

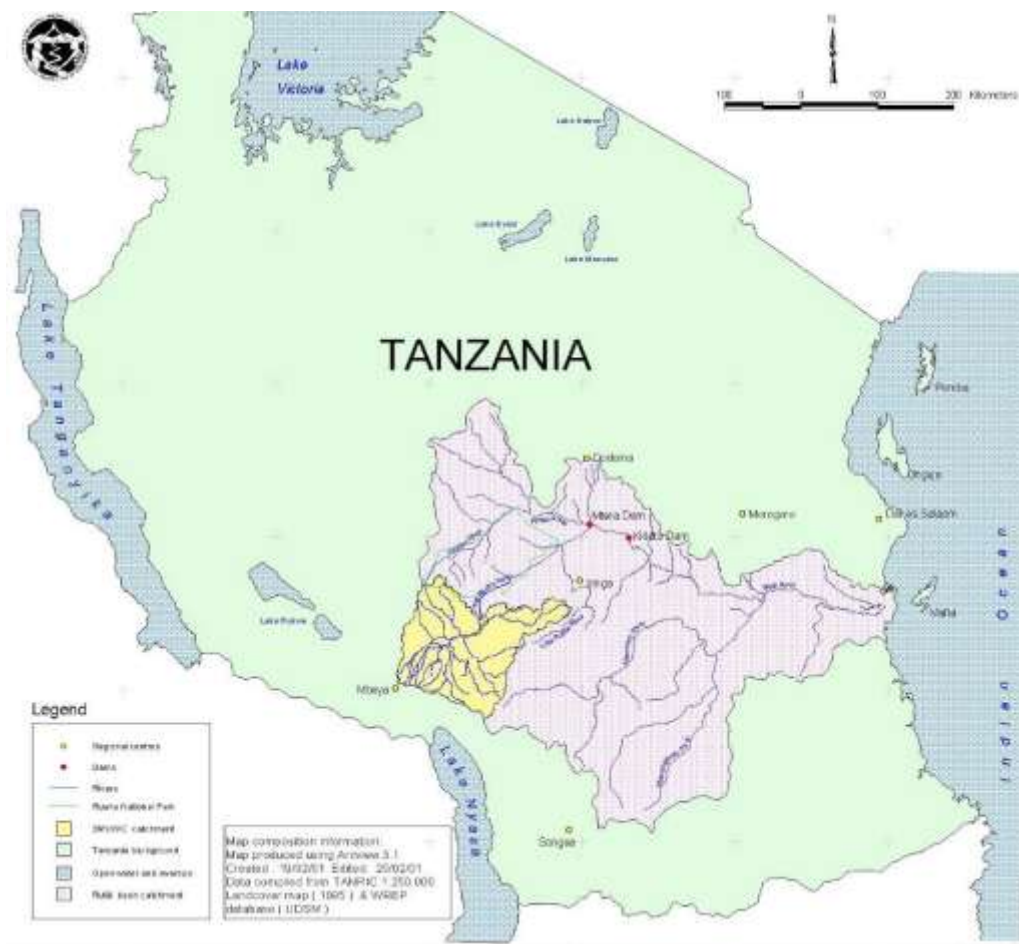
The Political Ecology of Water Management in the Great Ruaha Catchment: Analysis of Winners, Losers and Villains

Presentation at the
PEAPA Conference
Pretoria
18th March 2013

Faustin P. Maganga, PhD
Institute of Resource Assessment
University of Dar es Salaam

Summary of Presentation

1. The Case Study in a Nutshell
2. SAGCOT and the Rhetoric of PPP
3. Application of Political Ecology
4. The Main Players and their Competing Interests
5. Findings from Fieldwork
6. The Winners, Losers, Heroes, Villains and Victims
7. Policy Implications and Prospects for PPP



1. The Case Study in a Nutshell

- Great Ruaha main tributary of Rufiji River, and one of Tz's most important rivers
- In December 1993 the Great Ruaha River upstream of Tanzania's Mtera Dam stopped flowing for the first time in living memory.
- A matter of national concern in 1995 - electricity shortages and rationing on the continuing seasonal drying- up of the Great Ruaha.
- Different institutions and interest groups have sought to explain the river's increasing seasonality, blaming different groups of resource users.

The Case Study Cont.

- In 1998 the core of the wetland gazetted as part of a new game reserve, and fishermen and livestock keepers forcibly removed.
- Wholesale expulsion in 2006-07 of livestock keepers and their cattle from Usangu and Mbarali
- Usangu Game Reserve annexed to Ruaha National Park to create Africa's biggest national park
- Sukuma and over livestock keepers unfairly blamed for the Great Ruaha problem, despite thoroughness of research findings pointing at different direction

2. Application of Political Ecology

- PE: the study of power relations in land and environmental management.
- Particular interest in the ways that power relations are reinforced or contested in environmental discourses, which are maintained by **powerful actors**
- Recent PE has focused on five themes: (i) ***degradation and marginalisation***, (ii) **environmental conflicts**, (iii) **conservation and control**, and (iv) ***environmental conflict and exclusion***

Discourse & Narrative analysis

- A narrative can be defined as a constructed story with its internal stories, arguments and scenarios. Dominant narratives are those that form the basis and assumptions of policy-makers.
- The archetypes *heroes*, *villains* and *victims*
- An influential development narrative: Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons'.
- Political implications of development narratives, such as the appeal of the 'tragedy of the commons' to privatisation and livestock controls.

Key assumptions in narrative analysis in political ecology

- Environmental policies are based on perceived images of environmental change
- These images often suffer from poor empirical foundations
- They are taken for granted and seldom questioned
- They get a momentum and life of their own
- They become robust and persistent stories even in the face of counter-evidence
- They are often popularised in the media
- They serve to standardise, package and label environmental problems so that they appear to be universally applicable and to justify off-the shelf solutions
- Such stories and generalised images and views are called *myths*, *narratives* or *received wisdom* in recent literature
- Their common denominator in the tropics is that they assign to farmers, hunters and herders a particular role as agents, as well as victims, of environmental change

The National Pastoral Policy Discourse

- Pastoralists: since colonial time perceived as unproductive: “(they do not contribute to national economies), unorganized (they ‘roam around’) and environmentally destructive (they cause overgrazing and desertification)”.
- However, pastoral herds contribute 90% of the consumed meat in East Africa.
- Scientific evidence: through pastoralism rangeland management is sustainable when livestock mobility is assured.
- The main policy prescription: to sedentarize pastoralists and to restrict pastoral land use. This contributes to increasing farmer-herder conflicts in the country

3. SAGCOT and the Rhetoric of PPP

- The Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT) is “an inclusive, multi-stakeholder partnership to rapidly develop the region’s agricultural potential”.
- Initiated at the World Economic Forum (WEF) Africa summit 2010 with the support of founding partners including farmers, agri-business, the Government of Tanzania and companies from across the private
- Objective: “foster inclusive, commercially successful agribusinesses that will benefit the region’s small-scale farmers”

SAGCOT Partners

- Unilever
- Yara International
- AGRA (Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa)
- Monsanto; SAB Miller; USAID
- Tanzania Sugarcane Growers Association
- Norfund
- Embassy of Ireland

“The risk-sharing model of a PPP approach has been demonstrated to be successful in achieving SAGCOT goals.. SAGCOT marks the first PPP of such a scale in Tanzania’s agricultural history”.

4. The Main Players and their Competing Interests

1. **TANESCO:** Power generation down-stream. “irrigation and land degradation in the catchment are main causes of crisis in Mtera-Kidatu system”
2. **TANAPA:** Importance of Ruaha for wildlife and game viewing
“Overgrazing in Usangu is the principal cause of degradation
3. **“Friends of Ruaha” and Safari investors** “Retention of water by big rice farms in Mbarali and Kapunga, as well as overgrazing are to blame
4. **Hunting Investors:** Competition between Hunting Association of Tz and Tourist Hunting firm, Usangu Hunting Safaris

Main Players Cont.

5. IRA Researchers: 1996 study by Kikula et al gives scientific respectability to scapegoating of livestock keepers as the problem

6. SMUWC & RIPARWIN Projects: “No connection between recent changes in flow of Great Ruaha and the condition of Mtera Reservoir. Drying up of river caused by diversion of water for dry season rice irrigation”

7. WWF: The challenges of balancing conservation with development

8. Rice farmers: Big & small

9. Pastoralists

Main Players Cont.

5. IRA Researchers: 1996 study by Kikula et al gives scientific respectability to scapegoating of livestock keepers as the problem

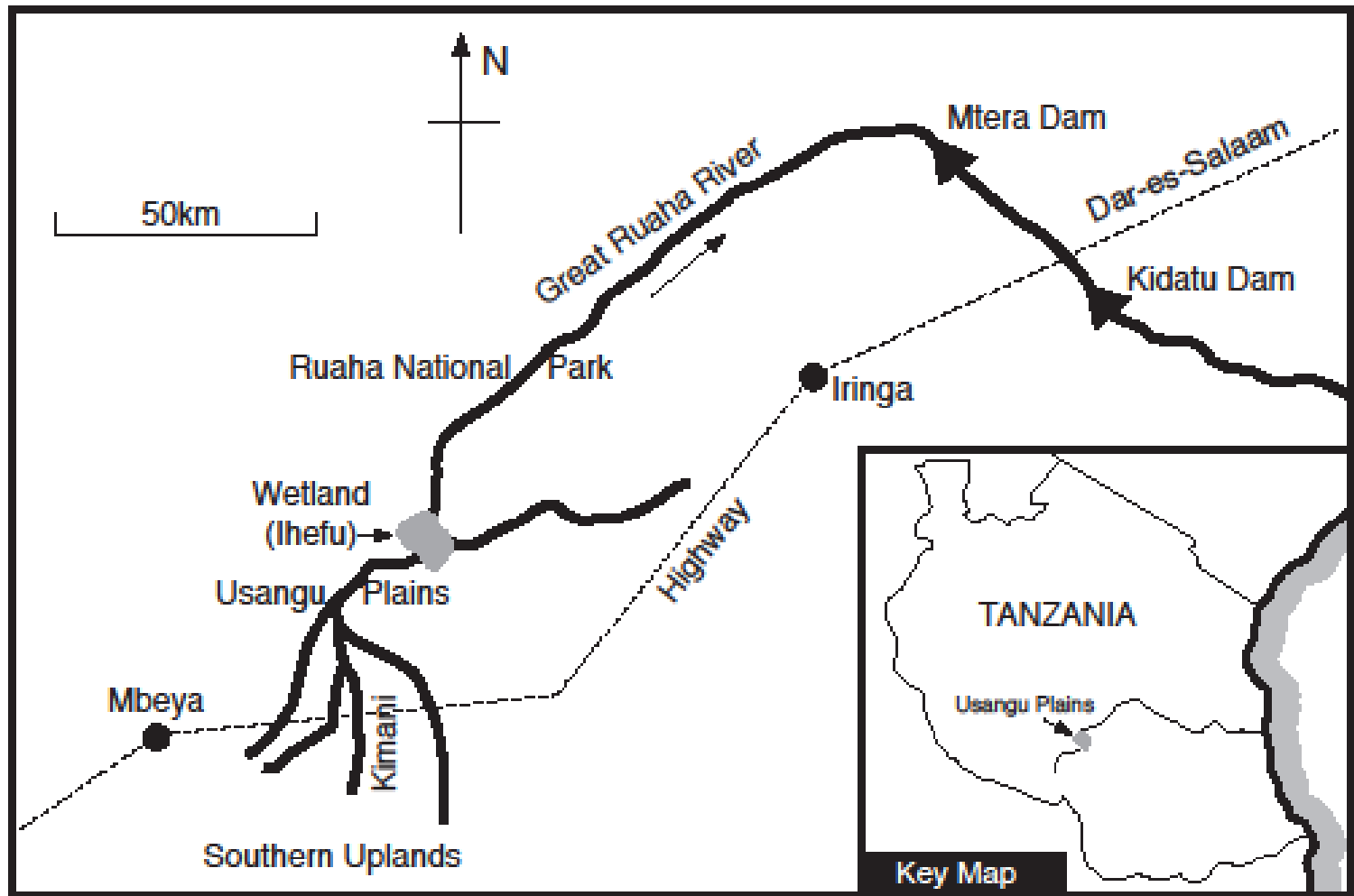
6. SMUWC & RIPARWIN Projects: “No connection between recent changes in flow of Great Ruaha and the condition of Mtera Reservoir. Drying up of river caused by diversion of water for dry season rice irrigation”

7. WWF: The challenges of balancing conservation with development

8. Rice farmers: Big & small

9. Pastoralists

5. Findings from Fieldwork



Evidence Base Theoretical Framework

- The evidence base
 - Sustainable Management of the Usangu Wetland and its Catchment (1998 – 2002)
 - Understanding water governance in challenging environments: how institutions adapt to change. (British Academy, 2011)
- Theoretical work
 - How institutions elude design
 - Water governance and security







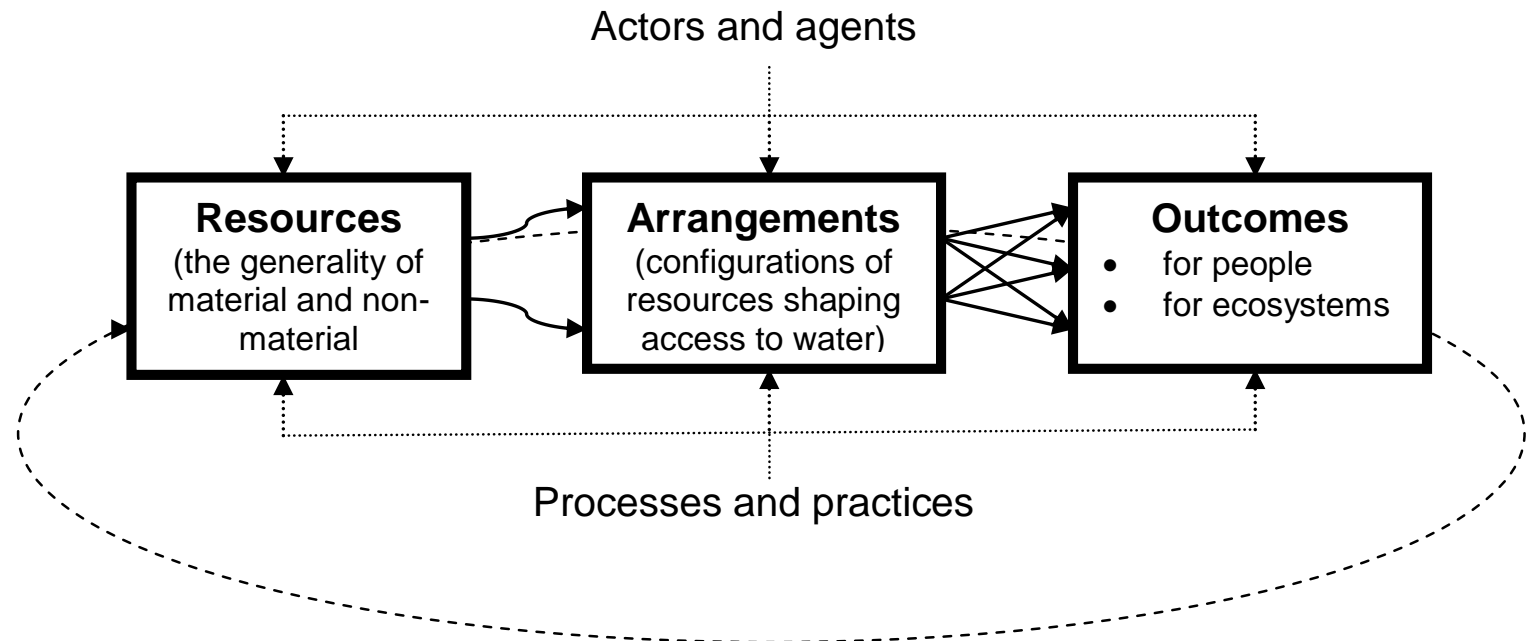




Water Governance

“the system of actors, resources, arrangements and processes which mediate society’s access to water”

A framework for water governance



Resources

Societal configurations of material and authoritative resources

We take as a proxy policy /governance trends

Post-colonial nation building

Nyerere's African socialism, 'high modern' schemes, ,land use planning, villagisation community, rights and citizenship, system of government down to sub village level .

Capitalism and conservation dynamic

Commercialisation (fees, production, privatisation,, Agriculture First)

Rationalisation (formalising, codifying, rights, constitutions etc)

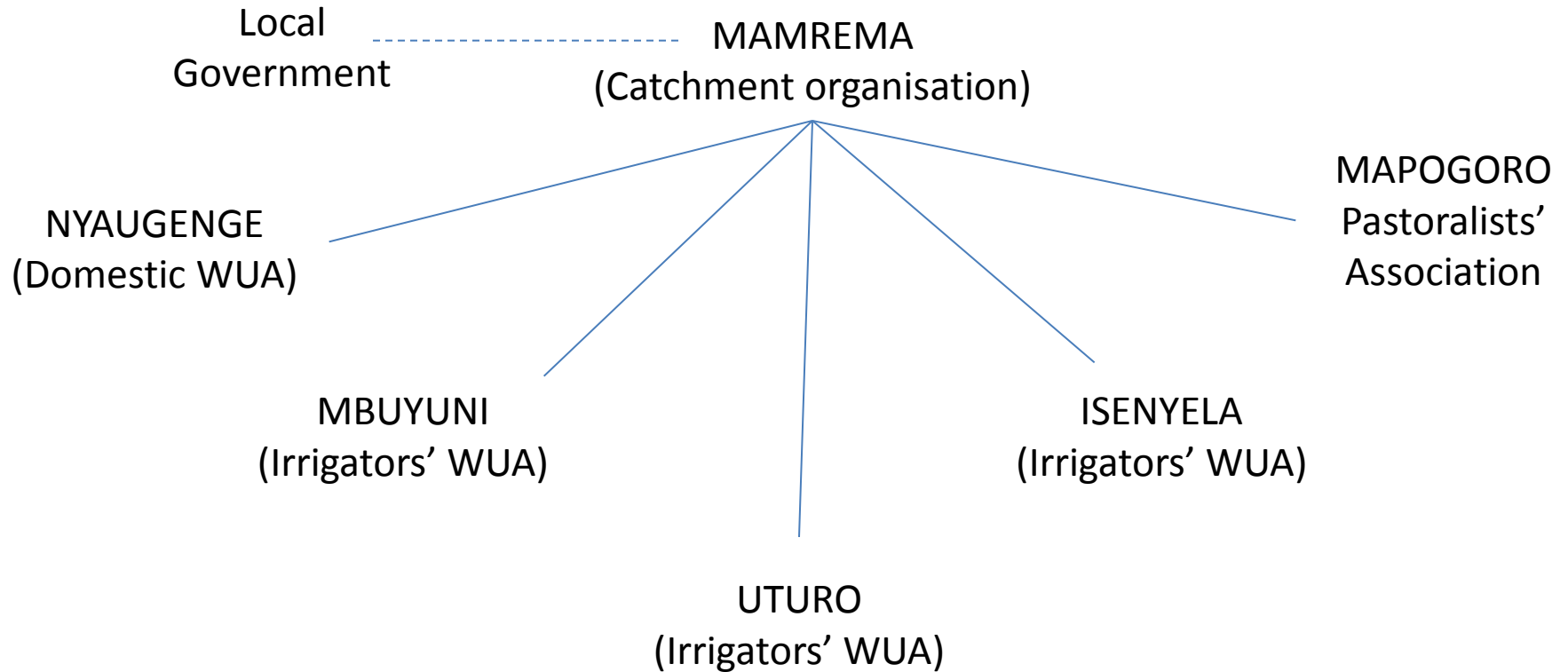
Decentralisation (WUAs, incorporation of customary arrangements.

State –led conservation (expansion of protected areas, forcible resettlements)

Arrangements for water access

- Bureaucratic organisations
- Formalised rights and entitlements
- Customary rights
- Traditional arrangements
- Social networks and relationships
- Natural configurations
- Physical and infrastructural facilities

Kimani water institutions

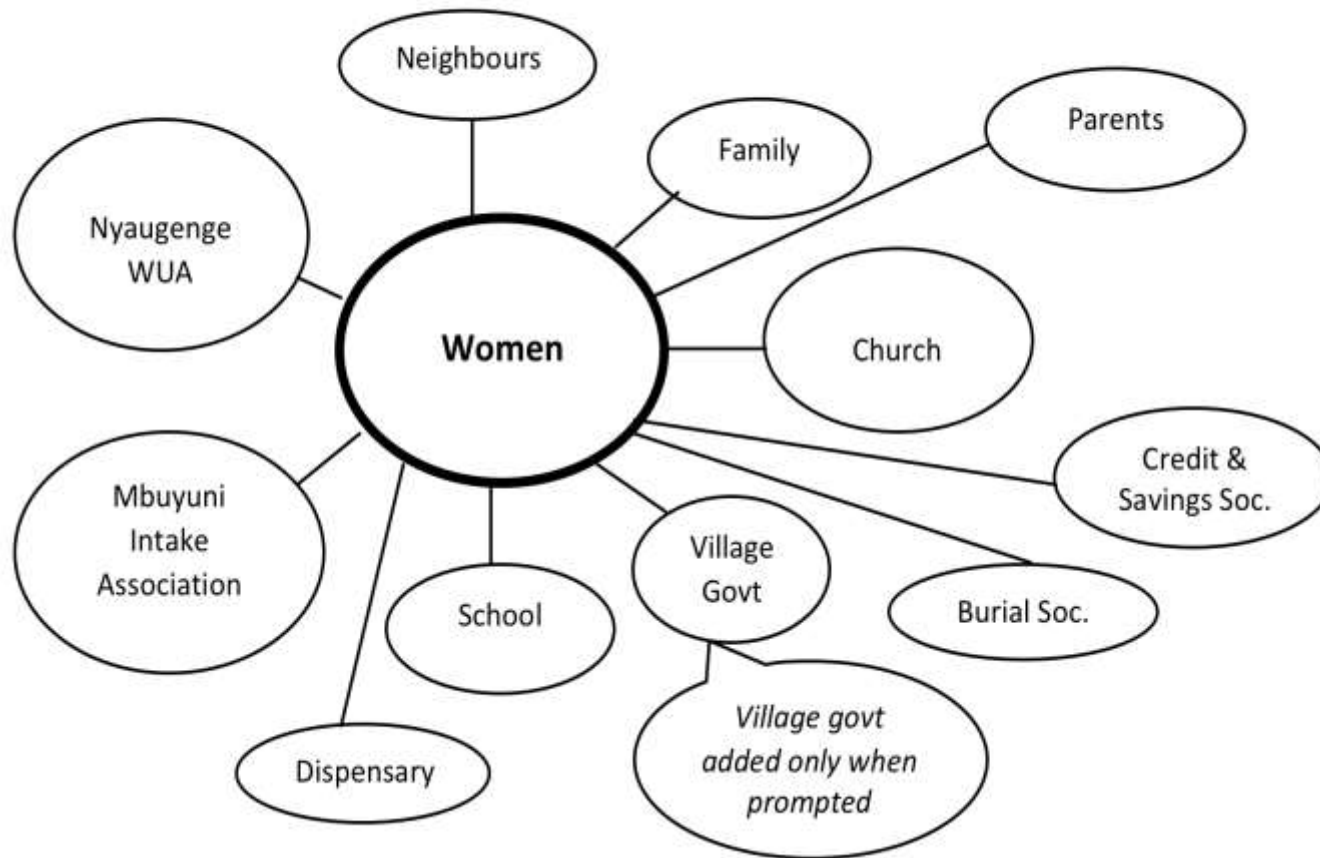


Arrangements for access 1 – Institutions

- Formal/bureaucratic
 - village government,
water user associations
- “Informal”
 - power and control



Institutional networks



Arrangements for access 2 – physical infrastructure

- ‘Traditional’
- ‘Improved’



Outcomes for ecosystems

The importance of downstream flows:

- for other users
- for the ecosystem (the Usangu wetland)

There is some evidence that dry season flows downstream are decreasing

Outcomes for people

1:Livelihoods

- Rice farming is profitable
 - How much 'smallholders' (2 acres) and large-scale farmers make per year
- Irrigated landholding sizes are increasing
 - Average holding sizes have gone up from about 2 to above 3 acres, 40% of farmers have more than 2 acres (some very large scale farmers)

Outcomes for people

2: Voice

- Close overlaps between WUA and other local elites.
- Potential ability of WUA to tackle powerful actors.
- ‘Business as usual’ (partly depends on who you are?)

Land and water interface

Only landowners can be members of WUA

(land ownership – increased water control –
higher outputs-more land).

So need to also understand access to land,
changing ownership, market for hiring, titling
and so on.....

Heroes, Victims and Villains



Heroes, Victims and Villains











7. Policy Implications of the SAGCOT PPP Approach

- Plans are afoot to allocate large tracts of land to investors who would set up contract farming with local producers in return for seeds, fertilizer and credit
- Is the government abandoning any commitment to small scale farmers in the hope that foreign investors will somehow provide the public goods and support that are so desperately needed to raise the income of the poor?

Thank you

