

**The Case Of Duru-Haitemba Community-
Based Forest Management Project Babati
District, Arusha Region Tanzania**

**Appendix 2 of the EPIQ Assessment of
Lessons Learned from Community Based
Conservation in Tanzania**

August 2000

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Preface

During the colonial and post- colonial periods, many forests in Tanzania were gazetted, and local resource use rights curtailed by the state. Customary local management of forest resources established by local communities was replaced ineffectively by a centralized system of forest management by the State. However, in the past few years there have been attempts to rectify this and create a sense of local responsibility and ownership of forest resources in Tanzania. Such attempts include the Duru-Haitemba Community-based forest management initiatives (CBFM) in Babati, the Mgori CBFM project in Singida Rural District, and the Usambara Catchment forest project in Lushoto District.

The study team had the opportunity to visit and assess the Land and Agricultural Management Project (LAMP) facilitated Duru-Haitemba CBFM project in Babati District in November 1999. This report summarizes information from the assessment study conducted.

Scope of the Report

The report is organized based on a template that was developed by the Community-Based Conservation Regime Working Group of USAID/Tanzania Environment and Natural Resource program. It is designed to be straightforward and the information is presented according to the project.

Section 1 presents an overview of LAMP, particularly the Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) in Duru-Haitemba Forest. In section 2, the report reviews the socio-economic issues pertaining to the project areas. It describes the population demographics, state of the social services, the main economic activities and institutional set-up.

Section 3 provides an analysis of the report's main findings. It is divided into 4 sub-sections which discuss the basic characteristics of the management structures that have been established, the institutional and legal aspects governing CBC, and the principles and characteristics of facilitation and the impacts of the projects. In section 4 the report examines the constraints and opportunities that face Community-based Forestry management in Tanzania. Section 5 concludes the assessment of Duru-Haitemba CBFM project. It highlights the pertinent lessons learned that create the optimal environment for community involvement in forest management.

Sources of Information

The report was prepared based on consultations with major stakeholders, including the District and Village Government staff and contacts with field-based projects during a study tour of the LAMP in November 1999. The team would like to acknowledge the contributions of Mr. Rwiza

– Babati District Forestry Officer, Babati District Natural Resources Officer, Mr. S. Laizer- Babati District Assistant Game Officer, Mr. Ericson –Babati District Advisor for LAMP and Mr. Kavishe–Rural Development Advisor for LAMP.

The study concentrated on information and the perspectives of different published and unpublished literature concerning the project. Documentary sources included policy documents, project progress and evaluation reports, donor publications, technical papers in workshop proceedings and other works in progress. A major set back to the study was the brevity of the stay in Babati (about 3-days) which did not permit extensive field trips to interview community members.

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Acronyms

AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resource Management
CBC	Community-Based conservation
CBFM	Community-Based Forestry Management
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CCS	Community Conservation Service
CF	Catchment Forest
CFR	Community Forest Reserve
DED	District Executive Director
DC	District Council
E/NRM	Environment/Natural Resources Management
EPIQ	Environmental Policy and Institutional Strengthening (IQC)
GOT	Government of Tanzania
LAMP	Land and Agricultural management Project
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NP	National Park
NRM	Natural Resource Management
PAC	Problem Animal Control
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SVFC	Sub-village Forest Committee
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
VA	Village Assembly
VC	Village Council
VFR	Village Forest Reserve
VFMA	Village Forest Management Area

Interpretation of Key Terms

CBFM	Community or group of people manage a forest independently or in partnership with government or others.
District Council	Includes elected council itself and the supporting technical administration headed by the DED
District Executive	The head of the administration of a local authority
Director Gazetted	Declaration of a FR nationally and formally announced through a notice in the government gazette
General Land	Land, often in urban areas, where the land management authority is the central state, in the person of the Commissioner of Lands
Planning Team	Planning Team formed to appraise the forest and recommend decisions and plan of action to the community
Reserved Land	Land management category whose use and occupation is regulated by resource-related laws, such as the Forest Ordinance
Sub-village	A recognized sub-part of a registered village that elects a leader to sit on the VC
Sub-VFC	Sub-village forest committee
Unreserved Forest	Forest that is not within gazetted Forest Reserves. Represents a greater proportion of the national estate – 19 million ha or 56 percent
Village Area	Represents a discrete area, the boundaries of which have of necessity been generally agreed with the neighboring registered villages
Village Forest Reserve	Area within the village area set aside by community for purposes of forestry protection and sustainable use
Village Council	The elected government of villages
Village Assembly	Meeting of all adult members in the village held by law at least 4 to 3 times a year. Described by law as the ultimate authority in the village

Village Executive Officer	Recruited by VA to serve as administrative officer
Village by-law	A law passed by a DC through the powers granted it by the local government (DA) Act of 1982, which needs approval of the local authority in order to enter into law
Ward	The area of several villages formed as an official sub-part of the District and from which the DC is elected

Tanzania Country Data

Land Area (Ha)	88,359,000
Population	29,700,000 (86.7 percent rural population 51 percent women)
Density	33.6
Population Increase per Annum	3.66
GNP 1996	130
Annual Growth of GNP (1986-96)	1.2 percent
Multi-lateral debt (\$) (1994)	2.64billion
Bilateral debt (\$) (1994)	3.2billion
Life Expectancy at Birth (1995)	51
Agriculture as percent of GNP	57 percent (55.7 percent women)
Government Revenue as percent of GDP (1997/98)	13 percent
Government Expenditure as percent of GDP (1997/98)	18 percent
Total Area of all Forests (Ha)	32,510,000
Forests as percent of country	36.8 percent

Source: Barrow, E. et. al., Draft, 1999; Kilahama, F. 1990.

1. Introduction: An Overview Of LAMP

The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) supported Land and Agriculture Management Project (LAMP) was initiated in 1992. Its overall objective is to increase the productivity of land in Babati District. To accomplish this the project has four components namely:

- Land security: aimed at enabling villages to acquire village title deeds;
- Community empowerment: making communities responsible for the management of natural resources including forest, wildlife, and water resources;
- Extension services: through the establishment of agro-forestry demonstration sites, introduction of modern beehives, organic farming, fodder multiplication, and methods of soil conservation; and
- District and village capacity building: through the provision training and equipment.

The assessment focused on component two i.e. community empowerment, and particularly community-based management of Duru-Haitemba forests. In September 1994, the LAMP project initiated the first modern Community-based forest management (CBFM) regime in Tanzania, in the Duru-Haitemba forests (DHF) in Babati District in Arusha Region in North Tanzania. The DHF are one of the few remaining Miombo woodlands in Babati District, comprising an area of approximately 9,000ha. They are a series of linked ridges of high woodland characterized by an open canopy of trees of usually medium height, interspersed with grassland. The miombo are highly valued for products and services ranging from timber, fuel wood, catchment, grazing and medicinal plants.

In the 1980's, the Duru-Haitemba forests had been targeted for gazettement as a government forest reserve. The forest were surveyed and demarcated with technical support from the SIDA Regional Forest Program. The decision to withdraw the DHF from the public sphere into the hands of the state was highly contested by the local people who found themselves deprived of a resource, which they thought they should rightfully utilize. A conflict emerged: the people regarded forest guards as enemies and they, in turn, regarded every villager as a potential illegal user of forest products. The villagers resistance was expressed through destructive unsustainable land use practices such as land clearance for agriculture, grazing, settlement, timber extraction, and charcoal making. By 1994, DHF were in acute disrepair.

This approach was based on the fundamental error that the government was in control of the forest and could protect it. Upon realizing that reservation of the DHF would not lead to effective

conservation, the District Council with assistance from LAMP initiated discussions with the communities through an external advisor¹. As a result of these negotiations, the DHF were returned to the eight villages within whose traditional and modern village jurisdiction it fell. By March 1995, all 9,000 ha of the DHF was under the direct ownership and management of one or other of the eight registered and incorporated villages [See table 1].

Table 1. The Villages of Duru-Haitemba Forest

Villages	Ayasa-nda	Endan-achan	Hoshan	Endagwe	Bubu	Gidas	Riroda	Duru	All
# Households (1994)	356	400	325	470	260	340	950	481	3,582
Entitle village Area (Ha)	1,660	2,130	2,290	4,300	4,690	4,250	4,610	3,720	27,650
Est. percent still forested	30	21	17	28	49	21	38	35	32
Est. Ha VFR	500	400	400	1,220	2,300	875	1,800	1,500	8,995
Est. Ha Forest/HH	1.4	1.1	1.2	2.6	8.8	2.6	1.8	2.7	2.4
# sub-villages	5	4	3	6	4	5	9	5	41
#Sub-villages with forest	5	3	3	6	3	4	8	5	37
# VGS(1995)	10	4	6	12	14	12	34	15	108

Source: Wiley, L. 1997.

Key Players

The LAMP project is collaborating with several stakeholders, including:

- Local resource users: Farmers, fisher folk, pastoralists, beekeepers and others;
- Donors: Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) and Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD);
- NGO Conservation and development groups: African Wildlife Foundation (AWF);
- Government agencies: Sectors (forestry, wildlife, agriculture and others), District Council and others;

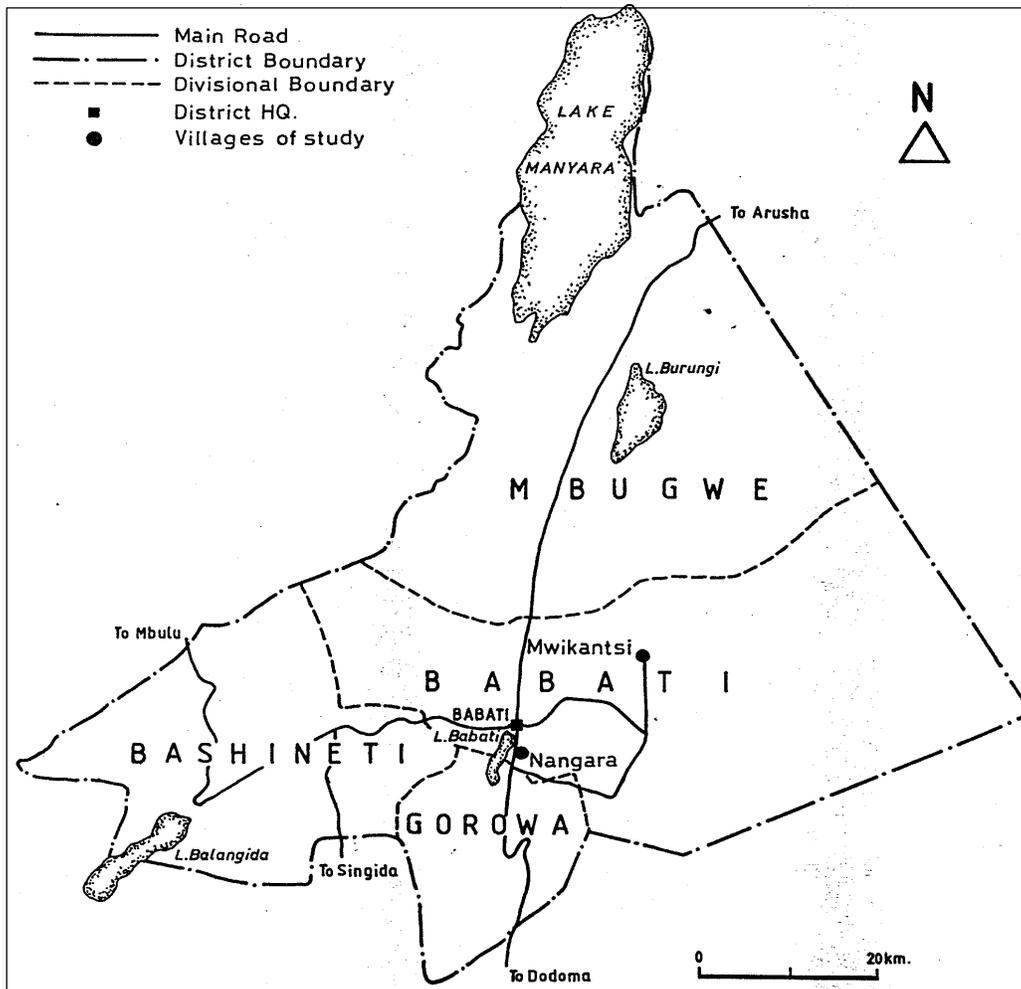
¹ Dr. Liz Wiley.

- Private Sector; and
- Research institutions.

2. Socio-Economic Issues

Talle, (1990) gives a comprehensive anthropological, sociological as well as economic profile of Babati District and communities which has been adopted herein.

Babati District [See map 1] is situated in the Rift Valley area in the southwest corner of Arusha region.



Map 1: Administrative map of Babati District

Babati district see Figure 1 is one of nine districts in Arusha region. Administratively Babati is divided into 4 divisions, 21 wards and 80 villages. It covers an area of approximately 6,069sq km and lies between 1,000m – 2,500m above sea level see Figure 2. Temperatures range between 25⁰ C – 25⁰C. The northern and northeastern parts of Babati are dominated by plains, with two prominent lakes: Lake Manyara and Lake Burungi. To the south and west the landscape

gradually becomes more mountainous, while the eastern part of the district is dominated by the Maasai steppe. The Rift valley escarpment, making a wall that rises from the bottom of the valley, dominates the western part. In the south, the Ufiome highland, the Dangwal highland and the peak of Kwaraha surround the alluvial plain of Lake Babati (1,379m). Mbugwe division includes the lowland in the north and northeast of the district, while Babati division covers the Dangwal highland in the west, the area around Mt. Ufiome and the plain eastward towards the Maasai Steppe. Gorowa division is situated south of Lake Babati, including parts of Ufiome highlands and Pinaar heights.

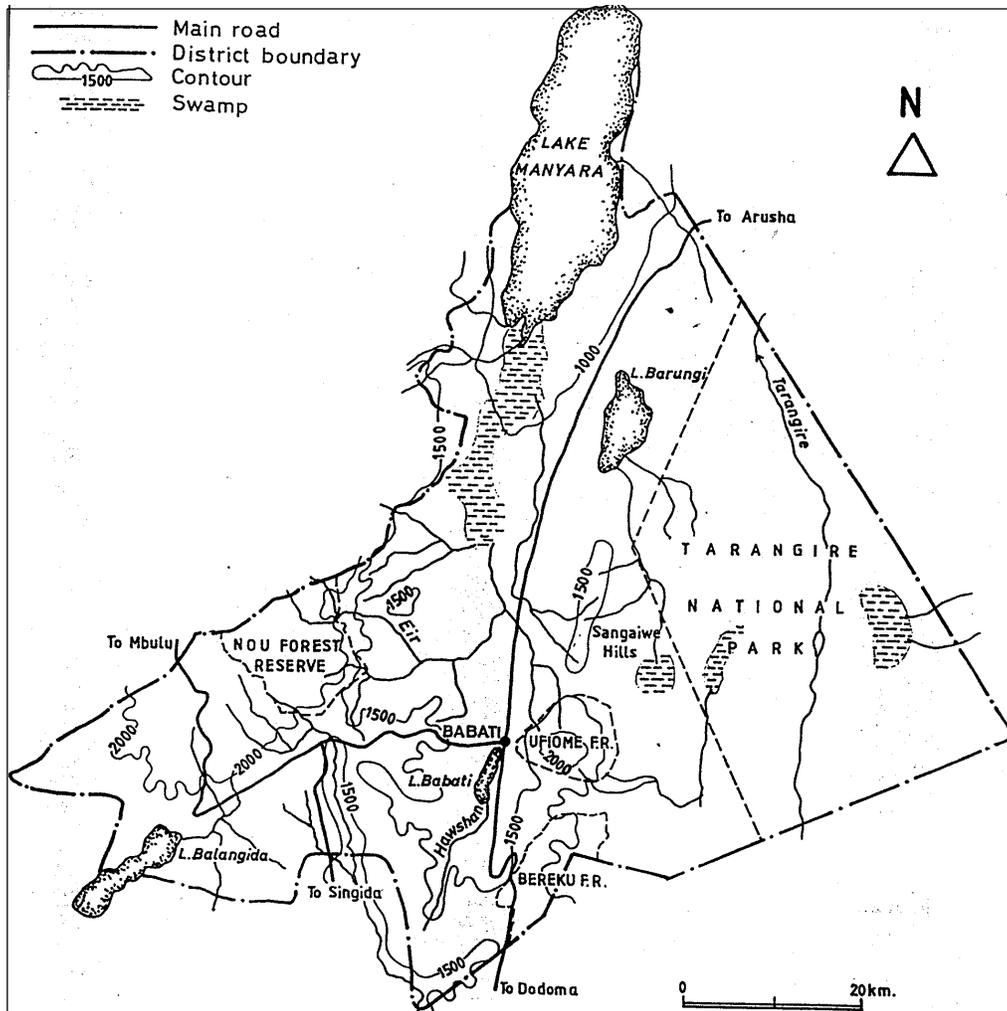
The land resources of the area may be divided into the following suitability patterns:

Table 2. Estimated Land Suitability in Babati District (1993)

Land Use	Area in Hectares	Percent of total Area
Agriculture	123,000	20 percent
Grazing	255,400	42 percent
Parks and Game Reserves	143,500	24 percent
Reserved forests	32,500	5 percent
Other uses	52,500	9 percent
Total	606,900	100 percent

Source: Babati District Commissioners Office, 1993.

Forest and game reserves cover about 12 per cent of the total area, while cultivation and grazing constitute 65 percent. Babati is one of the 7 districts within the Tarangire-Lake Manyara Ecosystem. Approximately 120,00ha or 20 percent of the district area is occupied by the Tarangire National Park; and the whole of Lake Manyara is located within the district, occupying about 28,310ha (5 percent of the total area).



Map 2: The Physical features of Babati District

2.1 Population Demographics

According to the 1988 population census Babati district had a population of approximately 208,385. In 1993, this population was estimated to have reached 247,900². The reason for this rapid population increase include immigration and high birth rates. There is substantial immigration from surrounding cities of Arusha, Moshi, Dodoma and Singida, and by the year

² URT, 1989

2000, the population is expected to have grown to 350,000³. The link between ethnic identity and resource access is important to establish. Until recently, the Gorowa constituted the largest ethnic group in the area, today the largest ethnic group is the Iraqw (50 percent). Other ethnic groups include the Mbugwe, Maasai, Barabaig, and Sandawe Table 5. The team was not able to access disaggregated population statistics according to village due to inaccessibility of data.

Table 3. Ethnic Groups in Babati District

Ethnic Group	Description
Gorowa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agro-pastoralists • Main food: maize, sorghum & millet • Language: Cushitic • Origin: Indigenous residents • Inhabit: area around Mt. Ufiome, Babati town and between the Rift valley and Hanang
Iraqw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agro-pastoralist • Tendency to practice intensive use of cattle manure and crop rotation • Origin: Mbulu highlands, Arusha
Mbugwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bantu speaking • Matrilineal agro-pastoralists • Origin: Haubi, Kondoa District, Singida • Cultivate bulrush millet, sorghum, finger millet & maize • Inhabit land north of Lake Manyara
Barabaig	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sub-group of Datoga • Language: Nilotic • Origin: Hanang, Arusha • Inhabit area around Mt. Ufiome • Predominantly pastoral
Maasai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pastoralists • Migrate into Babati seasonally to utilize pastures • Origin: Kiteto, Monduli, Ngorongoro- Arusha • Language: Nilotic – Maa
Other Groups Chagga, Meru, Somali, Asian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural groups • Market oriented farmers • Intensive cultivation using tractors

³ Ibid.

2.2 Social Services

Arusha region does not yet have a water master plan. Consequently, there is very scant information regarding the quality and quantity of water sources in Babati district. Babati however, seems to be well endowed with a number of water sources Table 6.

Table 4. Water Sources in Babati District

Water Source	
Lakes	Babati, Manyara, Burungi
Rivers	Kiongozi, Dundunera, Magara, Kuo, Mayoka
Underground	Potential Exists

Only 47 villages out of 81 in Babati district have access to clear and potable water obtained from sources such as streams, springs, shallow wells and boreholes. However, most of these sources are misused, abused and polluted because of inadequacy of water points and lack of maintenance. Water is mostly used for domestic and livestock consumption. Major agricultural irrigation activities are confined to Kiru valley (2,500ha). Water collection is the task of women.

Women do collection of firewood and wood fuel accounts for 95 percent of domestic energy for cooking in Babati. This is provided in the form of firewood and charcoal. Fuel wood is also used in agricultural processing such as fish smoking, brick making and brewing. Surveys reveal that previously, women had to spend between 5 to 8 hours looking for firewood, however, since the establishment of the project, women obtain fuel wood from the village forest reserve.

2.3 Main Economic Activities

The major land based economic activities are agriculture, forestry and livestock keeping. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the district, and about 20 percent of the land is suitable for cultivation. Both smallholder peasant farmers and large-scale commercial producers practice agriculture. Men and women participate in agricultural production. Because of semi-aridity, dependence on rain fed agriculture is very high. The most prevalent production system among the smallholders, who constitute the majority of the population, is agro-pastoralism. Agricultural technology and practices range from the traditional hand hoe to modern farm machinery such as tractors. The division of labour in agriculture is such that the men do the digging and planting while the women harvest, carry and process the crops. It is common for the men to control revenues from cash crop production. Among some ethnic groups, households

pool their labor during the farming season⁴. A variety of crops are cultivated including, maize, sorghum, beans, pigeon peas, wheat and millet. Cash crops grown range from groundnuts, sunflower, sugarcane, banana and coffee.

Although the number of livestock has fallen due to the shortage of grazing area and recent drought, it is still predominant in the area although approximately 60 percent of the district is under tsetse infestation.⁵ Domestic animals consist of cattle, sheep and goats. Livestock keeping is combined with the cultivation of grains. Milk constitutes an important part of the diet. Livestock management is the domain of men who oversee grazing, slaughter, exchange or sale of animals. Women are only involved in management of milk and its by-products.

2.4 Natural Resources

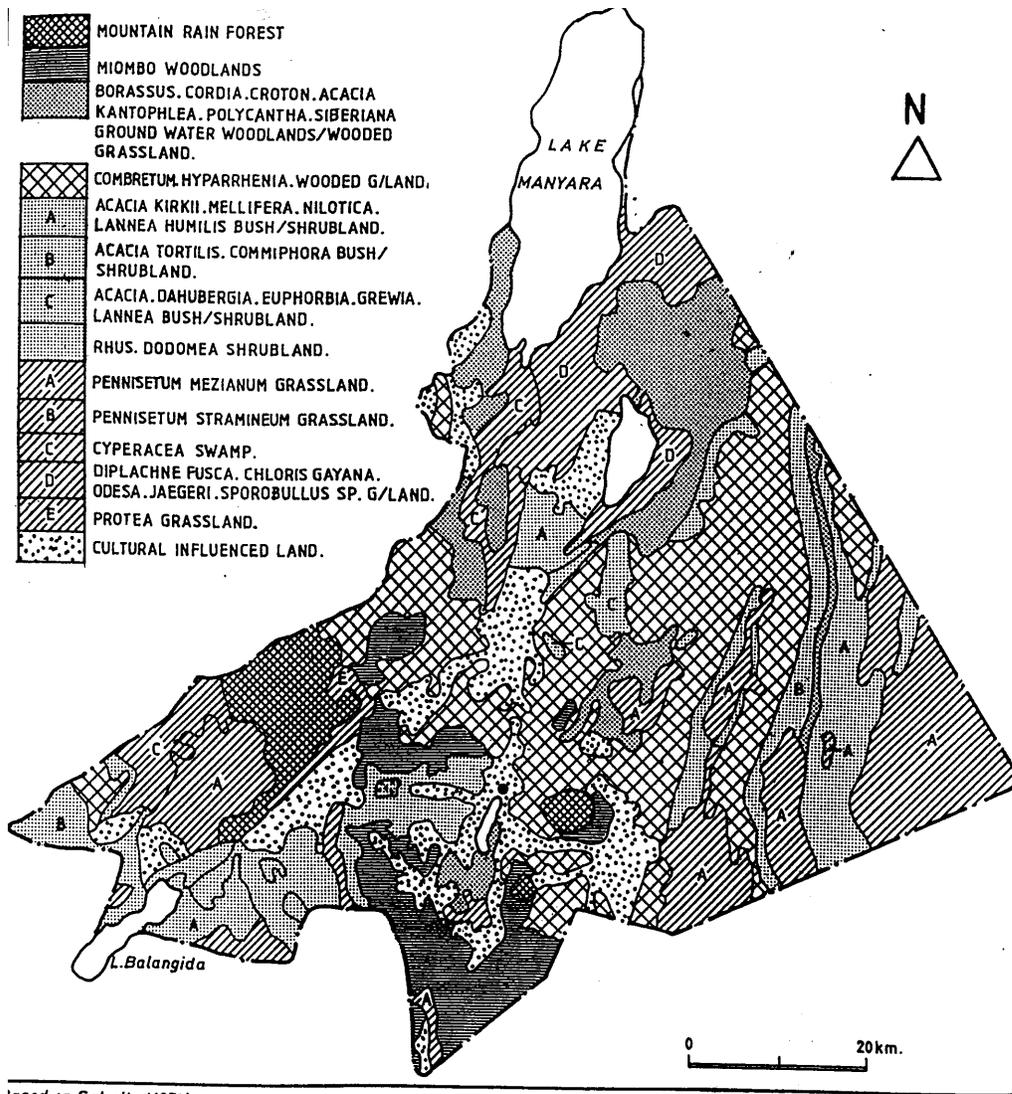
Vegetation in Babati (see Figure 3) can be grouped into 4 main types:

- Open grasslands without woody species found in the salt plains around big lakes
- The Acacia woodland found in drier areas
- The Miombo woodlands found mainly in the Gorowa division; and
- The Mountane Rainforest in the higher altitudes.

The forested areas in Babati have never been completely surveyed so the total extent of forests is not known precisely. National Forest Reserves administered by the District Catchment Forestry officer cover some 31,775 ha. These include, for example, Nou FR, Bereku, Ufiome and Haraa FR. The rapid population growth concomitant with pressure on the land has considerable implications for natural resource degradation. Prior to LAMP, the quality of the remaining forests was uneven, common tree species had declined, wildlife had disappeared in the forest and the area was plagued by substantial soil erosion.

⁴ Talle, A. 1990

⁵ Ibid.



based on Schultz (1971).

Map 5: Vegetation Map of Babati District

2.5 Local Institutions and Level of Local Participation

To facilitate community-based conservation, it is necessary to understand the local socio-political dynamics through an examination of the institutional landscape. There are popular beliefs that communities are inherently democratic. Before initiating CBC it is essential to establish whether communities have the commitment and capacity to nurture participation and what prejudices shape social relationships that exist and how these influence the levels of the democratic process. It is also crucial to take into consideration the culture of government organizations so as to gain an understanding of how they are structured and function, and the challenges that exist to achieve a true partnership between the government and communities in natural resource management. Government organizations are normally hierarchical and decisions are made at the top. Those

working very close to the natural resource users usually have the lowest status and influence over decision-making.

It has been argued that Tanzania boasts the most decentralized and devolved regime of governance in sub-Saharan Africa.⁶ The local government in Tanzania is manifest in District Councils (DC), and Village Councils. The DC comprises Councilors elected every few years by constituents in the area. Amendments to the Local Government Act (1999) provide Ward Development Committees a higher profile in the District. They are now the main link between the District and Villages, and the DC may delegate certain functions to them.

The Village is the main socio-legal construct for community-based forest management in Tanzania. At the time of its formation as a legal entity, the community registers its core member households and provides the Registrar of Villages with an idea of its physical identity (village area). The village elects its own government or Village Council (VC). The VC is an independent legal entity able to sue and be sued, hold property and enter into contractual arrangements. It also has executive and legislative powers. The VC acts strictly on behalf of its electorate – the Village Assembly (VA) which is the supreme authority in the community on all matters of general policy making in relation to the affairs of the village⁷. The VA is obliged to meet quarterly to hear from the village government and to decide on policies that the village government desires to put into effect. The sub-villages also play an important role in local level management. The elected sub-village chairmen hold ex-officio seats in the overall village government.

⁶ The VC is the starting point rather than the end point of governance [Amendments Local Government Act (1999)] The district and Urban councils are now charged as service agencies to their constituencies.

⁷ Local Government (District Councils) Act No. 7 of 1982

LAMP has facilitated the District Administration to shift the locus of authority to manage forest resources on village land from the District and vested it in the Village Council (VC) which has a better chance and incentive to be effective. At district level, the project works through the District Forestry Officer.

3. Analysis Of Main Findings

3.1 Management

3.1.1 Consensus and planning process

To promote consensus building planning must be a participatory exercise. Because planning is an educative process, it is also iterative. Lessons learnt from pervious planning actions were continuously adapted incorporating new information and feedback from villagers.

Three broad principles guided action towards achieving CBFM in Duru-Haitemba, namely:

- Recognition of community rights to ownership of forest resources
- Building on formal and informal structures that facilitate community participation; and
- Operation of effective mechanisms for the sharing of benefits.

The project sensitized the villagers of their rights to managing the forests on village land as expressed in the Forestry Policy (1998). Extensive dialogues were conducted aimed at demonstrating that the local government authorities in the district was serious about developing a partnership with the local communities in managing the forest, based on a more innovative and viable approach to the traditional punitive policing. To achieve this the project had to take into account and respect local norms and traditions. These dialogues were not rushed nor did they follow a project time frame, instead, they were gradual. Once a level of rapport and trust was established, discussion proceeded to more substantive matters, such as assisting the villagers to claim the right to manage their forest.

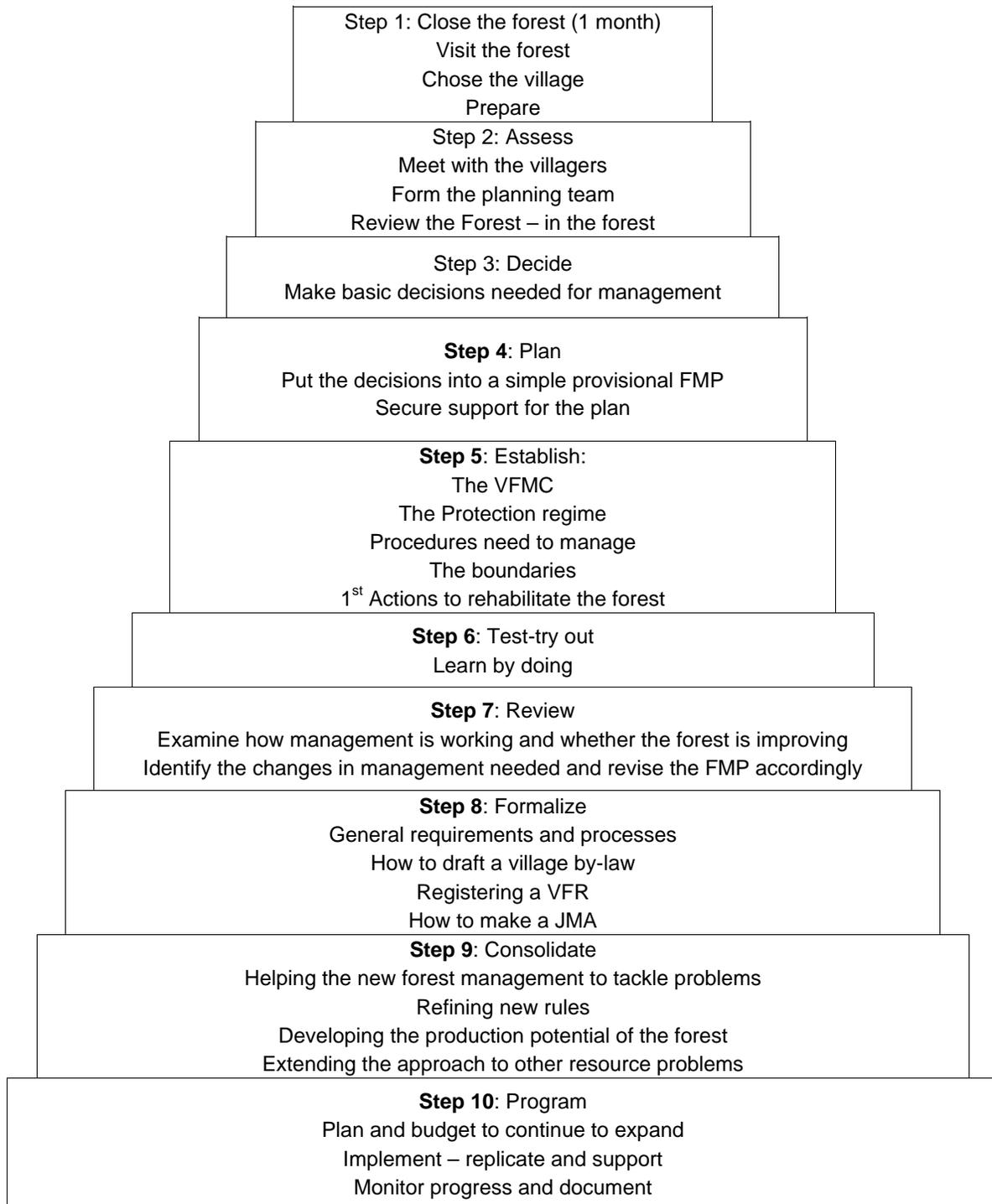
The villages adopted a management strategy based upon geographical areas and political discussions relevant to each village. Each registered sub-village looks after part of the forest to which it is adjacent. The first step in the planning process included a visit to the forest. At a village assembly meeting, a planning team (PT) was formed to review the forest and develop a forest management plan (FMP). This review is undertaken in the forest with assistance from the District Forestry officer (DFO). The draft FMP is table at a village assembly by the village council for discussion and approval. The village assembly then elects members of the village forest management committee (VFC) who will manage the village forest reserve on behalf of the village. The FMP depicts the forest resources, their state, the boundaries of the VFR and rules that govern use of the forest. The Forestry and Bee-keeping Division are preparing a manual,

which will provide foresters with a step-by-step guide for the establishment of CBFM in Tanzania. See Figure 1.

One of the largest institutional cultural changes required for CBC has been the change from the protectionist, militaristic approaches to one of facilitation and dialogue. Creating trust is the key. The creation of CBFM in DHF reflects a truly community-based, transparent and participatory process. A simple relationship based on good communication flows and transparency is the ideal model. LAMP has ensured that the DFO and village leaders launched a dynamic process of reviewing every aspect of the forest to establish what was required to restore the forest and to keep it intact for potential future use. Each sub-village chairman is required to secure the majority agreement of all the members in his constituency. The Chairman is also required to involve his constituent households in the preparation of the VBFM management plans. Village Assemblies were held in which the entire community of each village debated and refined the forest management plans that were prepared by each village planning team. The methodology employed by the project represents a bottom-up approach, and identifies who the logical guardians of the forest are and how if given the chance they can manage it.⁸

⁸ Sjöholm, H. & Wiley, L. A. Finding a Way Forward in Natural Forest Management in Tanzania: The Emergence of Village Forest Reserves IRDC Currents International Rural Development Center, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Volume 50-55, 1995.

Figure 1. Proposed Steps for establishing CBFM



Source: Wiley, L. et. al. : Manual for Establishment of CBFM in Tanzania. Draft II October 1999

The team was able to visit Ayasanda village, which is one of the villages, which has initiated CBFM of the Duru-Haitemba forest in its area, and hold discussions with the Village chairman. Below is a summary of the information the Village Chairman provided the team (see Box 10).

Box 1. Ayasanda Community Forest Management

Ayasanda has 326 households and a human population of 2,921. A growing population and illegal harvesting of forest products resulted in erosion and the disappearance of critical water sources. At this stage, the District Forestry officer through the LAMP project initiated discussions with different groups of people at sub-village level to establish the best way to soundly manage the DHF. In 1994 the DC agreed to devolve the responsibility and management of DHF within the village area to Ayasanda village, and members of Ayasanda village unanimously agreed to close off the Duru-Haitemba forest (approx. 596ha) to open exploitation for ten years until 2004.

With technical assistance from the District, the village prepared village land use maps and by-laws to govern the use of the forest. Although the by-laws took a tedious three years to prepare, they have enabled CBFM to take place in Ayasanda. The village now has ten village forest guards who patrol the forest three times a day. The chairman of the sub-village is also required to survey the forest twice weekly, and three members from the village council conduct random checks on the sub-village VFR. Villagers are also responsible for reporting offences. The game scouts do not receive a salary, but those who apprehend offenders are rewarded and given an honorarium.

The community benefits directly from the fines and access to dry fuel wood. Wildlife is starting to re-appear and the forest canopy is becoming thicker. The village can conduct self-monitoring of the improvement of the forest and looks to benefit from sustainable timber harvesting in future. As is the case now, all benefit sharing and future utilization of the forest are decided through the VC and VA. There are however some problems that face the VFR initiative. These include continued invasion by livestock owners seeking grazing areas. To solve this problem LAMP continues to raise awareness of the need to reduce the number of cattle owned by each individual. Other offenders include pit saw harvesters who originate from outside Ayasanda.

CBFM in Ayasanda has been successful because it is reliant on good leadership at village level and the process is transparent and participatory.

3.1.2 Linkages with other Programs

The cross-sectoral nature of natural resource management in general calls for integration and harmonization of responsibilities in a coordinated way. However, there often exists fragmentation or compartmentalization of institutional roles and responsibilities in various sectors resulting into inter- and intra ministerial rivalry, conflicts and also inadequate accountability. However, the DH CBFM Project is but one component of the LAMP project whose overall objective is to increase the productivity of land in Babati District, and falls under the community empowerment component, specifically making communities responsible for natural resources management. There are linkages to other programs e.g. land security, extension services and District and village capacity building. Such linkages provide the basis for further support, internal capacity building and provision of technical expertise from within the overall program. This is quite a unique and very practical approach, and one to be emulated in many similar initiatives in the country, if CBNRM is to be successful.

3.1.3 Activities and Linkages with Private Sector

There are pressures of commercialization of the community forestry resources. This is understandable given that a village such as Ayasanda and sections of the DH CBFM project are within close proximity to an urban area -Babati, which generates a significant demand for a range of timber and NTFPs. This presents both a threat and opportunity. External economic agents brought into the arena of community natural resources have had positive contributions. However, villagers involved in the DHF CBFM project have not yet started exploiting timber and NTFPs on a commercial basis. Currently no use of the forest by outsiders is permitted in the existing forest management plans, but in the future, after the regeneration of the forest, it is expected that an inventory of the forest will be undertaken and resource extraction will be proposed. However, so far there are no plans to invite or work with the private sector in neither the management nor the exploitation of timber and NTFPs.

3.1.4 Collaboration of Different CBC Initiatives

LAMP is collaborating with a number of other initiatives, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture, which is the principal land user, has for many years, taken a lead in soil and water conservation and land management. Some progress under this sector includes the soil conservation and agroforestry project (SCAPA) in Arusha. LAMP is also collaborating with the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) to facilitate communities to establish Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) in the Babati Tarangire-Lake Manyara ecosystem. The proposed WMAs will be established in:⁹

- Magara-Mayoka Ward–Magara-Mayoka villages bordering Lake Manyara National Park;
- Minjingu and Vilima Vitatu villages in the area occupying the Mdori-Mswakini wildlife corridor that serves the Serengeti ecosystem;
- Mwada , Sarame & Sangaiwe villages; and
- Vayamanya, Galapo and Qash villages bordering Tarangire National Park.

3.2 Institutional and Legal Aspects

Historical analysis of natural resource tenure in Tanzania depicts the expropriation of land from communities, the separation of people from their natural resources i.e. ‘fencing-off’, followed by

⁹ The Assistant District Game Officer (DGO) informed the team of this.

the institution of state control over natural resources, and the establishment of protected areas (PA). This was the process during colonialism, a process of divorcing the people from conservation. The independence governments inherited this legacy. However, by the early 1990s it became obvious that the state lacked the capacity to manage natural resources under this system and this led in most cases to a system of open access and unsustainable resource use. The impact of these protectionist policies has been the weakening of local institutions, the demise of local use regulatory systems, and local knowledge and jurisprudence i.e. customary laws.

Interestingly, the first attempts at community involvement in forest management was during the Villagization Program of 1974, when the Forestry and Bee-keeping Division (FBD) initiated a rural afforestation scheme known as the 'villagization program' in Tanzania. The foresters facilitated the process of tree growing and national forest management while the local people were the actors and did the actual tree growing and management activities.

It is the same villagization and decentralization processes of the 1970s that formed the basis for the legal existence of village governments and the various committees, especially the village natural resources management committees, security committees and finance and planning committees. All these committees exist and function and are playing very important roles in the management of natural resources under CBNRM approaches. The same applies with respect to the linkages between the village government and the local authorities at District level.

3.2.1 Land Tenure

During the pre-colonial period basic forms of land access and transfers were guided by ideologies of patriarchy and matriarchy. Clan leaders and elders were custodians of clan land. Traditionally, all clan members regardless of sex enjoyed usufructuary rights. Land transfer was through inheritance, the guiding principle being that land should remain within the lineage.

The colonial period ushered in new changes in property relations and concepts of private land, individual land ownership rights and title deed. It also brought about the process of land commoditization. The colonial state encouraged the co-existence of three parallel land tenure systems, namely the customary deemed right of occupancy, the granted right of occupancy with title deeds conferred and administered by the state and free-hold tenure. State intervention in land tenure led to the creation of several institutions dealing with land allocation and addressing land conflicts. Such institutions include land officers, village government leaders, land surveyors and courts of law. This has been a recipe for confusion and corruption insofar as land ownership is concerned.

Today, resource tenure in Tanzania is largely the product of Socialist policies following the colonial period. Following the declaration of Socialism as state policy in 1967, freehold land was abolished, property rights were vested in the state and an ambitious 'villagization' program was

introduced in 1974-75 through the villages and Ujamaa Village Act (1975). Under this program 80 percent of the rural population was re-settled into “planned” villages. Villagization removed the authority of customary institutions, replacing this with politico-administrative units known as Village Councils. The Village Councils did not legally have title to land within the villages, this remained vested in individuals or clan members. This absence of a legal basis for villagization resulted in confusion concerning rights and roles and a level of tenure insecurity.

Things to note include:

- Since the colonial period to the present, all land in Tanzania is public land;
- Under the Land Ordinance (1923) of Tanzania there are two categories of land ownership namely,
- The granted right of occupancy: certificate of occupancy obtained from the state; and
- The deemed right of occupancy: customary land right

The Court of Appeal has always stated that customary and granted rights are of equal status before the eyes of the law. In practices, however, granted rights are seen superior to a deemed right.

Existing tenurial arrangements relied largely upon policy statements, often lacking a legislative framework to ensure implementation. The past 15 years has seen considerable efforts to redefine land and resource policy. Land policy evolution has included:

- Lifting of restrictions in the 1980’s on foreign investment to purchase land from the state;
- The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry in Land matters in 1992 whose recommendations for the devolution of tenure and resource rights to local levels laid a clear basis for the new land law; and
- The Land Policy (1995) vested control over village lands to Village Councils, excluding customary institutions.

Briefly stated, the new Land Policy (1995) and new Law have changed the tenure environment of Tanzania. The Law constitutes an adjustment to the relative powers and rights of government and communities. The Land Act (1999) categorizes all land in Tanzania into reserved, village or general land. Village land, which constitutes over half the country, is provided with its own law

of administration and tenure, the Village Land Act (1999). The land law provides two mechanisms through which villages may earmark areas for forest management, namely:

- It declares a woodland inside the village area as common land; and
- It provides for the ownership of all rights in this land to be titled to the appropriate group of the community, or the community as a whole.

The tenurial status of the village is strengthened by the Land Act which allows the village membership to hold land as a cooperative; and by the Investment Promotion Act which allows the village to put such land to work as part of a joint enterprise. The Land law recognizes customary land rights as equivalent to more formal based tenure systems. It designates the Village Council the Land Manager, with the following responsibilities:

- It is required to define with agreement of the community, the village area which shall remain, for an interim period or in perpetuity, as land held in common as Communal land; and
- Required to establish a village land registry and, if the community wishes, to issue private deeds over parts of the land within the village area to groups, clans, households, spouses and individuals. Control over land is wherever possible at the community level, this signifies an attempt to enable villages make decisions about tenure and land use.

The mandate to formulate policies on LUP lies with the National Land Use Planning Commission (NLUPC). It also coordinates activities of other bodies in preparing physical plans and has prepared guidelines to ensure sufficient land for agriculture and livestock needs, overcoming boundary conflicts and land misuse, and creates a basis for issuing long-term leases to villages. To a great extent LUP continues to be implemented sectorally with considerable overlaps despite the existence of the NLUPC.

A combination of the new Forest Act (draft) and Local Government Act (1982) will allow for implementation of the Forestry Policy through the establishment of exclusive common property rights over forest resources in defined areas under democratically elected local institutions such as VFC. In principle, Tanzania is advanced in the process of devolving tenure to communities. However, translating these principles into practice may prove problematic.

Most unreserved forest/woodland is found in or adjacent to what is defined as village land. Duru-Haitemba has a long history of tenure¹⁰. Since villagization the Duru-Haitemba forest (DHF) is within the land area of the eight villages. In 1984, the District attempted to gazette Duru-Haitemba forest as a Forest Reserve. The DHF was surveyed, its boundary cleared, beacons installed and district by-laws identified it as protected. However, the surveying and installation of beacons ignited resistance from the villagers who invaded the forest and began to grow cotton and unsustainably harvest its products. Eventually, with assistance of an external facilitator, negotiations ensued and an acceptable arrangement was reached between the district government and the community. As a result of these negotiations the District rescinded its own regulatory authority over DHF to the eight villages and halted the process of gazetting the forest.

It has been argued (Kauzeni, A. et. al.: 1993) that land degradation and resource management problems are to a large extent caused by the lack of Village Land Use Plans (VLUPs). VLUPs have been advocated as an entry point into conservation and a key mechanism to combat natural resource degradation. LAMP has considered land use planning as an important tool in protecting village lands, managing natural resources effectively and securing land rights against outsiders. It has facilitated the registration, survey, demarcation and mapping of traditional village land. By assisting them to secure formal Village Title Deeds it effectively translated villages into modern tenure. The village rights and ownership of the forest were crucial and formed the turning point for successful CBFM¹¹. The communities gained more ownership rights as well as more access to benefits from forest resources.

With facilitation from LAMP the villages demarcated parts of their land as natural resource management areas known as Village Forest Management Areas (VFMA). The plans are prepared in the non-conventional top-down approach, but with the participation of the land users. This set a course towards optimal land use in line with land user requirements and the aspirations of the local communities, and with government priorities and policies. Villagers, who are the ultimate decision takers in the implementation of LUPs, were heavily consulted throughout the process. Demarcation of the forest boundaries and production of the VFR map that would be used in the gazettment procedures was not always free from dispute within and between villages over boundaries. During the demarcation the villagers provided the required labor. With facilitation from LAMP and the District Land Officer, each sub-village developed a simple but effective sub-village Land Use Management Plan (SVLUP) for conserving the natural forest in its area.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

These plans are amalgamated at village level to form Village Land Use Plans (VLUP). Each plan contains the following:

- Statement of the principles upon which VBFM is based;
- Identifies every use of the forest and effects simple zoning;
- Assesses damage to the forest;
- Agrees on needed actions; and
- Forest Use rules¹².

The FMP are then discussed at Ward level and presented to the District Council for approval. The village forest reserve has been zoned into open and closed zones. Open Zones allow multiple use such as bee-keeping, seasonal grazing, fishing, harvesting pole wood and thatching grass. Closed Zones are no-entry zones. These zones are sometimes also referred to or categorized as sustainable use zones, grazing zones and protection zones.

3.2.2 Management Institutions Established

Institutions, their character and their internal and external relations, have an important influence on community-based natural resource management. The District Council is the lead-implementing agency of LAMP. The villages, through their village governments, are institutionally the managers of the Duru-Haitemba Forest (DHF). Each village manages the part of DHF which traditionally falls within its villages boundaries. Depending on the management structure agreed during the village assembly, each village forms a Village Environmental Committee (VEC), a Village Forest Committee (VFC) and in some cases a Village Natural Resource Committee (VNRC). Villages manage their VFR through a VFC, which is effectively a sub-committee of the VCs. As the VC is body corporate this means that the VFC can have similar status and therefore operate bank accounts and sign contracts. At Sub-village level there are also Sub-village Forest Committees (SVFC). The Village Assembly appoints the Planning Team (PT), and each sub-village selects Village Forest Guards (VFG).

¹² Ibid.

3.2.3 Locus of Decision-Making: Composition and Mandates of the Management Team and its Relationship with Village and the District Council

The members of the VFC are however, proposed by the VC and approved by the Village Assembly (VA). One representative from each Sub Village Forest Committee (SVFC) is a member of the VFC. Contrary to the VEC, which is made up of village government officials, the VFC is comprised of ordinary members. Initially, members of the VC dominated the VFC, however this has since changed. For example, in Sarame Village, the DFO had to intervene to remove the village chairman who was also the chairman of the VFC, because he did not convene meetings and broke the forest rules that had been laid down. What has occurred is that democratization at the local level, which has both arisen from and led to a growing need for accountability as practical management and control gets under way.¹³

The SVFC is responsible for keeping the community informed of the progress to-date. The VFC works on behalf of the VC. It is responsible for coordination of the proper management of the VFR in each sub-village. Its mandate includes to deliberate over issues of forestry in the whole village, conflict resolution, act as court and to monitor performance. The VFCs in all eight villages have successfully established an effective protection regime of village forest patrolmen, and put into effect simple but rigorous regimes of village-regulated forest use. The VC helps the VFC mobilize labor e.g. for clearing the forest boundary, organize meetings with other villages, prepare village by-laws and deal with offenders where the VFC has failed.

Each village elects a Planning Team (PT). The PT is made up of ten members namely members of the VC, ordinary villagers who are knowledgeable about the forest, at least two women, a representative from each sub-village and the DFO. The PT is responsible for assessing and establishing the status of the forest; problems associated with the management of the forest, preparing rules that govern access and types of use and drafting a simple management plan. The proposed management plan is submitted to the VC, which scrutinizes it and in turn presents it at the VA for discussion and approval. The DFO is instrumental in these stages and facilitates this discussion.

From the outset, villagers have regarded the protection of their forests against offenders as crucial for the success of community-based forest management. Village Forest Guards (VFG) have been selected and patrolling and reporting systems have been devised. The DH CBFM project has approximately 100 VFGs who are responsible for protecting the forest and

¹³ Wiley, L. A. *Villagers as Forest Managers and Governments 'Learning to let go'. The case of Duru-Haitemba & Mgori Forests in Tanzania*, (in) IIED Forest Participation Series No. 9 London 1997.

monitoring use according to the laid down rules. Upon institutionalizing the patrol system, the number of offenders apprehended increased, this number has since declined.

LAMP has very strong linkages with the District Council. The project is housed in the District Council Offices, and there is sense of ownership of the project within the Council itself. Since the village is viewed as a self-managing, self-sufficient entity, the Ward is not very involved in the Project, however, they are kept regularly informed of pertinent issues such as by-laws. District experts form the linkages with the village. The Project uses a multi-disciplinary team of experts such as the DFO, District Agricultural Officer and District Game Officer, to carry out its activities.

3.2.4 Regulations and by-laws for Natural Resource use

CBFM initiatives, including the DH CBFM project, rely on both informal and formal systems to regulate use. The capacity to control forests under traditional law is clearly demonstrated in Duru-Haitemba. Through the elders, the villages have regulated the use of forest resources and protected the local natural resources through what are known as customary informal ‘socio-environmental rules’. Fines such as payment of a bull were levied against those who contravened these customary laws. Certain areas of the local forest came under complete protection as sacred forest (*Qaymanda*) and were used only for socio-ritual purposes. Thirty such sacred forests exist in Duru-Haitemba¹⁴. Important customary rules are positively re-enforced and incorporated into village rules, and regulations that are then ratified at district level.

The formulation of rules and fining of those who break the rules lies at the heart of CBFM¹⁵. In the course of preparing VBFM plans the village developed formal rules governing use of their VFR. Based on their own assessment of damage (by the Planning Team), each community has categorized use (Table 5).

Table 5. Rules of Use

Free Uses	Non-damaging uses which could continue unhindered because of their non-destructive nature: e.g. collection of wild fruits and dead wood but only by members of the village
Notifiable Uses	Forest uses which are to be reported to the sub-village Chairman or Village Forest Committee Chairman prior to implementation e.g. placement of new beehives, harvesting hives, collection of medicinal plants for use outside the household.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid

Uses by Permit	Uses which would be regulated or permitted on a quota basis, and for which permits would issued by the village government. Some uses are free others require a fee e.g. collection of pole wood
Banned Uses	Uses which are henceforth prohibited against which major fines would be levied e.g. charcoal burning, forest clearing, shifting cultivation, encroachment over boundaries, hunting, bark-stripping

Source: Wiley, L. Villagers as Forest Managers and Governments 'Learning to let go.' The Case of Duru-Haitemba & Mgori forests in Tanzania. 1994.

It became apparent to the villages in DH CBFM project once they commenced with managing their forests, that they required legal backing. With assistance from a District Forestry Officer, each village translated their rules into Village by-laws. According to the Local Government Act, the VC is able to make by-laws that enter formal law upon endorsement by the District Council. Babati District Council is encouraging villages to make their own by-laws and LAMP has assisted the villages by preparing guidelines for making Village by-laws [see Annex 6.3]. By-laws are binding upon everyone, within that jurisdiction, and empower the villages to handle offenders without necessarily taking them to court. The fines paid when rules in a by-law are broken remain in the village unlike court fines that are accrued by Central Government.

3.2.5 Individual Membership and Eligibility

Only villages that are endowed with part of the DHF on their land and in which the members have accepted CBFM at both sub-village and village level, can seek assistance from LAMP to start CBFM. A formal request to form a Village based forest management project is sent to the DFO who then facilitates the process. The Village Chairman makes the application that is accompanied by minutes of a meeting of the Village Assembly containing signatures of the village members approving the formation of the VCBFM. This process and its requirements identify the eligibility and membership of a CBFM initiative in the DHF.

3.2.6 Rights and Responsibilities of Communities, Village Government, District and Central Government:

The responsibility to ensure that a village has its own VFR rests on the villagers themselves. The villages have the right and responsibility of managing, protecting, improving and developing their forest reserves. They are also charged with securing the forest. Young village members volunteer or are nominated as village forest scouts, who are charged with the daily inspection of the forest usually in return for exemption from other communal work. Members of each sub-village and village are obliged to keep an eye open on illicit activities that may occur in the forest and report to the relevant authorities.

Initially, the District experts were apprehensive that they would no longer have any responsibilities as communities assumed the role of forest managers. However, to the contrary,

the role of the District Forestry Officer (DFO) and other District experts has not declined, but shifted. The DFO roles have changed from that of policeman to one of technical advisor, facilitator, mediator, liaison and watchdog. The District experts facilitate the process of establishing a VFR by assisting villages to set up the right kind of management systems, provide technical backstopping, intervene when communities fail and mediate among villages. This also implies that they have more time and resources to do what they can do more effectively and efficiently. The same applies to the villages that have taken on board CBFM.

The Central Government remains the custodian of the forests, and is charged with providing policy and legal direction and with locating funds through donors and where necessary also additional technical inputs to facilitate better management of the forests. Within the current setting, the Central Government takes the back seat and acts as a last stage arbitrator.

3.2.6 Binding Policy Issues

For many years, Tanzania has had no comprehensive national policy for environment and development conservation. Environmental management has been undertaken by various sectoral institutions, which sometimes suffer conflicting roles.

The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) is responsible for the development of natural resources, and is directly concerned with advocating the rational utilization of natural resources, as well as, coordinating the various natural resource sectors to harmonize conflicts of interests. Through its Forestry and Bee-keeping division (FBD), it is the central body responsible for overall policy relating to forestry, and the management and control of forests (both plantation and natural) under the Forest Ordinance (Cap 389) of 1957 (now being up-dated). The mainland of the United Republic of Tanzania has 535 national FRs that cover about 12.5 million ha distributed in 20 regions [see Annex 1]. Under the Tanzania Land Act No. 5 (1999) and the Village Land Act No. 4 (1999), forests are categorized as ‘reserved’ or ‘unreserved’. Authority over some of these reserves has been devolved to the local government.

The National Forestry Policy (1998) provides the mandate for community-based forestry management within this sector, allowing for sustainable use of forests by rural communities, particularly those close to or with forests on their land. The policy is clear as to the need to bring unreserved forests on village lands under community management, and sets up a category “Village Forest Reserve (VFR)” as the vehicle for this. VFRs are referred to as *a new form of Protected Areas to be managed by villages as exclusive common property*. The Policy is very clear on the important role of local people in forest management, and builds upon and supports the development of four kinds of community-based forest management in Tanzania, namely:

Where a village community determines to declare part of its village land as a VFR;

Where a group of people or households, or even one household declares part of their private land as a Group Forest Reserve (GFR);

Where a village is designated a manager of a government forest reserve. This could be a Local Authority Forest Reserve (LAFR) or a National Forest Reserve (NFR); and

Where a village is designate co-manager of an LAFR or NFR with either a government partner (local authority or Forestry and Bee-keeping Division) or an executive agency to which government's authority has been delegated.

However, the Forestry Policy does not go beyond broadly stating the need to involve communities by actually defining the process by which they will be involved. Consistent guidelines and principles are necessary for successful community-based natural resource management initiatives. Currently CBFM is reliant on by-laws, thus dependent on the time frame that these by-laws are approved. A New Forest Act is being drafted and will succeed the Forest Ordinance (1957). The new Act is expected to bring onboard the intentions of the Forest Policy (1998), and provide the necessary legal procedures and frameworks for devolving authority to manage forests to communities. The forestry sector is now looking for ways to integrate the various lessons, which have been learned from early CBFM initiatives.

3.2.7 Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution

With radical change, and especially one that involves a major shift in responsibilities over the management of critical resources such as forests, conflicts are bound to occur. Arguably, dynamic change is a chain of conflict and conflict management to a certain extent. Frameworks for conflict resolution evolve around such issues. A fundamental attribute of the approach in DHF is that it directly tackles and resolves rather than accepts as inevitable the conflict between the state and people, owner and forest user.

The main venues for arbitration and resolution of conflicts ranging from boundary disputes to illegal entry and use of forest resources are the village forest committees, village council and the village assembly. Clearly a prerequisite for conflict resolution in the project is open and frank dialogue, but also dialogue and processes that take into account local customs and norms. The demand for land and the banning of access of livestock herders to pasture for example, are fundamental causes of conflict that are less easy to manage, but must be resolved all the same. The linkages between the project and other sectors and programs facilitates the provision of alternatives that help reduce the losses facing any particular segment of society for example, improved husbandry. Other conflicts that arise through failure of communication or suspicion are easily resolved through dialogue.

3.3 Facilitation

3.3.1 Sources of Funds

There has been considerable input from external sources for a wide range of environment and conservation activities in Tanzania mainly from donors, development agencies and NGOs. During the 1990's these amounted to over US \$8,448,794,000.¹⁶ A substantial share of these resources goes towards defensive costs such as afforestation, soil conservation and general environmental rehabilitation programs.

LAMP activities receive both external and internal sources of funding. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) is the major source of funding. These funds are channeled directly to the project and through the Forestry and Bee-keeping Division Strategic Analysis and Planning Unit. Part of these funds facilitated the initiation of CBFM in Duru-Haitemba. Similar funds can assist the CBFM process through related and linked programs/projects, for example, NORAD provides funding for training related to management of catchment forests.

3.3.2 Capacity Building Process

Capacity building is about empowerment. The key question is who is being empowered? Under the DHF CBFM project different stakeholders have received training in various activities, which has in turn expanded their capacity to manage their forest resources. Multi-disciplinary teams of district experts have been exposed to a wide range of technical training to enable them to approach and solve problems regardless of their disciplines. This includes training in collection of tax revenues, agro-forestry, building partnerships in natural resource management, gender sensitization, and micro-enterprise development. District staff are now better capable of leveraging the willingness and energies of the local people in responsible management of the forest resources.

The local communities are for the most part poorly educated, with little or no experience of partnerships, contract management and managing businesses or record keeping. However, they possess a wealth of indigenous knowledge systems that is important for the management of the forests. Through LAMP, the skills of the VNRC in keeping records and management were developed. Members of the Committee were taken on exchange tours to Njombe in Iringa, Kazimzumbwi forests in Kisarawe, and Mgori forests in Singida to see what is possible and take into account the benefits of CBFM elsewhere. The project has also organized exchange studies

¹⁶ URT: National Country Biodiversity Report, UNRP, 1997.

between project villages which has facilitated transfer of knowledge and lessons learned in tackling different issues. Village Forest Guards have been trained in numerous protection and monitoring techniques.

Table 6. Summary of Key Training Provided

Target Group	Capacity Provided
District Officials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection of tax revenues • Agro-forestry • Facilitation of peoples involvement and building partnerships • Gender sensitization • Micro enterprise development
Community/PT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group decision making • Development of rules and regulations (by-laws) • Planning and mapping process • Team building
VNRC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Record management: minute book, offences & fines book , receipt book, permit book, income/expenditure record • Management: responsibilities, accountability, transparency, reporting, rules • Fines: procedures, fines, punishments, taking offender to court • Preparation of by-laws
VGS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fines: procedures, fines, punishments, taking offender to court • Protection: patrols, accountability • Monitoring: indicators, monitors. • Patrol records: date, patroller, area patrolled, damage observed, and offenders apprehended

3.3 Economic and Environmental Impact – Benefit sharing

Forests provide numerous benefits that are related to various use and non-use values of these resources. Although it is difficult to place precise values on the forests, and estimates of the various components of total economic value is complicated, it is still possible to identify the environmental benefits that accrue from initiatives such as the Duru-Haitemba CBFM project. In this case, there are a number of forest and environmental benefits that support different economic activities in and around DHF. The most straightforward types of benefits are those accruing to the immediate users i.e. the direct and indirect use. Table 7 illustrates the environmental assets the community accrue, and still value, even though they do not obtain direct or indirect use values.

Table 7. Categories of Benefits

Use-Benefits			Non-Use Benefits
Direct Benefits	Indirect Benefits	Option Benefits	Existence Benefits
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outputs that are consumed directly such as: Harvested products e.g. dry wood, firewood, honey, wild food & water • Subsistence felling for building materials e.g. pole collection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological services and protection functions such as: Springs & watershed areas • Preservation of water catchment areas, flood control soil conservation, carbon sequestration, climate control etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The premium placed on maintaining resources for future uses, including some that may not be known now. e.g. • Future timber harvesting and supplies of non-commercial energy • Commercial logging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The intrinsic value of resources, regardless of us, such as: Cultural, aesthetic and heritage significance. • Spiritual e.g. worship and burial sites etc.

3.4.1 Categories, Type and Value of Benefits

Failing to recognize all the use and non-use values of DHF undervalues or under estimates its Total Economic Value (TEV). However, use of benefit transfer can shed light on the relative benefits or values of a miombo forest. For example, it is estimated that the miombo woodlands contribute as much as \$1,050 per ha based on the value of sustainable wood harvesting, bee-keeping, fruit, mushrooms, game meat, medicinal products, tobacco curing and water conservation.¹⁷ This value includes some direct and indirect use values contributing to local livelihoods. Thus, it is arguable, that if the DHF were to be managed sustainably and its ecosystem supports the natural resources mentioned above as stated in the Tanzania Country Biodiversity report, the forest has a potential values of about \$9,450,000 per annum. But this is not all, forest based activities are estimated to also generate direct and indirect employment.

Because of the depletion that occurred in the DHF, it is unlikely that this value currently exists, and yet it seems that the role of forest resources in local livelihoods has presented adequate incentives for conservation to take place. Although the product uses of the forest are material subsistence rather than commercial, the villagers recognize and place a significant value on the forest services and have decided that there is a net benefit of conserving it. In the future it is

¹⁷ URT: National Biodiversity Country Study Report, January 1997

important to undertake a cost-benefit environmental economic appraisal of DHF to assess whether the forest is yielding a higher net present environmental value.

Economic Impacts

CBFM in Duru-Haitemba is not based on enterprise or accruing cash benefits from the utilization of forest products. However, the VFCs are looking for ways to establish quotas for use since it is envisaged that in future communities will benefit from timber harvesting of mature trees. As mentioned in the preceding section, attempts to value the economic contribution and functions of DHF have not been carried out. This includes the values of timber or building materials. Such valuation is difficult since not all the goods and services provided by the forest are traded in the open market. Others, such as the dry wood collected for brewing beer that is sold and provides the household with an income is perceived as a “free input.” This value excludes other uses and benefits accruing to communities.

There are also important and highly valuable non-marketed goods and services such as non-timber products consumed by the villages. Apart from cash benefits from fines imposed, a majority of the benefits to-date are qualitative in nature. Just as is the case in Ayasanda and the other seven villages, it is obvious that the more than 20,000 people place a premium on the forest products they are using and consists of a vital component of their livelihoods and household survival mechanism.

Socio-Political Impacts

There are several socio-political impacts of the project on the communities.¹⁸ As a result of the project, there has been an enormous upsurge in the confidence of the villagers and its government to take better control over a wider range of village matters. The villagers have been empowered by the process and this has had a positive effect on the overall level of community involvement in village management. The capacity of each village to take over authority for its part of the forest and to manage successfully has raised the morale of the community and reinforced its determination to sustainably manage their forest. Linked to this, is a marked improvement in the democratic decision-making process. There is a substantial increase in the degree of participation of sub-village leaders in village meetings, bringing decision-making even closer to the household, and thus increasing the degree of household participation in village matters. Part of this is explained by the responsibility placed on each household and indeed member of the village in the whole process of monitoring and reporting activities taking place in the forest.

¹⁸ These emerged during discussions with the Ayasanda village chairman.

Environmental Impact

The links between the economy and environmental change are slow to reveal themselves. Forest based biodiversity provides vital ecological services which protect and enhance natural resources.¹⁹ Showing that CBFM has a positive impact on the forest resource is key to the long-term success of community-based conservation. However, demonstrating benefits from conservation to rural livelihoods is far easier to do than measuring the impact on the conservation resource, which is a much longer-term objective.

The DH CBFM project established a system to enable monitoring of the impacts of the project. During the development of the forestry management plan, the planning team collected baseline information on the state of the forest, which later made it easier to evaluate the ecological and biological impacts of the project. However, comprehensive empirical data with which to make such analysis does not exist and, most of the environmental impacts are registered through observation. Despite this situation, through both observation and anecdotal evidence, it is possible to state with a reasonable degree of confidence that the state of DHF has improved considerably. There are general impressions of a steady decrease in bare land caused through trampling by cattle and an increase in vegetation coverage. Although it is difficult to make direct cause and effect analysis of community-based natural resource management initiatives, it was possible to see the process of forest regeneration taking place along the edges of the forest. The regeneration is obviously recent and fairly widespread. It was also possible to note related economic activities taking place, such as bee-keeping taking place in the same areas using appropriate hives. There was also evidence that care was being taken in the process of harvesting fuel-wood and medicinal plants. Other indicators of environmental impacts include, improvement of important watershed catchment functions vital for maintaining agriculture and plant species, a decline in illegal use of the forest, rehabilitation of swamplands, protection of sources of thatching grass for village use, on-farming tree planting and soil conservation.

3.4.2 Mechanisms to Share Benefits

The process of negotiating what type of benefit to share, among who, over what duration and for what purposes is fundamental to community conservation. The degree of success of DH CBFM project is increased by the fact that the project addressed first community needs and represented an approach around which the villagers had formed a consensus. Moreover, it benefits community members in an open and easily understood manner. In the case of the of DH CBFM project, from the outset, it was required that each VFC instituted guidelines for sharing benefits.

¹⁹ Natural resources here include human resources.

Although the guiding principle of sustainable conservation is that conservation should be beneficial and economically viable especially at a local levels, translating this into reality in a way that rural people benefit can be problematic. The problem often lies not so much in procedural or practical matters, instead it is a matter of new thinking and radical ways of operationalizing CBFM. From discussion it appears that this process took some time to be initiated and accepted before being implemented. What is lacking at the moment is a medium to long term entrepreneurial vision and objectives that seek to increase the benefits to the local communities.

There is potential for private sector-community arrangements, however, the project will be obliged to create a viable business attitude among the villagers and assist in the proper planning and start-up of viable businesses. In future, financial benefits accrued will have to be negotiated and divided fairly in a mutually agreed transparent manner. In this respect, of concern is how communities will in future harvest the forest products such as timber for their own, as compared to district-wide benefits. This will require setting a regime of taxation or royalty e.g. on timber, woodfuel and charcoal, which will satisfy all the stakeholders.

3.4.3 Winners and Losers

Various interest groups have benefited and lost as a result of the formation of the DH VBFM areas. It is important to identify the winners and losers at the preliminary planning stage of the project, so as to recognize who will lose and who will gain from the project, by how much or to what degree. Gains and losses can be in terms of benefits or costs, material or responsibility gains or losses. Yet another pertinent rationale behind successful CBFM is to try to make sure that marginalization of particular stakeholders does not take place, and that all parties distribute benefits and costs in an agreeable manner so as to obtain compliance. An assessment of the winners and losers, and what they are gaining or losing is depicted in table 8.

Table 8. Winners and Losers in DH CBFM Initiative

Stakeholder	Loss	Win
Central Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct revenues from timber harvesting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No longer reliant on government funding to manage the DHF
District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct control over forest reserves • Direct revenues from timber harvesting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DFO liberated from the exhaustion and failure to protect forests with inadequate resources • Obtains new found respect in the collaborative process with the local communities
Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced access to harvest and collect poles or fuel wood (freely) for building, beer brewing and use in the home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secure tenure over DHF • Increased responsibility for the DHF and its resources • Access to Non-timber forest products (NTFPs) has been zoned in the LUP and this allows for regeneration and sustainable harvesting • Increased alternative economic opportunities and timber and non-timber royalties introduced by the project • Direct revenue from wildlife use (consumptive & non-consumptive) • Access to alternative employment
Pastoralists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of the perceived unbridled right to graze any number of stock in the forest and the traditional freedom to graze in neighboring village forests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to grazing land that has been zoned in the LUP • Do not have to compete for pasture with pastoralists from outside the village
Farmers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who have established farms in the reserve are required to move back into the village. Loss of income from termination of farming in the DHF areas or promise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loses of farm incomes can be partially off-set by gains through forest timber and non-timber forest products
Charcoal-makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income from the production and sale of charcoal • May be in a position to get lower but more long-term incomes from charcoal/fuelwood production and sale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiencing reduced access in the present and may have minimal access to forest resources for charcoal making in future

3.4.4 Mechanisms to Address Age, Gender and Equity Issues

There were no provision made for particular age groups in the management of the Duru-Haitemba CBFM. However, it is generally those of the younger cohorts and mainly males that take part in the patrol work. Some are also members of the various committees, and it is presumed that through this representation issues that relate to the younger age cohorts are addressed. The other extreme is also true, in that a large proportion of the older age cohort tends to be represented in the committees.

The role played by women in society makes them daily managers of the environment. Their roles as farmers, mothers, traders and family health caretakers enable them to gain profound knowledge of the forests and ecological processes around them. This knowledge is key to achieving the goals of CBC. Furthermore, women are valuable as environmental educators and communicators both within the family and the community.

The predominant systems of land ownership in Babati are governed by customary and collective land tenure systems. Most of the customary laws preclude women from access to or inheriting land despite their key role in enhancing food security. The project has not currently developed gender profiles of each village to highlight and understand issues of access and control of resources at household and community level, or the priorities, problems and needs of men and women. However, during discussions, it was noted that women's influences on their families and wider interests of society were fully taken into account by the project. It was stated that strong consideration is given to gender and equity. Women are encouraged to participate in decision-making, though it is not evident whether women demand for their rights to participate and equitably share in the benefits of CBFM. The team was informed that the project has conducted a study to assess women's participation in the project and the findings depict that the village forest committees tend to be fairly gender balanced, that women's self confidence is growing and more women tend to participate at meetings.²⁰

However, there is little empirical evidence to enable one to conclude that CBFM is a better instrument than governments for addressing gender inequities and gender-based inefficiencies in distribution of resources based on the experience of CBFM in Duru-Haitemba. Increased participation of stakeholders and users in management is one of the cornerstones of most CBFM projects. However, 'participation' is a concept full of ambiguities, and achieving the real and meaningful participation is not a straightforward and simple exercise. Programs need to take into

²⁰ Copies of this study were not available

consideration the opportunity costs of participation. Some women for example, those with small children may find it difficult to participate in collective village decision-making, especially if they are time consuming²¹.

Transfer of forest management responsibilities will only be effective if the users are equipped with the powers and rights to implement them. This requires political will to redefine and redistribute control over resources, not only from state agencies to users but also among users themselves. The gender impacts of a program cannot be gauged simply by the ensuring the numerical representation of women in organizations alone, for interactive participation is more important. Moreover, it should be recognized that social norms and values are not always supportive of women engaging in public roles.

Equity issues are addressed through individual and communal membership in the DH CBFM, first through the roles and responsibilities and second through access to resources. Each household, whether agriculturist or pastoralist or agro-pastoralists have equitable rights and access to the benefits from the DH CBFM, in terms of general household uses of forest products e.g. fuel wood, building materials and other NTFPs for medicinal uses. This is a fundamental principal of the DH CBFM that also bars others from taking a disproportionate share of the resources, e.g. pastoralists through grazing or individuals who access timber and NTFPs for commercial purposes.

²¹Cleaver, F. Community management: A discussion paper, prepared for UNCHS Community management program review meeting. University of Bradford, 1994.

4. Main Constraints And Opportunities

	Constraints	Possible Solutions	Opportunities
4.1 Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Jurisdiction over resource access</u> can be confused & disjointed between the different sectors of statutory governance. Consequently, clear rights and responsibilities at the village, ward, district and national level in regard to forestry management do not exist. Weak inter-sectoral coordination leading to interagency friction. • Poor <u>flow of information</u> among programs, district and villages. • All village <u>by-laws</u> have to be approved by the District Council. At times it has proven a lengthy process to get by-laws approved, and until then the village is unable to operate the fine system they have put in place, upon which their CBFM plan relies. Moreover, the local government laws set limits on how much a village can fine those who break the law. No fine levied under a village by-law may exceed fifty thousand shillings. Also the law does not allow a village to imprison a person. • Currently there is no long-term <u>security of tenure and rights</u>. There are no comprehensive guidelines or a legal basis for the evolution to VFR • Over <u>extended district</u> experts • Weaknesses relating to <u>legislation and sectoral policy</u> e.g. agricultural policy versus forestry policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Successful CBFM programs have developed and tested steps for establishment of VFR. • LAMP has successfully facilitated the preparation and approval of village by-laws governing natural resource use within an acceptable timeframe. The Local Government Act No. 7 of 1982 state that village by laws can order any punishment in addition to fines. • Efforts made to form project implementation committees that are multi-sectoral and inter-disciplinary. • Restriction on fines in village by-laws is currently being amended. • FBD in the process of instituting a legal framework that will enable the evolution of CBFM. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutions at community level have evolved and indicate the capacity of community's, motivated by ownership of valuable resources, to organize themselves effectively. • Many community-based initiatives have been succeeding despite restrictive public policies • Existence of local institutions such as the Village Council a corporate entity ,and the possibility of registering other institutions. • The institutional framework at local level existed and was not newly created. • The village government is a workable size for decision-making. The village represents an active management unit. • The active support of the District council and particularly the DFO • Due to the simplicity of the approach adopted in involving communities in managing DHF it is replicable • The legal construct to enable full legal ownership by the communities is provided for in the Land Act

	Constraints	Possible Solutions	Opportunities
4.2 Human Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequately trained and skilled <u>manpower</u> at district level • Poor <u>district councils</u>: lack transport facilities and demoralized. • In some cases, the resources, skills, and experiences remain chronically under used e.g. on-going projects • VFG tiring of voluntary work, becoming less efficient and even guilty at times of illegal harvesting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure the incentive structure is such that VGS are rewarded when they apprehend offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local foresters have been relieved of their role as policemen allowing them to focus on the provision of technical assistance
4.3 Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear among government officials that <u>shifting control</u> to communities is akin to allowing open access to chaotic free-loaders • Community <u>efforts frequently undermined</u> by attacks upon their capability to manage by doubtful District official , foresters and academics • <u>Domination</u> of VFC by members of the VC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a more effective informing process to both the local communities expected to manage forests, and those who doubt their capacity or intentions for doing so. • Facilitate better democracy at local levels, that can counter the danger of the certain groups within the villages dominating the management of resources • Highlight the role of the District's watchdog or guardian role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A clear example of how once commitment is secured and approval of their role endorsed villagers can immediately implement VBFM. It integrates community rights with active management responsibilities. • Proof that a shift of control to communal closed property management does not connote a shift to open access
4.4 Social and Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditionally women do not own land or cannot claim rights to trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop strategies to address gender issues which take into account the strategic and practical gender needs of women and men. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities are aware of the benefits of involving women • Guidelines to be developed based on existing experience

	Constraints	Possible Solutions	Opportunities
4.5 Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initially, factors and conditions upon which <u>effective management</u> depends were poorly understood. Issues of financial accountability as to the handling of fee and fine monies collected presented a crises Inadequate <u>resources</u> <u>Transparency</u> in money matters <u>Transaction costs</u> can be high as decisions are sought. Efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of management decisions can be sacrificed to prevailing political forces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imposition of new regimes of book-keeping and reporting Shift in composition of the VFC away from leaders to ordinary villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The DH CBFM project has been summarized as an innovative, simple, cheap and effective way forward in CBFM²². There are no expensive inventories
4.6 Environmental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low <u>use-value</u> of the forest Illegal <u>harvesting</u> Considerable <u>land</u> demand/shortage Lacking <u>baseline information</u> on ecological conditions and effectiveness of approach in terms of the ecological input assessed in both local and scientific terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limit new settlement and encourage intensified land use in farms Conduct environmental economic assessments to establish the use and non-use values of the forest Institute systems of M&E impacts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Raised awareness of the values of the forest and use potential provides incentive for improved management CBFM source of employment e.g. VFG

²² Ibid.

5. Practical Lessons Learned

Despite community forest management in Tanzania being a quite a recent phenomenon, it is moving rapidly beyond the piloting stage, to one where valid lessons can be drawn and strategic direction refined. CBFM of DHF is regarded as a genuine breakthrough in strategies of forest management in East Africa. The eight villages have gone from strength to strength gaining not only from experience but also from the rigors of facing problems and having to solve them.²³

Several broad lessons can be learned by CBC initiatives in Tanzania from the assessment of Duru-Haitemba community-based forestry management, these highlights the principles that underscore successful CBC initiatives. The most important overall lesson learned is that the community involvement in natural resource management is one of process not product. A product oriented approach focuses on what is achieved, whereas a process-oriented approach focuses on how something is to be achieved. The process oriented approach is evolutionary in nature and acknowledges the centrality of community participation in design, implementation and monitoring, and casts the outsiders in the role of facilitators who assist the communities to develop their own process of reflection, discussion and decision making based on relevant information. *Community-based conservation therefore, does not spring fully formed into existence, nor does it mature rapidly.*

Resistance and skepticism of community involvement in natural resource management remain among some government authorities such as some District staff. This is to be expected, since CBC involves the transfer of power or authority to what is perceived to be a lower, less able level. However, initiatives such as Duru-Haitemba community-based forestry management (CBFM), provide a concrete foundation and salutary lessons on which to promote community-based management of natural resources. It has raised important issues of representation, decision-making, benefit and cost sharing, democracy and governance which have helped re-emphasize the need to keep the legal framework as flexible as possible.

It is important to assess institutional capacity and responsibilities of partners, and where needed, equip them with the necessary skills required for CBFM. The general rule of using existing community institutions is appropriate, but it is also important to understand the political dynamics within a community and track the extent to which such institutions are really legitimate and represent the general interest of the community. Progress has been achieved through the creation of local institutions and the provision of timely, appropriate, and supportive training and technical information so as to build the skills and confidence of community-based organizations

²³ Wiley, L. 1999

in CBFM. It is also crucial to understand the community processes of decision-making and representation and to build on these.

The initiation of the DH CBFM can be traced to the alarming deterioration of the forest in the early 1980s and the threat of community 'exclusion' through the planned gazettement of the forest. The communities realization that they were about to lose privileged access to the forest resources, initially made them make a last minute rush for the remaining resources, making what was already a bad situation even worse. The expected loss by the local communities and the lack of capacity to take full management of the forest on the side of local authorities and central government, implied that both sides had problems that could realistically be solved through negotiations and transfer of some responsibilities to each other.

What also needs to be borne in mind is that the intervention of certain 'champions' who recognized the potential and role of communities was also critical. These were at the District and project levels, and finally the arrival of a skilled external agent, who was able to assist the processes of dialogue and negotiation cannot be undervalued. The roles of these players was fundamental in facilitating the whole process, in terms of communications, information and resources.

The issue of values should not be underestimated. The real and perceived values given to the whole range of forest products and services provided by the DHF, was instrumental in getting the local communities to decide upon and commence with the new initiative, i.e. CBFM. Their perceptions of values is likely to have started from the point of the consequences of having no resources and asking questions such as, "what if we do not have access to these anymore, and what if 'outsiders' come and wipe out the forest, what are the consequences to us?" There is clearly an attitude of the forest being "ours" and the treat now being "them" (outsiders).

What the study and this report also needs to consider, is the fact that the DH CBMF is adjacent to a gazetted government controlled forest, that is facing the onslaught of poachers, while the forest guards number hardly half a dozen and a disillusioned, ill equipped and underpaid. The fact that such a resource exists within such close proximity and is in relative abundance, it acts as a 'bait' that detracts the interests of poachers away from the DFH, which after all have a number of effective deterrents through the CBFM initiative.

The final lesson is that there was no set time frame. As mentioned earlier, this is an ongoing process, and the process continues through its own pace, frustrating, as it is sometimes to all sides at different times.

Conclusions

The Government of Tanzania has the overall mandate to manage forest resources in Tanzania. However, it does not have the capacity due to shortage of human resources and inadequate funding and equipment. Currently, the government is downsizing through retrenchment and restricting employment of new staff, and the overall impact is the reduction in the number of staff to manage forest resources. Such a process also affects other areas of the natural resources sector.

Most of the Forest Reserves (FRs) in Tanzania were gazetted when the population size and densities were low. Currently, the FRs are under increasing pressure as population densities increase due to land being converted to agriculture and deforestation. In pastoral communities traditional livestock economies are no longer viable in many cases and the pastoralists' purchasing power in the market economy has deteriorated. These pressures are forcing local communities to seek alternatives and in most cases the only locally perceived alternative is agriculture. The protection of Tanzania's FRs and woodlands cannot be effectively achieved without collaborating with local communities living adjacent to these forest resources. Tanzania is poised for progress in CBFM. The Forestry Policy (1998) is in place and the forest legislation is being amended. The policy advocates bringing people into the management equation as a strategy which can best ensure long term and sustainable resource conservation in addition to contributing significantly to local community well being. Many of the early CBFM efforts tended to be uncoordinated and driven by donor projects. However, several caveats and imperatives emerge from 'first generation' CBC strategies in forest management in Tanzania.

Initiatives like the Duru-Haitemba Community-based forest management project suggest that local community participation in forest management is a viable option that can enhance government conservation efforts. The success of CBFM hinges on local community involvement and participation. The local communities are regarded as part and parcel of the forest management teams, and that they have a significant role to play in terms of planning and subsequent management activities. Central to determination of community conservation is the issue of where rights, responsibilities and benefits from natural resource management accrue. While links and benefits to higher levels (District, and Central Government) are necessary, the main participants and beneficiaries in a sustainable program must be the local community.

This report has attempted to highlight the accomplishments in recent years with respect to CBFM using DH CBFM initiative as a case study. In sum, the devolution of natural resource management responsibilities from the state to local communities must focus on assuring that women and men are beneficiaries of CBFM initiatives. It should not ignore the implications of power differences for the effectiveness and equity of management, and should work at ensuring the balance between costs and benefits for communities taking on this responsibility.

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Appendix 1. Number and Area (Ha) of Forest Reserves per Region

Region	Area(ha)	Forest Reserves (ha)		Total FRs area (ha)	Percent Total	No. of FRs
		Productive	Protective			
Arusha	8,456,700	189.2	250,102.6	250,292.6	3.0	26
Coast	3,240,700	3,213.0	43,647.0	307,416.2	9.5	35
Dar Es Salaam	139,300	3,213.0	-	3,213.0	2.3	M ²⁴
Dodoma	4,131,100	27,823.2	142,120.1	169,973.1	4.1	19
Iringa	5,893,600	63,300.5	355,433.4	420,780.1	7.1	55
Kagera	3,962,700	162,678.8	144,613.9	307,291.7	7.8	12
Kigoma	4,506,600	839,558.8	3,626.1	843,164.9	18.7	14
Kilimanjaro	1,330,900	7,214.2	133,279.1	140,558.1	10.6	20
Lindi	6,604,600	516,165.6	65,795.2	581,960.4	8.8	24
Mara	3,015,000	152.2	4,346.0	4,498.2	0.1	6
Mbeya	6,242,000	299,511.1	121,338.4	420,850.7	6.7	37
Morogoro	7,079,900	1,099,315.7	272,173.1	1,371,508.6	19.4	67
Mtwara	1,670,700	56,977.4	6,245.9	63,223.5	3.8	13
Mwanza	3,524,800	132,549.4	4,676.3	137,226.1	3.9	29
Rukwa	7,524,400	2,784,994.1	18,228.9	2,803,227.2	37.3	17
Ruvuma	6,647,700	485,570.6	153,013.5	638,584.1	9.6	13
Shinyanga	5,078,100	782,819.8	5,236.4	788,055.2	15.5	31
Singida	7,615,100	785,261.8	-	785,216.8	15.9	1
Tabora	2,680,800	2,189,517.4	139,600.2	2,329,112.2	30.6	32
Tanga	2,680,800	66,977.8	151,003.5	151,003.5	5.6	91
TOTAL	94,278,400	10,565,699.1	1,947,503.1	12,513,202.2	13.3	535

Source: The Forest and Bee-keeping Division, Forest Surveys, Inventory and Mapping Unit. 1992.

²⁴ Mangroves are mainly found along the coastal belt of about 800km. Mangroves are the main forests within the Dar Es Salaam region.