disrespectful. As way which seems to be reaction to the councilors’ belief, the permanent local government employees regard councilors as illiterate

and as the ones who do not understand what needs to be focused to achieve local development.

Impacts of Conflicts in BMC

The negative impacts of conflicts in Bukoba Municipal Council are more visible on developmental issues such as delay in decision-making, poor allocation of resources, delay of project implementations, tense atmosphere between councilors and local government employees and many other related issues. The figure below 2 presents these findings graphically.

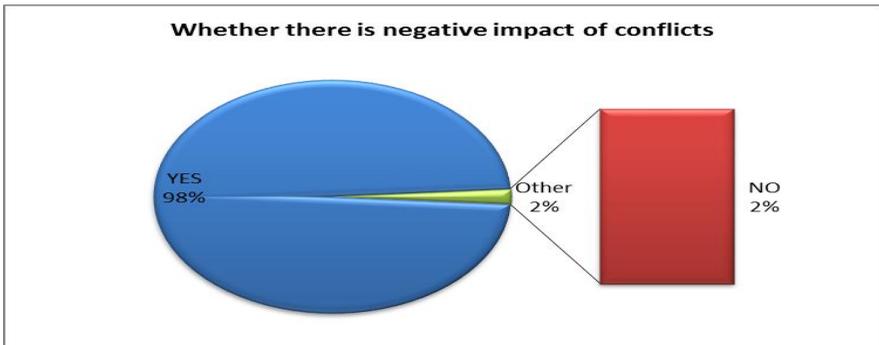


Figure 2: Negative impact of conflict at BMC

Source: Field data, 2014

As indicated in Figure 2 above, 98% of the respondents who responded to questionnaires were aware of negative effect of conflicts between councilors and employees of Bukoba Municipal Council and 2% of respondents were not aware of negative effects of conflicts between councilors and employees at Bukoba Municipal Council. In this regard, one employee provides that *“Conflicts are so bad, especially between councilors and Heads of departments, and when this happens, standing committees meetings are not effectively carried out and when this happen, decisions are delayed and implementations of projects and programmes are delayed too; hence affects negatively the total service delivery in the municipality.”*As shown in Figure 3 below, conflicts have the direct negative effects on the development of Bukoba Municipal Council due to the fact that they increase unnecessary costs, lower employee morale, among other things.

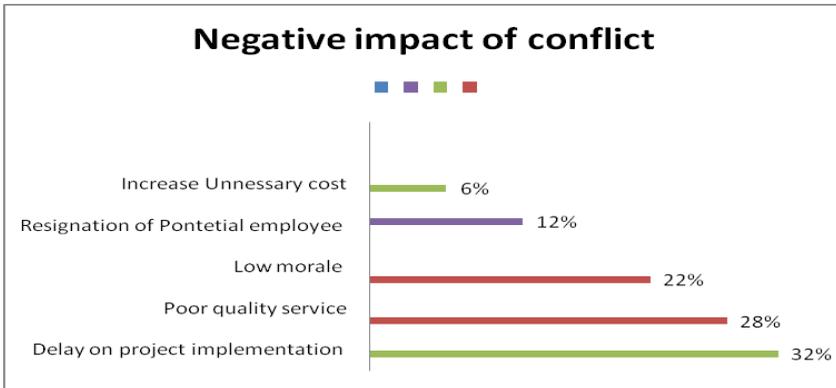


Figure 3: Negative impact of conflicts

Sources: Field data, 2014

Delay of project implementation

In the figure 3, 32% of respondents pointed out that, delay of project implementation as the negative effect of conflict between councilors and employees in Bukoba Municipal Council, this was because of these actors spend a lot of time in resolving the conflicts between them rather than paying attention to developing projects in the council. For example, the project which was aimed at supplying water to some parts of the municipality was delayed due to the emerged conflict between the municipal water engineer and some councilors from the wards not targeted by the project.

Poor quality of services delivery

Poor service delivery to a society is the negative effects of conflict between employees and councilors in BMC. It just happens that due to being exposed to conflict situation employees become stressed and in most cases they lack motivation to perform their duties as expected. As a result the provision of services in the municipality is negatively affected. This was supported by 28% of respondent as revealed in Figure 3 above.

Low morale of workers

Conflicts are always seen as the factor which lowers employees' morale in the council. The prevalence of misunderstanding between employees and councilors and interference of councilors to employees' day to day

operations reduce employees' morale to work in the council as it as noted by 22% of respondent shown in Figure 3 above.

Increase of unnecessary cost to the council

The increase of unnecessary cost to the council as a negative impact of conflicts was pointed out by 6% of the respondents. It normally happens that the municipality spends lot of money for resolving conflict. The costs are incurred for arranging the meetings and payment of allowances for those involved in the conflict resolution meetings.

Resignation of potential employees in council

This was declared by 12% of respondents as negative effect of conflict between councilors and employees in the municipality. The misunderstanding between councilors and employees of BMC, it facilitated some of worker to write resignation letter from their employment which had potential effect in council to achieve it goals. For example, a teacher was having misunderstanding with councilor of particular ward which this teacher was among teachers who were needed much by that school he was teaching; hence due this misunderstanding he was forced to resign from teaching.

Positive impact of conflict between councilors and employees in BMC

Despite the noted negative impacts of conflicts between councilors and employees of Bukoba Municipal Council, conflicts, on the other hand, have been as the means that enhance the effective and efficient use of resources, bring into open the clashing of interests, forge good team work while negotiating in resolving conflicts; and improve communications between councilors and employees as revealed by the following comments: "*Nilikuwa na mgogoro na Mhandinsi wa Manispaa hii, alikuwa hajengi vizuri barabara za kwenye kata yangu, baada ya kufikishana kwenye kamati ya fedha, tuliwekwa sawa, na sasa ameweza kunijengea barabara nzuri, tena kwa kiwango cha rami*" which means that, the councilor had a conflict with Municipal Engineer for not constructing good roads in his ward, however the matter was reported to Finance committee where their difference was resolved and the two are now in harmony. More positive effects of conflicts are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Positive Effects of Conflict at BMC

| Effect | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Increase morale to the workers | 18 | 36 |
| Improved service delivery | 16 | 32 |
| Problem notification | 11 | 22 |
| Timely project implementation | 5 | 10 |
| Total | 50 | 100 |

Sources: Field data, 2014

Mechanisms used to solve conflicts in Local Government Authorities
 Different mechanisms have been used by Local Government Authorities to solve misunderstandings between councilors and permanent employees as shown in Figure 4 below.

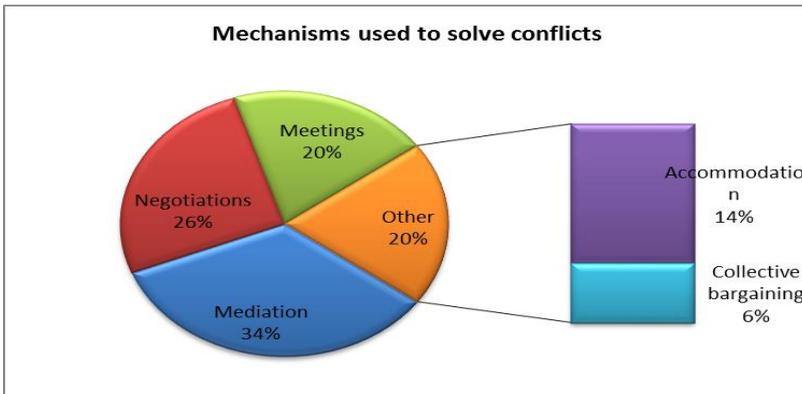


Figure 4: Mechanisms used to solve conflicts

Source: Field data, 2014

As indicated in Figure 4 above, 34% of respondents mentioned mediation as the prefer method to solve conflict in the municipality. 26% of respondents declared that negotiation as mechanism for conflict resolution at the council and this method is used to resolve conflict between councilors and employees. 20% of respondents pointed out discussions through meetings as the means to resolve conflicts and helped to enhance

good relationships between employees and councilors in Bukoba Municipal Council.

As far as meetings as the means to resolve conflicts in the council are concerned, it was noted by one of the councilors that “*mikutano na semina za mafunzo ya kuongeza uwezo zinasaidia sana kubolesha na kupunguza migogoro; ambapo madiwani hufundishwa majukumu yao na hivyo kupunguza muingiliano na watendaji wa halmashauri. Mafunzo ya utawala bora yanasaidia sana pia kupunguza migogoro*’ means that, meeting and training in form of seminar and workshop to councilors help a lot to reduce conflicts, as councilors are trained their roles and responsibilities and hence reduce interference with local government employees in discharging their duties.

On the other hand, 6% of respondents asserted that, collective bargaining is used to resolve conflicts in Bukoba Municipal Council. This method is normally used due to being an integrative solving problem method, which promotes cooperation among employees and also with the management and councilors in the council. Accommodation as the method of conflict resolution was pointed out by 14% of respondents and they noted that it was the preferred method to resolve conflict between councilors and employees in Bukoba Municipality.

Conclusion

Conflicts are inevitable as they are naturally occurring phenomena with both negative and positive effects on the council and all actors involved. The noticeable causative factors for friction between councilors and employees are scarcity resources, poor communication, gaps in education levels, personal interests, interference in duties, execution of projects, delay in project implementation and negative attitude between these actors. Conflicts between councilors and employees of BMC had negative effect such as increase of unnecessary costs, low of morale to workers, delay in project implementation, and poor services delivery. However, these conflicts were found to have positive effects to BMC, such as problem notifications, increase morale and improve service delivery that led to high performance and improves service delivery in municipality. The problem between councilors and employees at BMC were resolved using different methods such as committees, mediation, collective bargaining, negotiation and accommodation. The article notes that transparency and accountability in the execution of duties and in the

council are likely to be the principle for friction avoidance and minimizing mistrust between councilors and employees.

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