





ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL & SUB REGIONAL POLICIES ON PASTORALISM AND CONSERVATION: A CASE STUDY OF TANZANIA





TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Acronyms and abbreviations | 3 |
|---|----|
| Executive Summary | 4 |
| 1.0. Introduction/Background | 5 |
| 1.1. Pastoralist's Economic contribution | 6 |
| 1.2. Pastoralism and Biodiversity | 6 |
| 1.3. Conservation and Pastoralism in Tanzania | 7 |
| 1.4. Pastoralists resilience to conflict and climate change | 8 |
| 2.0. Legislative, policy and Institutional frameworks | 9 |
| 2.1. Livestock plans and strategies | 9 |
| 2.2. Livestock laws and regulations in Tanzania | 10 |
| 3.0. Power Mapping: Key Actors | 11 |
| 4.0. Policy review findings | 13 |
| 5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations | 15 |
| 5.0. Conclusion and Recommendations | 13 |

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAs Authorized Associations

ACHPR African Charter on Human and Peoples Right

AU Africa Union

CBC Community based Conservations

CCR Certificate of Customary Right of occupancy

COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CSOs Civil Society Organizations
EAC East African Community

EACM Eastern Africa Common Market

EU European Union FR Forest Reserves

GCA Game Controlled Area
GCF Green Climate Fund
GRA Game Reserved Area

ILRI International Livestock Research Institute

IWGIA International Working Groups for Indigenous Association

KINAPA Kilimanjro National Park

NDCs National Determined Contributions

NEPAD New Partnership for African Coopertaion

PAC Problem Animal Control

PAICODEO Parakuyo Indigenous Community Development Organization

PFPA Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing, Protecting and Improving the

Lives, and Rights of Pastoralist Communities.

PINGOs Forum Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental organization Forum

SADC Southern Africa Development Community

TANAPA Tanzania National Park
TDB Tanzania Dairy Board
TFS Tanzania Forest Services
TMB Tanzania Meat Board

TNBS Tanzania National Bureau of statistics.

UNDRIP United Nations Development Program on Right of Indigenous People

URT United Republic Of Tanzania

USAID United States Agency for International Development

WB World Bank

WISP World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

WMAs Wildlife Management Areas

Executive Summary

The pastoralists in Tanzania are mainly the Maasai and Barabaig communities whose livelihoods are communal and dependent on natural resources. Their livelihoods contribute significantly to the conservation of fragile natural resources with resilient adaptation mechanisms to address the current-climate change crisies. Pastoralists face discrimination and violation of their rights due to the distinctiveness of their livelihoods which are dependent on common land ownership while the application of the national policies is more aligned to individualization, titling, and registration of the common

Pastoralists' contribute 98% of the country's 25 million stocks through Hides, milk, and meat consumed nationally. Pastoralism in Tanzania is under the National Livestock Policy of (2006). Livestock Laws and policies contribute to limited use and control of land resources for Pasto-ralism. The current policy frameworks limit pastoralism which enforces communal land own-ership of collective pastures. This has led to a distortion of traditional Pastoralism and also cre-ated land conflicts among the users. The Wildlife and conservation Acts (2009) and the Min-ing Investments Acts of (1997) had become an attributive factor to purposefully decrease the amount of land for Pastoralism. The policy gives little contemplation on traditional livestock keeping while overlapping of natural resources laws, has been a notably major threat to Pastor-alist land Tenure.

Pastoralists make substantial contributions to the

economy of the country, both in terms of supporting their own households and in supplying livestock products such as hides, meat and milk to villages and towns. The governments of Tanzania should recognize these contributions by creating supportive mechanism such as livestock infrastructures support, and promote pasto-ral livestock products and direct link to reliable markets that facilitate them to improve their livelihood.

Policies and laws have to put clear provisions which recognize pastoralism and minimize land conflict, promote both conservation and pastoralism sectors and set land into zones of range-lands for pastoralism and wildlife. The grazing land however requires legal protection for sus-tainable development of pastoralism.

"Pastoralists face discrimination and violation of their rights due to the distinctiveness of their livelihoods which are dependent on common land ownership."

1.0. Introduction

Pastoralism is a way of livestock production in which livestock keepers move their cattle, sheep, and goats from place to place to take advantage of pasture and water which are available at different times during the year. On the dry-land plains of Tanzania, livestock and their herders, sometimes entire families move long distance in search of suitable pastures. This causes some pastoralists to live a nomadic or seminomadic existence (Sendalo 2009).

In Tanzania there are approximately 1.5 million pastoralists spread among four pastoral tribes and communities, with the Maasai being the largest and most popular (PINGOs 2013). Pastoralist Maasai in Tanzania, like many other indigenous people in the world, face a number of acute challenges including a shortage of land for grazing (IWGIA 2012), lack of water, frequent cases of cattle rustling, poor delivery of social services, population increase and a break-down of traditional institutions. Furthermore, inadequate recognition of pastoralism and the pastoral way of life in national policies has resulted in conflicts, mainly over land issues (AU 2010). This, in turn, has contributed to a negative state perspective on the pastoralists livelihood and its value as an economic activity.

According to the (URT 2015) statistics, Tanzania is the third largest livestock population on the African continent, comprising 25 million cattle, 98% of which are indigenous breeds, supplemented by 16.7 million goats, 8 million sheep, 2.4 million pigs and 36 million chickens. Agro-farming and Pastoralism

employ more than 80% of the Tanzanian population in the rural areas (PAICODEO 2013).

The Traditional breeds and processes dominate the Tanzania livestock sector (TNBS 2020). Tanzania Short Horn Zebu is the most widespread cattle breed in the nation (URT 2007). Agro-pastoralist household's account for 80% of livestock production, pastoral communities 14%, and the remaining 6% comes from the commercial ranches and dairy sector. Sheep and goats are widely distributed and adapted to many agro-ecological zones.

Sixty years After Tanzania obtained independence; Pastoralism continues to operate in a harsh and hostile legal and policy environment. This is because the government has for many years, perpetuated colonial administration laws and procedures in a manner that disregards the contribution of pastoralism to the national economy or in respecting it as a livelihood system of choice for pastoralists.

The Pastoralist communities continued to formalize their land tenure, registered villages since 1967, and later strived to secure their village land through the local government (District Authority) Act of 1982, the land Act no 4, and the village land Act no 5 of 1999 (Sendalo 2013). Pastoralists have utilized the rangelands for hundreds of years, developing a land management system adapted to variable ecological, social, and economic conditions (Nyhus 2016).

1.1. Pastoralist's Economic contribution

Pastoralists continue to play an immense role in the livestock sector, contributing significantly to about 5% to 7.4% of the Country's GDP since 2007-20221. Pastoralists and Agro-Pastoralist contribute to about 98% of the Country's 25 million and 36 million small stocks and produce most of the milk and meat consumed nationally (URT 2015).

See the trend of livestock Contribution to Gross domestic product (GDP)

| YEARS | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Crops | 7.6 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 3.6 |
| Livestock | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Forest | 3.4 | 3.9 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 4.8 | 3.2 | 3.5 |
| Fishing | -4.5 | 1.2 | 8.3 | 9.2 | 1.5 | 6.8 | 1.2 |

Source; TNBS 2022

However, despite contributing to the National Economy pastoralists have been victimized and forcefully (IWGIA 2012 et al) evicted, arrested, tortured, and relocated from their ancestral land for Conservations, Investments and allowing the national Military to establish a facility/base in their areas (PINGOs 2013)

The acquisition of Pastoralists land in Tanzania has repeatedly been without consent from communities and characterized by Human rights violations. This is despite Tanzania being a signatory to key international Human Rights instruments that include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Africa Charter on Human Right and Peoples Rights.

1.2. Pastoralism and Biodiversity

Pastoralists are good protectors of natural resources which they have managed to conserve and protect

for many years using indigenous knowledge. This has become possible since some In-digenous communities like the Maasais' have close attachment to forests, Wildlife and water catchments. The introduction of scientific or 'modern' knowledge was the source of disconnec-tion to their relationship with the nature. They have used rotational grazing system to cope with natural changes. Moreover, they have been keen to redeem lost natural resources as well as firmly create new ones and invent measures to protect the biodiversity (PINGOs 2016). Many pastoral areas such as Ngorongoro, Loliondo, Tarangire, Manyara and many others, are en-dowed with forests grasslands and a variety of natural resources such as wild animals, insects, trees, grasses and birds.

1.2.1 Case of SULEDO Forest

SULEDO is a natural forest measuring approximately 167,416 Ha in Kiteto district, Manyara region. Kiteto district is a predominantly pastoral land (mainly inhabited by Maasais'). The for-est spreads over three wards namely Sunya, Legatei and Dongo, covering nine villages within these wards. This is one of the clear Case study of the forest naturally conserved and protected by the communities since 1990 (Joseph et al 2002). The ownership of the forest to community members came after the government failure to manage the resource, now conserved and man-aged by the community. It's among the most beautiful forest in the country, rich with varieties of plant species, birds, water sources and wildlife. For more information about this forest please click link the www.equatorinitiative.org/wp-content/ uploads/2017/05/case 1348258301.pdf

> "The current wildlife policy does not adequately recognize traditional pastoralism or nomadism, in communities living within or near wildlife areas."



1.3. Conservation and Pastoralism in Tanzania.

According to (TNBS 2020) data, wildlife conservation account for about 34% of the country's total area with 22 National Parks that cover 104, 661.48kmsq and another 22 Game Reserves that take 70,029.08. Again 38 Game controlled areas, Marine Park, Forest Reserve and 39 Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), 17 registered and 22 which are yet to meet authorization process (USAID 2012, & 2013). It's within WMAs where local communities participate and obtain benefits from wildlife resources. All these forms of conservation are managed under very strict governing laws and policies which in turn contribute subsequently to grabbing the pastoralist village land for wildlife and set restrictions on the uses of land which has adverse impact on Pastoralists livelihood. Amendments of Conservation laws and regulations like the wildlife act of 2009 has negatively affected the pastoralism way of life by having their land taken under Game controlled area or reserved areas (Mustafa, 1997). The current wildlife policy does not adequately recognize traditional pastoralism or nomadism, in communities living within or near wildlife areas. It rather increases restrictions on Human settlement and livestock grazing but only permitting the hunting of wildlife under license

1.4. Pastoralists resilience to conflict and climate change

Pastoralists find it more difficult to cope with, resist and recover from the impact of climate change like drought. Disappearance of natural springs and drying of pan dams force them to walk long distances in search of water and pastures .Climate change, together with land dispos-session and mobility restrictions, also results in profound cultural changes. Traditionally, there was an organized sharing of resources between people of the same clan (olosho) during hard times(PINGOs 2012). Similarly, the transhumance system was based on long-standing agree-ments allowing livestock keepers from drought-prone villages to migrate

seasonally to better endowed places in Maasailand (there was no boundaries at all) and beyond, but this too has be-come increasingly more difficult since the access to traditional places with fertile and enough water and pasture such as Loliondo, Mkomazi, Ngorongoro, Kilosa and Usangu have become restricted. All these traditional social networks have been eroded and ended up disrupting tradi-tional pastoralism and destabilized it to cope and adapt from the impacts of climate change, but habitually added the complexities for climate change resilient (PINGOS 2022).



2.0 Legislative, policy and Institutional Frameworks

The Traditional Pastoralism economic subsector in Tanzania is governed by several laws, plans, and policies which together form a livestock regulatory framework. These frameworks are governed by the number of legislative structures supposedly enforced in the livestock sec-tor. These include Animal Disease Act(2003), Animal welfare Act (2008), Dairy Industry Act (2004), Vetenary Act(2003), Meat industry Act (2006), Hides, skins and leather Trade Act (2008), Grazing land and Animal Feeds Resource Act (2010)and Livestock Identification, Reg-istration and Traceability Act (2010). Other legislations which impact Pastoralism are Village land Act (2009), Forest Act (2002), Wildlife Conservation Act (2009), Ngorongoro Conserva-tion Area Authority Act (195), and Land Use Plan Act (2007).

2.1. Livestock plans and strategies

The dominating policy governing Pastoralism in Tanzania is the National Livestock Policy (2006). The policy uses livestock plans and strategies to engage diverse interests within the livestock sector and coordinate the available resources in the sector. It can also provide under-standing among policy-makers and the general public of the importance of animal genetic re-sources, and the multiple roles, and values of livestock. Therefore the Tanzania livestock policy use strategies to include; the Ministry of Livestock's Medium Term Strategic Plans (of 2009-2011, and 2012-2017), the Livestock



Sector Development Strategy (2010), the Livestock Sector Development Program (2011), the Livestock Modernization Initiative of (2015), National Strategy on prevention and control of anthrax in Humans and Animals, 2020, National Strategy on Prevention and Control of brucellosis in Humans and Animals (2020), National Compact Strategies and Action plan to implement a global plan of action for Animal Genetic Resource in Tanzania, (2021), and Tanzania Livestock Master plan (2017/2018-2021/2022).

2.2 Livestock laws and regulations in Tanzania

The grazing land law was enacted by the government to address the problem of grazing land availability to livestock keepers.

Additionally, there are several regulations formulated to implement the laws above, for in-stance, the Tanzania Dairy Board (TDB) under Dairy Industry; Raw milk Grading and mini-mum safety regulation of (2020), under Dairy Industry Act (2004), The Tanzania Meat Board (TMB) uses Meat Products and livestock import and export Regulations of (2020), and Veterinary Council, henceforth governed by the Meat Industry Act (2006); Guidelines for Integrated and participatory village land use planning, management and administration in Tanzania (2020) under the Village Land Act (1999) and the Land Use Plan (2007), Ministry of Livestock's Me-dium Term Strategic Plans (of 2009-2011, and 2012-2017) enforced by The Grazing Land and Animal Feeds Resources Act (2010) . The grazing land law was enacted by the government to address the problem of grazing land availability to livestock keepers. Section 58 of the Village Land Act, 1999 calls for a village land use plan (VLUP), while the grazing land law makes pro-visions for the demarcation of grazing areas for pastoralism. Again amendment of Conserva-tion laws and regulations, like the wildlife Act of 2009, resulted in the formation of strict gov-erning laws and policies on Human settlement and livestock grazing which in turn contributed subsequently to grabbing the pastoralist village land for wildlife and set restrictions on the uses of land which is far doing adversely impact Pastoralist's livelihood.

However the formation of the legislations, laws and policies contribute to limited use and control of land resources for Pastoralism. The current land law frameworks promote customary Right of Occupancy (CROs) and limit pastoralism as a mode of production which enforces communal land ownership of collective pastures .This has far doing led to the distortion of traditional Pastoralism and also has become a source to land conflict among the users. .On the other hand, formation of sectorial laws and policies on land such as Wildlife and conservation Acts, Mining, and Investments Acts have become an attributive factor to purposefully decrease of the amount of land for (PINGOs 2016).

3.0 Power Mapping: Key Actors

3.1 Livestock state actors in Tanzania

The state actors in this category include Ministries, Government Institutions and agencies, Parliament of Tanzania, and other Government related units. State actors play a big role in improving the livestock sector by allocating budget, supplying inputs, promoting technologies, conducting research, developing guidelines, frameworks, and strategies, and presenting policies and laws for amendments. State actors are the main engine of the Livestock sector development and growth. State Actors role in Tanzania is guided by certain objective such that, it works by ensuring poverty is reduced, ensuring availability of food and nutrition and setting targets to make sure the sector contributes to the Economic growth of the country in creating market access for exports and supply of Industrial goods. Additionally, the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries in Tanzania ensures the enhancement of livestock data to facilitate informed decision-making that will enable other state actors like Parliament, researchers and even non-state Actors have good reliable statistics to respond to the development needs of the sector (URT 2017).

Further, Online state actors such as Livestock Identification and Traceability System (TANLIST) use virtual platforms to perform their role of recording and developing systems to operationalize livestock identification, registration(in villages, border-sports, pastoralists areas) traceability, controlling animal diseases and livestock theft. Also used to regulate the movement of livestock, improve livestock products and production of animal genetic resources, to

promote access to markets and to provide for other related matters. (URT 2022).

3.2 Livestock/Pastoralism non-state Actors

The prominent role of non-state Actors is leveraging their contributions to the development of the sector and the Tanzanian economy. They also support the initiatives developed by State Actors and provide feedback accordingly afterward. The non-state actors include Pastoralists, UN-Agencies (FAO, WFP, and others), INGOs, CSOs, the Private sector (TPSF), and other stakeholders. Non-state actors' roles can be differentiated based on their scope of operation and the thematic area of working. Likewise, the Non-state actors role is to participate and engage in the assessment of the laws, policies, guidelines, and frameworks in the sector, advocate for the amendments, and deliver recommendations, assess technical resource personnel who can determine and project policy gaps, create linkages between the livestock keepers, policymakers, and private sector, and provide funding to state Actors. Furthermore, other non-stakeholders perform the role of advocating the voice and work as the umbrella body of other associations in shielding their role and existence in all sectors of the economy (URT 2022).

3.3 Regional and other Non-state Actors

The regional non-state Actors play different roles in the Livestock sector in Tanzania. Some support the sector by providing grants and loans, support policies and laws formulation, devel-oping and implementing projects while others disseminate market information to the stake-holders in the sector. The Regional and other non-state actors include Livestock Market Infor-mation (LMI) Mechanisms, Livestock Information Network and Knowledge systems (LINKS) FAO, WFP, World Bank, EU, INGOs, and USAID. Other Human rights Regional Actors are

ACHPR (Human right and its protocols), SADC, EAC, COMESA, NEPAD, EACM, APRM and many others. Livestock Market information is the mechanism that operates not only in Tanza-nia but also in Kenya and Ethiopia. The mechanism is used by Pastoralists, middlemen, and traders to obtain and provide timely market information through mobile text messages in col-lecting, analyzing, and disseminating information on disease outbreaks, conflict, water supply and market prices to support decision making at numerous scales.

3.4. Limitation / Challenges of regional state and non-state actors

- Enact and align with the government discriminatory policies which favor other land users such as large scale Ranchers, crop farmers, and other investors as op-posed to Pastoralism.
- Discourages Nomadic Pastoralism by negating it as movements that spread ani-mal diseases, and social conflicts between livestock, farmers and other land us-ers. This has led to restriction of mobility which is a core adaptation strategy for pastoralism.
- Lack of Pastoralists representation in leadership position hence leads to poor dissemination, collection and analysis information to the key stakeholders.
- Low support and interest from some actors to the pastoralist's localities due to budget insufficiency which in turn affects efficiency and

- result to failure to achieve their goals.
- Most policies formulated in Tanzania are further marginalizing Pastoralism and put their livelihoods under serious threats. Policies like land, Conservation and even Livestock fail to clearly address pastoralism as a livelihood but rather put restrictions to pastoralists on the use of land resources.
- Most actors are interested in profit maximization and henceforth focus on work-ing with town dwellers or commercialized livestock bodies such as Ranches, Ze-ro grazers' stakeholders rather than Traditional Pastoralists.

4.0 Policy Review Findings

The following are the policy gaps and opportunities analyzed and identified on pastoralism and conservation;



4.2 Opportunities for engagement

There is a need for policy awareness and building capacity to pastoralists to influence policy change in favor of pastoralism

- Inadequate knowledge of pastoralists on livestock policies and laws is still underpinning within pastoralist communities. A need for policy awareness and building capacity to pastoralists to influence policy change in favor of pastoralism livelihood system.
- 2. A joint land use planning and demarcation are of high need to pastoralists grazing areas in order to promote the security of land tenure and increase the protection of their land resources.
- 3. Lobbying decision- makers to pass the bills/laws that protect the pastoralist and Pastoralism livelihood.
- 4. Increase awareness and lobbying for equal allocation and accessibility of natural resources to pastoralists including land through a clear set of grazing land mechanisms.

- Media engagement on the security of land tenure and facilitates article writing on Pastoralism as a Livelihood ideology.
- The Africa Union Policy on Pastoralism of 2014 could be an opportunity window to influence the government to domesticate.
- 7. Litigation procedures; The judiciary is still an open window of opportunity to resist impunity and obtain advocacy tools, once local remedies have been exhausted, both regional and international justices system can be explored.



5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Progressively, the Tanzanian government continue to enact laws and policies which do not rec-ognize traditional pastoralism as a means of livelihood, attracting blame for non-formulation of policies and enacting of laws that neither support pastoralism nor minimize land conflicts in the country.

Policies and laws have to put clear provisions which recognize pastoralism and minimize land conflict, promote both conservation and pastoralism sectors and set land into zones of range-lands for pastoralism and wildlife. The grazing land however requires legal protection for sus-tainable development of pastoralism.

Formulation of policies should go hand in hand with gender mainstreaming aspects and it should specifically promote gender equity by eliminating discriminative practices among women and men, reviewed policies and laws MUST address this and allow for equal and fair land and natural resource ownership for all.

The government also needs to mainstream pastoralism into development programs and value the same status it does in the Conservation sector. Ensuring responsible investments by the pri-vate sector, providing inclusive development

opportunities to small-scale livestock keepers and pastoralists.

Pastoralists make substantial contributions to the economy of the country, both in terms of supporting their own households and in supplying livestock products such as hides, meat, and milk, to villages and towns. The governments of Tanzania should recognize these contributions by creating supportive mechanisms that facilitate them to improve their livelihood.

Tanzania government should domesticate the international and regional guidelines, frameworks and policies on pastoralism and conservation such as GCF and PFPA, that are compatible with the livelihoods of the pastoralists Rights.

6.0 Bibliography and References

- 1. AU (2010) Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing, Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of Pastoralist Communities. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- 2. D. S.C.Sendalo (2009) Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries; Department of Livestock Research, Training and Extension.
- 3. Gamasa, D.G.M (1996). The pastoral Massai and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. Nature Conservation 4:107-111
- 4. ILRI(2017). Tanzania Agricultural sector Development Plan of 2007; Livestock master plan- key findings.
- 5. IWGIA (2012) Country Technical Notes on Indigenous Peoples' Issues; United Republic of Tanzania.
- 6. Joseph E. & Oliver H. (2002) Equator Initiative Case Studies; Local sustainable development solutions for people, nature, and resilient communities.
- 7. Mustafa, K (1997), 'Evicton of Pastoralist from the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania: An Historical Review', Pastoral Land Tenure Series, No. 8, IIED, London.
- 8. NBS (2020) Ministry of Finance and Planning; Tanzania in Figure
- 9. Nyhus, P. J. (2016). Human–wildlife conflict and coexistence. Annual Review of Environment and Resources, 41, 143-171.
- 10. PAICODEO (2013) Report on the state of Pastoralists' Human Rights in Tanzania; Survey of Ten District of Tanzania Main land 2010/2011.
- 11. PINGOs (2012) Climate change on land use patterns
- 12. PINGOs (2013) Tanzania Pastoralists Threatened, Evictions, Human right violations and loss of livelihood.
- 13. PINGOs (2016) Socio-economic contributions of Pastoralism as livelihood system in Tanzania: Case of selected pastoral districts in Arusha, Manyara and Dar es salaam regions.
- 14. PINGOs (2022). Resilience summary report
- 15. URT (2006) Ministry of livestock and Fisheries; National livestock policy
- 16. URT (2007)Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism; The wildlife Policy of Tanzania.
- 17. URT (2015) Ministry of livestock and Fisheries; Tanzania Modernization Initiatives
- 18. URT (2017). Tanzania livestock sector analysis 2016/2017-2031/2032
- 19. URT (2018) National Forest Policy
- 20. USAID (2012) Tanzania Wildlife Management Areas; Status report.
- 21. USAID (2015) Tanzania Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) Evaluation
- 22. VPOs (2020) National Determined Contributions (NDCs)
- 23. WISP (2006) .Global Review of the Economics of Pastoralism. The World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism. Prepared and edited by Richard Hatfield and Jonathan Davies. Nairobi: IUCN. 2007 WISP Policy Brief No. 6.

