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Management in Tanzania: Historical and Current
Perspectives**

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and Asubisye Mwamfupe

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Partnerships and Governance in Forest Management in Tanzania: Historical and Current Perspectives

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Abstract

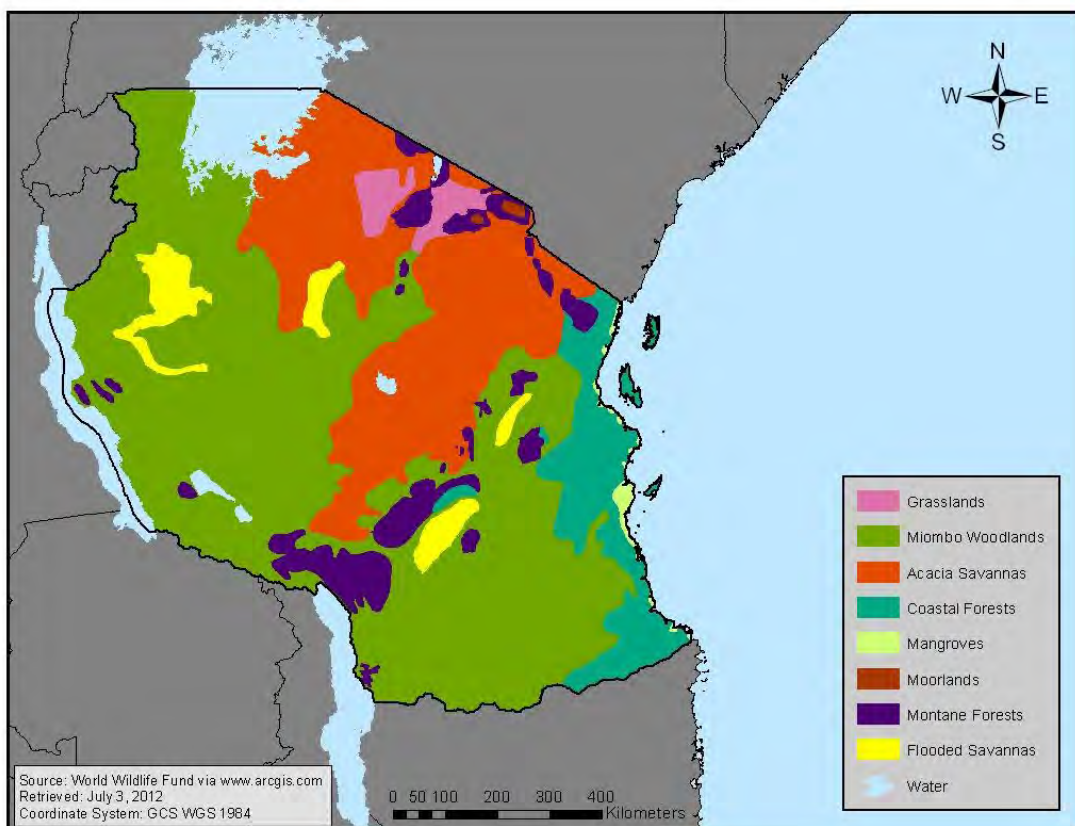
In many tropical developing countries such as Tanzania, modern forest management has been characterized by top-down state-centric governance. But the growth of participatory management forms, with multiple stakeholders is leading to a plethora of changes to laws and organizational structures and more complex interplay between international interests and local decision making. Participatory management is generally thought to be more sustainable in terms of both local livelihoods and environmental outcomes. But research here is limited. This background paper provides the contextual background required for the New Partnerships for Sustainability (NEPSUS) project's work on new partnerships in forestry. The background paper examines the historical trajectory in Tanzania as well as at the international context that has led to the current makeup of forest management systems in Tanzania.

Key words: Sustainability, Partnerships, Forestry, Participatory Forest Management, Kilwa, Tanzania

1. Introduction

According to a recent forest inventory about 55% of the total land area of Tanzania's mainland is forest area, of which ca. 40% is production forest (NAFORMA, 2015). Forest management and access to forest resources is important for Tanzania's revenues, commercial interests, local livelihoods and environmental outcomes (see Figure 1 below for overview of major forest biomes in Tanzania). In many tropical developing countries such as Tanzania, the twentieth century saw the replacement of traditional forest use and management with top-down state-centric governance. Today a new form of management is becoming widespread which is participatory and involves multiple stakeholders. As a result, legal frameworks have changed, organizational structures have become more complicated, and international concerns are becoming part of local decision making. While the interests and ideologies pushing for these new developments vary, there is today a tendency among policy makers and big donor organizations to portray management that is participatory and involves as many stakeholders as possible to be more sustainable in terms of both local livelihoods and environmental outcomes (Ribot, 2004). There is, however, limited research to back this up and there is therefore a need for further investigating and detailing the mechanisms, opportunities and challenges of this new type of management, here referred to as complex sustainability partnerships.

Figure 1: Major Forest Biomes in Tanzania



Source: USAID (2012)

This background paper sets the stage for research currently being undertaken under the research project New Partnerships for Sustainability (NEPSUS). This project, using the case of Kilwa District, Tanzania, specifically explores how complex partnerships in forest governance and management impact the equitability and sustainability of livelihoods and environmental outcomes as compared to simpler and more traditional top-down and centralized management systems. This background paper examines the historical trajectory in Tanzania as well as at the international level that has led to the current makeup of forest management systems in Tanzania.

2. Forest management in Tanzania: From pre-colonialism until today

In the following, we outline how national forest policies and legislation has evolved from pre-colonialism until today as summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: The evolution of policies and legislation mandating forest management in Tanzania

Type/name of law	Regulating body	Control	Forest resource use	Environmental impact/focus
Customary (pre-colonialism)	Traditional authorities and lineage leaders	Common land or open access land	Primarily used for local livelihoods	Management primarily through fire.
German legislation	The German colonial power	Ordinance on conservation including provisions for reserving forest areas for conservation and for timber production. Established forest reserves where local settlement and cultivation were restricted.	Foreign industry through logging. Local communities excluded.	Logging and establishment of forest reserves and areas for conservation.
The Forest Policy of 1953	British Mandate	All forest controlled by central government. Non-state actors such as village-level institutions excluded.	Foreign industry through logging. Local communities excluded.	Logging and establishment of areas for conservation.

The Forest Ordinance of 1957	British Mandate	Forest reserves controlled by central government and local authorities. Non-state actors such as village-level institutions excluded.	Foreign industry through plantations. Local communities excluded.	Establishment of plantations and areas for conservation.
The National Forest Policy of 1963	Government of Tanganyika	All forest resources controlled by central government. Non-state actors excluded.	Ecological and economic needs of the country (focus on commercial interests and state revenue). Some use by local communities allowed.	Large-scale logging, mining, plantations and increased cultivation of export-oriented crops. Areas set aside for conservation.
The National Forest Policy of 1998	Government of Tanzania	Central government and non-state actors such as private actors, NGOs and local communities.	All the people of Tanzania, especially the poor and vulnerable.	Focus on environmental benefits from forests and conservation.
The Forest Act of 2002	Government of Tanzania	Lowest possible level of local management. Encourages multi-stakeholder partnerships.	National, local and village governments, groups and private individuals.	Focus on sustainable planning, management, use and conservation of forest resources.

Source: own compilation

Before colonialism, natural resource use was regulated primarily by customary law and tenure, which was implemented largely by traditional authorities and lineage leaders as well as local norms and taboos (Barrow *et al.*, 2002; Kajembe *et al.*, 2005). Managed forests were considered to be common land and were important for local livelihoods, providing for example food and medicine, and they were also spiritually significant (Zahabu *et al.*, 2009). While little has been written on this period, scholars generally explain that as a result of a small population and little access to technology to exploit natural resources at a large scale or to markets for natural resources, forests were generally managed sustainably in terms of the environment (Malimbwi and Munyanziza, 2004; FAO, 2013). The only major environmental anthropogenic impact was through fire (Zahabu *et al.*, 2009) that was exercised as part of systems of disease management (Kjekshus, 1996; Giblin, 1990).

In 1891 the Tanzania mainland (then called Tanganyika) was colonized by Germany. In 1920, following Germany's defeat in World War One came under British control as part of a League of Nations mandate. The colonial powers introduced new laws and tenure arrangements (Malimbwi and Munyanziza, 2009), and through their access to technology and markets established first a timber industry and later plantations and thus large-scale and potentially destructive exploitation of forestry resources. The colonial powers also brought with them Western notions of the need for new types of forest management, for new forms and scales of production as well as 'conservation' entailing limiting local use of the forests. In 1904, the German colonial power issued an ordinance on conservation which included provisions for reserving forest areas for conservation but also designated areas for timber production, and later it established forest reserves where local settlement and cultivation were restricted (Kostiainen, 2012).

The British mandate further expanded the forest reserves and even relocated local populations (Kajembe *et al.*, 2005). In 1953, the British mandate introduced the first Forest Policy and in 1957 the first Forest Ordinance, which led to more restrictive protected forest areas and further consolidated the government's control of forest resources which were considered government property (URT, 1998). At the same time, as local rights to access forest resources through customary law and tenure ceased to be recognized, the British mandate burned and cleared indigenous forest in order to establish tea, coffee, exotic fruit and timber estates (FAO, 2013). None of these schemes engaged local communities in forest management particularly deeply, whether in relation to forest reserves or unprotected forests. This had detrimental consequences for the local populations' access to important forestry resources and land (Haruyama and Toko, 2005).

In 1961 Tanganyika won its independence, and in 1964 united with Zanzibar, forming the United Republic of Tanzania. The first law implemented in relation to forestry after independence was the National Forest Policy of 1963. As this policy took a point of departure in the National Forest Policy of 1953, many colonial structures remained. The policy thus did not include non-state actors in the management of forests and forest management remained centralized. While the Forest Policy of 1953 and the Forest Ordinance of 1957 had primarily ensured that foreign industry and the British mandate benefitted from forest resources, the National Forest Policy of 1963 focused on how Tanzania as a country could benefit from forest resources (specifically in terms of state revenues), and also allowed some local use, while still considering commercial interests. Furthermore, Native Authority Forests were placed under Native Authority management and Public Lands could be used freely (excluding specific valuable species) (Voss, 2007: 23).

Perhaps as important as the changing legal infrastructure was the rapidly transforming context in which forests were managed. Since independence, institutional structures have changed through the Arusha declaration of 1967 that focused on nationalization, and the 1970s villagization process, which (forcefully) organized the rural population into a clear and manageable village structure. Forest management, however, continued to be controlled by the state (Zahabu *et al.*, 2009; FAO, 2013). In the 1970s, some forests were cleared and burned in order to make room for the production of food and export crops as part of state-lead attempts to increase productivity and revenues and the continued expansion of smallholder agriculture (Zahabu *et al.*, 2009; FAO, 2013). This, combined with mining and

logging had the consequence that Tanzania lost 25% of its forest land between 1980 and 1993 (WRM, 2002).

Since the late 1970s, innovative research and practice has increasingly highlighted the importance of involving local people in forest management. It has emphasized the importance of forest resources for local livelihoods and the need to secure the rights of the local people in relation to the use of forest resources. Furthermore, it has found that forest management would be more sustainable (and more affordable for the state) if the local people's knowledge and institutional capacities are incorporated and that non-state actors must be involved when addressing the causes of deforestation, such as the increased demand for agricultural land, the overgrazing of animals in the forest, wildfires, and the felling of trees for wood as well as charcoal production (Haruyama and Toko, 2005; Babili and Wiersum, 2010; Mongo *et al.*, 2014; Rantala and German, 2013; Lund *et al.*, 2015; Sungusia and Lund, 2016; Blomley and Ramadhani 2006; Lund and Treue, 2008; Ngaga *et al.*, 2013; Persha and Meshack, 2016). As a result, the international community also began acknowledging the importance of local people's needs in relation to forest management. The 1978 Eighth World Forestry Congress in Jakarta had the theme 'Forests for People' and major donors began pushing for decentralization in forest management as part of their aid programs. Since then 'a wealth of programs and approaches have been created - social forestry, agroforestry, joint forest management, community forestry, community-based forest management, to name a few - to acknowledge and build on the links between people and their surrounding or neighboring forests' (Colfer, 2005: 38).

In Tanzania, it took some time before these developments in the international community were reflected in local policies. Forest management remained largely centralized and forest resources were kept under the control of the state. Mpokigwa *et al.* argue that 'the government faced weak financial and human resources capabilities to manage forests resources to meet the increasing demand for forest products and services ... [and thus this] management system did not lead to proper protection of the forests as illegal harvesting continued' (2011: 18). In the early 1990s, the Swedish-funded *Regional Forestry Programme* and *Land Management Programme* was instrumental in pushing the government to move from vague formulations concerning involving communities in natural resource management to enabling eight communities to become the legal owners of the forests of Duru-Haitemba that had been in the process of becoming Forest Reserves (Wily, 1997). According to Liz Wily, who was associated with the programs: 'it is pertinent to note that this change has not come about through the importation of community forestry models ... nor from the formulation and then implementation of new policies by central government; on the contrary, the movement has begun *at the village*, albeit with much facilitatory guidance and carried through with the support of involved local authorities increasingly convinced of the "correctness" of the approach' (Wily, 1997: 13). This approach turned out to be a success in terms of rehabilitating the forest that had been in decline, primarily as a result of excessive exploitation by local communities in the forest (Wily, 1997: 2). The government therefore began involving local communities in a similar manner in other forest areas, notably the Mgori forest (see e.g. Zahabu, 2008; Blomley and Iddi, 2009; Kistler, 2009; Babili and Wiersum, 2010). The case of the Duru-Haitemba forest is now considered to have led to the establishment of Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) in Tanzania (Blomley and Iddi 2009: 5).

Since the 1990s, international donors, including the World Bank and the governments of Finland, Norway and Denmark, have played an active part in funding PFM initiatives. They have done so through funding projects directly in local communities and through funding local or national government institutions (URT, 2006), the latter being more common today. See Table 2 below for a list of current and former initiatives and organizations involved in the facilitation and roll-out of PFM on mainland Tanzania (URT, 2006: n.p.).

Table 2: Examples of PFMs on mainland Tanzania

Name/Type of Institution	Name/Source of funds	Primary Focus with respect to PFM
Forestry and Beekeeping Division, MNRT	Participatory Forest Management (DANIDA)	CBFM and JFM in Iringa, Morogoro, Mbeya and Lindi regions
	National Forest Programme (MFA FINLAND)	CBFM and JFM in Tanga, Mtwara, Morogoro and Ruvuma Regions
	Catchment and Mangrove Programme (NORAD)	JFM in Morogoro, Tanga, Kilimanjaro and Arusha Regions
	Tanzania Forest Conservation and Management Project	CBFM and JFM in 25 districts implemented through the Tanzania Social Action Fund (II)
International NGOs	WWF	JFM and CBFM in coastal forests in Tanga, Lindi and Coast Regions
	CARE International	Coastal forests in Pugu-Kazimzumbwi and Lower Ruvu and Uluguru Mountains (phased out in 2005)
	Africare	CBFM in miombo woodlands of Tabora
	Farm Africa	JFM in Nou Forest in Babati and Mbulu Districts
	Danish Hunters Association	CBFM in Wami Mbiki Wildlife Management Area
National NGOs	Tanzania Forest Conservation Group (TFCG)	JFM and some CBFM in high biodiversity forests of Eastern Arc Mountains and Coastal forests
	Wildlife Conservation Society of Tanzania (WCST)	JFM and some CBFM in high biodiversity forests of Eastern Arc Mountains and Coastal forests
	Mpingo Conservation and Development Initiatives (MCDI)	CBFM in Lindi Region

Area-based projects	Land Management Project (SIDA)	CBFM in miombo woodlands in Babati, Kiteto, Singida Districts
	HADO - Internal Funds	Soil conservation and land rehabilitation in Dodoma Region.
	District Natural Resource Management Project -GTZ	Supporting JFM and CBFM in Lushoto, Mwanga and Handeni Districts (phased out in 2005)
	MEMA (DANIDA)	CBFM and JFM in Iringa District (phased out in 2004)
	HIMA (DANIDA)	CBFM and JFM in Iringa Region (phased out in 2001)
	UTUMI (DANIDA)	CBFM and JFM in Lindi Region (phased out in 2004)
	HASHI (NORAD)	Establishing traditional forest management in Acacia woodlands of Shinyanga and Mwanza Regions
	Forest Resources Management Project (World Bank)	JFM and some CBFM in miombo woodlands of Tabora Region (phased out in 1998)
	REMP (IUCN)	CBFM in coastal woodlands and forest of Rufiji District (phased out in 2004)
	EUCAMP (FINNIDA)	JFM and CBFM in high biodiversity forests in Tanga Region (phased out in 2002/03)
	GEF Cross Borders Project (UNDP-GEF)	JFM in high biodiversity forests in Monduli, Bukoba and Same Districts (phased out in 2002/03)

Source: URT (2006)

In the late 1990s, the Tanzanian forestry policies were eventually replaced by The National Forest Policy of 1998 and The Forest Act of 2002, which acknowledge the key role of private actors and local communities in addition to the government in forest management (URT, 1998; URT, 2002). According to Blomley and Iddi, The National Forest Policy of 1998: 'aims to promote participation in forest management through the establishment of VLFRs [Village Land Forest Reserves], where communities are both managers and owners of forests, as well as through JFM [Joint Forest Management], where local communities co-manage NFRs [National Forest Reserves, see Box 1] or LAFRs [Local Authority Forest Reserves] with central and local government authorities' (2009: 6). Village councils were furthermore legally mandated the tenure for forest areas outside forest reserves (Blomley and Iddi, 2009: 7).

Box 1: Definition of a National Forest Reserve

A national forest reserve, as defined in the Forest Act, 2002-Section 22(2-3) may be:

(a) an area of land covered by forest, reserved or used principally for purposes of sustainable production of timber and other forest produce known as production forest reserve;

(b) an area of land covered by forest, reserved or used principally for the purposes of protection of water sheds, soil conservation and the protection of wild plants, known as protection forest reserve; or

(c) an area of land covered by forest reserved used principally to protect nature and scenic areas of national or international significance and to maintain and enhance bio-diversity and genetic resources in an undisturbed, dynamic and evolutionary state known as a nature forest reserve.

A national forest reserve may consist of a production forest reserve, a protection forest reserve, and a nature forest reserve for the purposes of production, and protection of biodiversity

Following the Forest Act 2002, all forest in Tanzania was divided into four major categories, as explained in the Act (URT, 2002):

- a) National Forest Reserves which consist of: i) forest reserves; ii) nature forest reserves, and iii) forests on general lands (see Table 1).
- b) Local Authority Forest Reserves which consist of: i) local authority forest reserves; and ii) forests on general lands under the management of District Authorities and provisions of the Local Government Act.
- c) Village Forests which consists of: i) village land forest reserves; ii) community forest reserves created out of village forests; iii) forests which are not reserved which are on village land and of which the management is vested in the village council.
- d) Private forests which are: i) forests on village land held by one or more individuals under a customary rights of occupancy; ii) forests on general or village land of which the rights of occupancy or a lease has been granted to a person or a partnership or a corporate body or a Non-Governmental Organization or any other body or organisation for the purpose of managing the forest which is required to be carried out in accordance with the Forest Act.

As explained by Blomley and Iddi, National Forest Reserves and Local Authority Forest Reserves can be managed for both protection (e.g. catchment forests) and production (e.g. plantations and natural forests, including mangroves and some *miombo* woodland reserves) (2009: 7). The Forest Act of 2002 further emphasized the decentralization of forest management and delegated 'responsibility for the management of forest resources to the lowest possible level of local management consistent with the furtherance of national policies' (URT, 2002, Blomley and Iddi, 2009: 7). According to Blomley and Iddi, this has led to the models illustrated in Table 3 below for participatory forest management (PFM).

The two overall forms of PFM are: Joint Forest Management (JFM) and Community Based Forest Management (CBFM). Today, more than 60 districts are involved in JFM in Tanzania, there are about 50 Village Land Forest Reserves and more than 50 districts have CBFM (see Appendices 1, 2 and 3). Particularly important for this document is not just the existence of these categories, but how they interact with the interests of the main stakeholders involved and affect land use practices and natural resource governance on the ground. Tom Blomley (personal communication, 24/1/2017) suggested an interesting mix of factors at work. He observed that the government had encouraged JFM to protect catchment forests with high biodiversity but the uses and benefits allowed from these forests meant that there was, in practice, very little of material importance that could be shared with the communities who were 'jointly' managing these forests with the central government. Moreover, even when there were things to share there was no agreed means of sharing them. So, few agreements were actually signed. Meanwhile, in production forests which are also covered by the laws of JFM there is little incentive for the government to engage in JFM as it does not want to share the revenues it enjoys from them.

Table 3: Different PFM models and role of communities in management

Legal Description	Role of Community / Individual in Management	Common Name
Village Land Forest Reserves (VLFR) managed by the entire community	Owner and manager	Community Based Forest Management
Community Forest Reserves (CFR) managed by a particular designated group in the community, authorized by the village council	Owner and manager	Community Based Forest Management
Private Forests (PF) managed by individual designated households.	Owner and manager	Private Forest Management
Joint Management Agreement (JMA) where management responsibility is shared between either central / local government and forest adjacent communities or transferred completely.	Co-manager	Joint Forest Management
	Designated Manager	Joint Forest Management (although this form is rarely practiced)

Source: Blomley and Iddi (2009: 8)

Village Forest Reserves on the other hand have been more successful because the central government has no say in them, villages declare them. However, they require the endorsement of the District Council to approve by-laws. The Councils then have an incentive to capture and over-exploit forests before they are protected. The MCDI has taken the lead in establishing these forests in Tanzania. Progress towards Village Land Forest Reserves as of 2008 is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Progress in establishing village forest reserves.

Region	Districts Counted	No. of villages	VNRC Est	No of VLFRs	Approved Bylaws	Decl'd VLFRs	Gaz'd VLFR	Total Area of VLFRs in column E (ha)	Notes
Tanga	6	152	164	133	111	80	1	39,468	EUCAMP, TFCG, WWF, PFM Finland
Morogoro	5	65	56	60	18	2	0	223,773	TFCG, PFM, Wami Mbiki
Iringa	6	157	149	134	89	74	50	199,078	MEMA, HIMA, WWF, TFCG, PFM
Mbeya	4	51	33	47	33	5	0	61,593	PFM Danida
Lindi	6	76	37	54	19	19	1	322,475	UTUMI, PFM, WWF Coastal Forests
Tabora	3	40	37	36	38	0	0	119,910	Africare
Kigoma	4	34	33	9	33	9	0	61,780	CARE, FZS
Kilimanjaro	1	58	11	8	11	4	0	1,656	(includes clan forests of Mwanga)
Mwanza	4	150	61	64	24	0	0	24,147	Includes HASHI/Ngitiri
Shinyanga	4	384	211	64	22	38	0	401,222	Est of Shinyanga Ngitiri from HASHI 2001
Mara	2	48	44	38	4	4	0	42,432	VI Project (No detailed data) + LVEMP

Manyara	2	55	55	28	48	48	9	209,494	LAMP
Arusha	1	9	9	3	3	3	0	3,084	LAMP
Pwani	4	26	25	23	20	8	3	61,225	REMP, WWF, TFCG
Kagera	1	15	14	8	0	0	0	15,450	Data from 2002 census
Ruvuma	3	7	7	7	0	0	0	4,773	PFM Finland
Mtwara	1	25	24	24	0	4	0	73,121	Data from 2002
Dodoma	2	15	6	15	14	12	0	24,421	Estimates from HADO
Singida	2	65	65	34	52	5	0	383,663	LAMP
Rukwa	2	25	14	25	18	16	0	72,771	Africare
Total	63	1,457	1,055	814	557	331	64	2,345,535	
Area of Unres. Forest Land (ha)								20,271,000	
Percentage of Public Land Forests now under village management								11.6	
Percentage of Villages particip. in CBFM								13.9	

Source: compiled from data kindly provided by Tom Blomley

As explained by Agrawal et al., and as illustrated by Table 5 below, when considering forest governance it is not just formal ownership, but also which actors manage the forest that will determine whether or not governance is effective (2008: 1460). In a discussion of the way forward for REDD+ (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation), Agrawal et al. (2011) have analyzed earlier forestry policies and projects. On this basis, they have produced the table shown below in which they make a preliminary assessment of the different actors' performance.

Table 5: Performance of government, market, and community actors and their efficacy in forestry initiatives

Actors	Implementation efficiency	Livelihood improvements	Carbon sequestration	Biodiversity conservation
Government actors	Low	Medium	High	Medium/high
Market/private actors	High	Low	High	Low/medium
Community/civil society actors	Medium	High	Medium	Medium/high

Source: Agrawal(et al. 2011: 388)

Agrawal et al. add that 'in practice, most forestry projects and policies involve multiple actors and different actors are often responsible for specific forest governance tasks ... [yet none] of the major actors relevant to forest governance is likely to perform uniformly well along all the dimensions' (Agrawal et al., 2011: 388). As a result, they recommend 'efforts to promote complementarity of interests and capacities among government, private and community actors' (Agrawal et al., 2011: 388). This emphasis on multiple actors reflects the increasing focus on partnerships. In terms of partnerships, at first the only non-state actor involved in PFM were the communities, but now it is possible for communities in CBFM to include other stakeholders and initiatives in the management of their forest, which would lead to 'more complex' partnerships in the NEPSUS terminology (see Ponte et al., 2017). In JFM, however, the communities and the state institutions are the only actors involved, thus generating 'simpler' partnerships in the NEPSUS terminology. Some of the challenges of both CBFM and JFM in Tanzania include elite capture and multi-level corruption (Brockington, 2008) as well as the difficulties of holding the government accountable for improving forest-dependent livelihoods and forest conditions when forest management has been decentralized (Fordia, 2011).

The latest externally-driven developments in relation to forest management and PFM in Tanzania are largely driven by a global concern in relation to climate change. Of particular importance are the new international focus on the UN framework initiative for REDD+ and forest certification schemes. These schemes involve a host of new stakeholders and thus lead to even more complex partnerships. The government of Norway has been a key actor in supporting REDD+ in Tanzania. The Norwegian government thus signed in April 2008 a Letter of Intent with the government of Tanzania that set a framework for a Climate Change Partnership focusing on REDD+ (NORAD, 2014). The REDD+ projects are funded as part of Norway's International Climate and Forest Initiative (NICFI), which has the objective to: 'i) work towards the inclusion of emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in a new

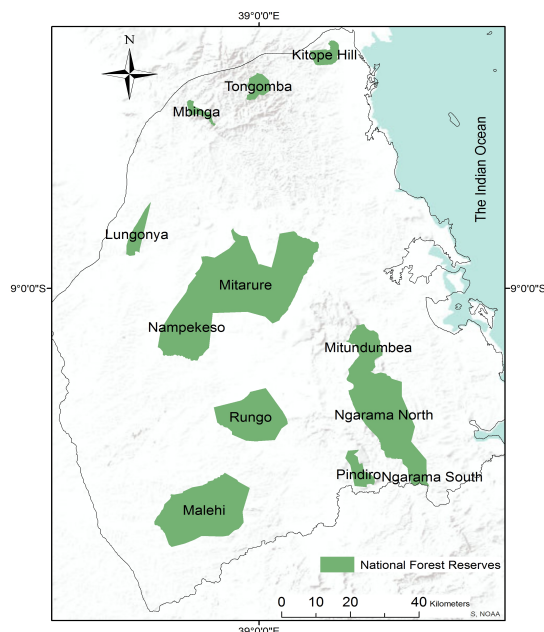
international climate regime; ii) take early action to achieve cost-effective and verifiable reductions in greenhouse gas emissions; iii) promote the conservation of natural forests to maintain their carbon storage capacity' (NORAD, 2014: xviii). REDD+ has led to new challenges such as a need for new technical skills, the problem of vague local rights in relation to carbon and insufficient rules with regard to benefit-sharing.

Forest certification is largely driven by non-state actors (Cashore et al., 2006) as a way to enable consumers to push for sustainable forest products by actively choosing products that are certified and labeled (Auld et al., 2008; EFRN, 2010; Kostianen, 2012; Teketay et al., 2016). In general all certification schemes include standard setting, a certification process and an accreditation mechanism (Nussbaum and Simula, 2005). The NGO Mpingo Conservation and Development Initiative (MCDI) played an important role in introducing forest certification to Tanzania by supporting communities to live up to the FSC requirements (Masao, 2015). Challenges related to forest certification include the high costs that certification incurs, weak governance and uncertain economic benefits (Cashore et al., 2006; Kalonga et al., 2014).

3. Forest management and governance in Kilwa District

In this section we focus specifically on forest management and governance in Kilwa District, our case study area. The establishment under colonialism of National Forest Reserves (NFRs) was the first form of official forest management in Kilwa District. These reserves are only managed by the state with no involvement of non-state actors, and forest products, including non-wood forest products, can only be accessed through concession (URT, 2002). However, these prohibitions are not thoroughly policed and there is a high incidence of encroachment and illegal activities in the NFR.

Figure 2: National Forest Reserves in Kilwa District



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 2 shows all the present NFRs in Kilwa. They are generally covered by miombo woodlands and coastal forests and mangroves (not visible on the map). Miombo woodlands are one of the most widespread woodland ecosystems in Africa, present from south of the Congo Basin to the East African savannahs (Munishi et al., 2010). The coastal forest patches are part of the Coastal Forests of Eastern Africa Biodiversity Hotspot, which is considered among the most threatened forest hotspots in the world (<https://www.cepf.net/our-work/biodiversity-hotspots>). Finally, mangrove forests can be found all along the Indian Ocean. The UTUMI project was innovative because, for the first time in Kilwa District, it introduced the concept of community engagement in forest management. Before the UTUMI, neither villages surrounding the NFRs (e.g. Somanga Simu and Marandego villages) nor villagers with forests in their village lands (e.g. Kikole and Ruhatwe villages) were formally engaged in forest management. Forest management was perceived to be a state affair. Villagers and other non-state actors were mere observers. The UTUMI project phased out in June 2014 but laid a foundation for PFM in some parts of the Kilwa District, particularly CBFM. Initially, implementation of the UTUMI project was expected to last between 15 to 20 years (Kibuga, 2004). Danida interest, however, moved away from funding area-based projects and it decided to instead support the implementation of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) component under the National Forest Programme in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), Forest and Beekeeping Division.

Table 6 describes the 12 NFRs (excluding the mangrove reserves) that have been established in Kilwa District to date. After the National Forest Policy of 1998, which encouraged PFMs, Danida funded in 2001 a project, the Utunzaji wa Mimitu Project (UTUMI) (in English Woodland and Forest Management Project), to pilot PFMs. Kilwa District was part of the project and the PFM activities were piloted in four villages, Somanga Simu (JFM), Marandego (JFM), Kikole (CBFM) and Ruhatwe (CBFM). The envisaged UTUMI project outcome was 'improved management and biodiversity conservation of the forests and woodlands of Lindi Region through sustainable village-based land use practices contributing to improving the livelihood of rural communities' (Kibuga, 2004: 4).

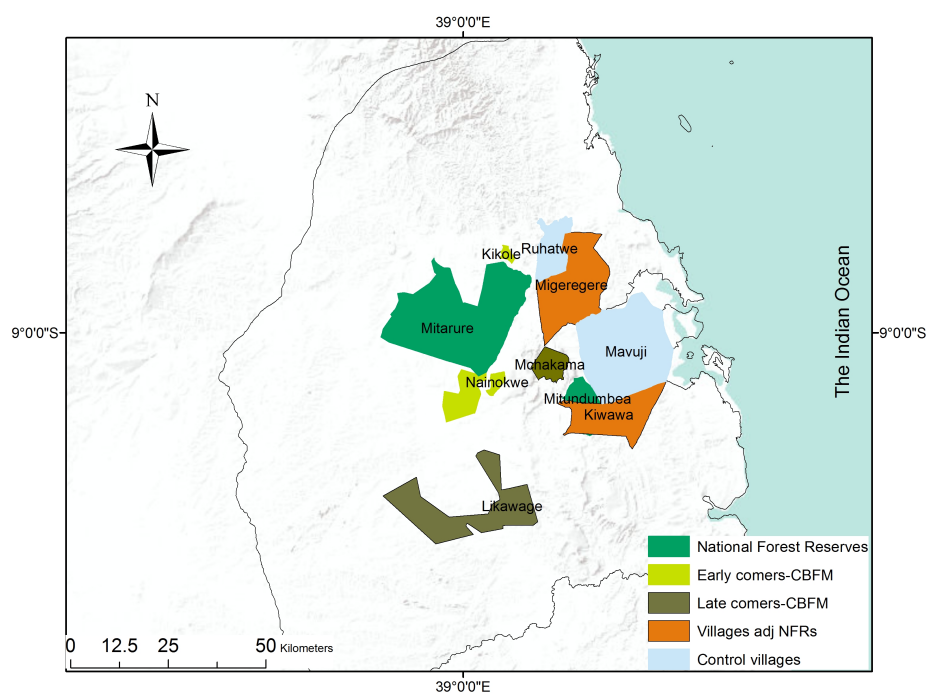
The UTUMI project was innovative because, for the first time in Kilwa District, it introduced the concept of community engagement in forest management. Before the UTUMI, neither villages surrounding the NFRs (e.g. Somanga Simu and Marandego villages) nor villagers with forests in their village lands (e.g. Kikole and Ruhatwe villages) were formally engaged in forest management. Forest management was perceived to be a state affair. Villagers and other non-state actors were mere observers. The UTUMI project phased out in June 2014 but laid a foundation for PFM in some parts of the Kilwa District, particularly CBFM. Initially, implementation of the UTUMI project was expected to last between 15 to 20 years (Kibuga, 2004). Danida interest, however, moved away from funding area-based projects and it decided to instead support the implementation of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) component under the National Forest Programme in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), Forest and Beekeeping Division.

Table 6: Selected National Forest Reserves in Kilwa District, Tanzania

S/N	Name of the forest	Areas in hectares		Declaration G.N. number
		Productive	Protective	
1	Kitope Hill	3387		312/12/9/1957
2	Tongomba	307.6	1987	250/14/7/1961 & 251/14/7/1961
3	Mbinga kimaji		1874	175/25/4/1957
4	Lungonya	4439		
5	Mitarure	60484		313/13/9/1957
6	Nampekeso-naminange	599.8		
7	Mitundumbea		8547	376/15/11/1957
8	Rungo	22586		319/2/11/1956
9	Ngarama North	3110	1528	400/11/11/1955
10	Ngarama North	1848	170	300/12/9/1957
11	Pindiro	9295	2500	
12	Malehi	38850		175/25/4/1957

Source: Compiled from District Government Records

Figure 3: NEPSUS project sites in Kilwa District, Tanzania (NEPSUS 2018)



Source: Own elaboration

After the UTUMI project, the Kilwa District Council continued to receive financial support to implement PFM activities from the National Forest Programme (PFM component) under the MNRT and indirectly through Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) such as the Mpingo Conservation and Development Initiative (MCDI), WWF and other non-state actors. Comparatively, MCDI has been playing a key role in facilitating CBFM activities in Kilwa District in collaboration with the Kilwa District Council and other actors. The MCDI has managed to sustain one of the UTUMI villages in its CBFM programme (i.e. the Kikole village- Figure 3) and it has continued to enroll many more villages. The other UTUMI CBFM village (Ruhatwe village) failed to continue the CBFM activities due to a border dispute with its neighbouring village (Migeregere village; Figure 3).

Table 7: Kilwa Community Forests certified under FSC Scheme through the MCDI

Village	Date VLFR established	Area (Ha)	Date FSC certified
Kikole	2004	454	FSC Sept 2009
Kisangi	2005	1966	FSC Oct 2009
Nainokwe	2009	8047	FSC Nov 2010
Liwiti	2009	6229	FSC Nov 2010
Likawage	2013	19,624	FSC Nov 2013
Ngea	2013	1893	FSC Dec 2014
Nanjirinji A	2013	61,505	FSC Sept 2012
Nanjirinji B	2013	18,963	FSC Dec 2016
Mandawa	2013	1,994	FSC Dec 2014
Mchakama	2013	1,525	FSC Dec 2014
Namatewa	2016	6,748	FSC Jul 2017

Source: <http://www.mpingoconservation.org/forest-certification/certificate-members/>

Between 2010 and 2014, the MCDI in collaboration with the Kilwa District Council and other actors piloted the UN framework initiative for *Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+)* in the villages implementing CBFM in their VLFRs. The REDD+ projects in Kilwa attracted another layer of state and non-state actors in forest management in Kilwa District by providing different types of support (e.g. financial, technical, etc.). In general, management of the VLFRs has stimulated multi-stakeholder engagement and collaborative processes in forest management in Kilwa. Additionally, the MCDI has gone some extra miles and secured a Group Certification Scheme from the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) for the villages that manage VLFRs and have implemented REDD+ initiatives in Kilwa and some other villages in the Lindi Region. Eleven villages in Kilwa District are

currently members of the MCDI FSC group scheme (see Table 7). Certification of community-managed forests (VLFRs) is a complex process on its own. All initiatives combined (i.e. establishment and management of VLFRs, REDD+ and forest certification initiatives) have increasingly led to complex partnerships between various state and non-state actors and processes in the management of the VLFRs.

5. Conclusion

Forest management and governance in Tanzania has been undergoing a reform from traditionally managed natural forests by the local chiefs (before 1890s) to establishment of NFRs managed by the state institutions during colonialism (late 1890s to 1960) and even after colonialism (from 1961 to date). From the 1896 to the early 1990s, communities were essentially not engaged in forest management because it was entirely an affair of the state. Significant changes in the forest sector in Tanzania took place in the late 1990s when the PFM was introduced. Through the PFM, communities were encouraged to establish the VLFRs in their village lands and to manage forests using the CBFM approach. Adjacent to the NFRs, communities were encouraged to work together with state institutions (by signing agreements) and to share both cost and benefits associated with forest management.

Initially and ideally, the PFM aimed at a simple partnership between state institutions and local communities in forest management. Engagement of NGOs, CBOs, and other non-state actors was not part of the PFM equation. Similarly, emerging issues in forestry such as the UN-initiative on Reduced Emission from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD+), carbon credits, payments for ecosystem services and forest certification were not part and parcel of the initial ideas of the PFM. Today, all these initiatives are stimulating multi-stakeholder engagement and more collaborative processes in the forest sector resulting into a more complex partnership of state and non-state actors. Cross-scale institutional linkages (at different levels) for technical, institutional as well as financial support have become common among the actors in the forest sector. The extent to which multi-stakeholder engagement and participatory processes in forest governance and management result in more equitable and sustainable livelihoods and environmental outcomes is still not known in Tanzania, among many other tropical developing countries.

Under the NEPSUS project, we explore whether more complex partnerships in forest governance and management in Kilwa District, Tanzania (in the NEPSUS context, villages managing forests in their village lands under Community-Based Forest Management-CBFM, forest certification and REDD+) result in more equitable and sustainable livelihoods and environmental outcomes as compared to relatively 'simpler', more traditional top-down and centralized management systems (i.e. villages surrounding two National Forest Reserves namely Mitarure and Mitundumbea Forest Reserves) and to instances where sustainability partnerships are not in place (i.e. villages not engaged in CBFM, forest certification or REDD+ such as Mavuji and Ruhatwe villages, see Figure 3). The findings will contribute to the on-going local and international discourse on sustainability partnerships in forestry and give inputs to local efforts aiming at achieving the PFM envisaged sustainability outcomes and improvement in forest governance, livelihoods, and ecological conditions of the forest.

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Appendix 1: Status of JFM (as of 2012)

Zone	Region	Districts involved in JFM	Number of villages involved	JMAs signed	Total area (ha)
Southern highlands	Mbeya	4	71	0	910,564.00
	Iringa (including Njombe)	6	108	65	262,184.47
	Rukwa and Katavi	0	0	0	0.00
Central	Dodoma	2	23	2	76,770.60
	Singida	1	18	0	30,369.00
	Manyara	2	34	26	40,549.00
Western	Tabora	3	82	0	2,883,840.00
	Shinyanga/Simiyu	3	22	1	126,827.30
	Kigoma	2	23	0	301,413.50
Eastern	Morogoro	5	119	44	249,831.60
	Pwani	6	63	11	83,180.70
	Dar-es-Salaam	2	15	0	4,219.00
Northern	Arusha	1	18	0	17,207.00
	Kilimanjaro	3	76	34	58,255.15
	Tanga	8	201	47	114,572.44
Lake	Mwanza/ Geita	5	60	2	77,008.00
	Kagera	1	15	4	56,135.00
	Mara	2	17	6	4,492.00
Southern	Mtwara	3	40	6	17,650.31
	Lindi	4	35	0	314,417.37
	Ruvuma	2	12	0	11,175.88
Total		65	1052	248	5,557,481

Source: Field data and MNRT – PFM unit 2012

Appendix 2: Partial list of existing Village Land Forest Reserves in Tanzania (2018)

District	Village	VLFR Name	Area
Kilwa	Kikole A	Namajongoo	916
Kilwa	Kisangi	Mwembendawile	1,966
Kilwa	Liwiti	Namatuli	9,306
Kilwa	Nainokwe	Kijawa A	8502
Kilwa		Kijawa B	1,629
Kilwa	Nanjirinji A	Mbumbila A	61,274
Kilwa		Mbumbila 2	18,963
Kilwa	Nanjirinji B		6,839
Kilwa	Likawage	Lung'ou	31,005
Kilwa	Ngea	Likonde	3, 312
Kilwa	Mchakama	Uchungwa	5,639
Kilwa	Mandawa	Nakirindima	1,994
Kilwa	Namatewa	Magongo	6,748
Kilwa		Mbarale	3,359
Rufiji	Nyamwage	Nyamkongo	1,294
Rufiji	Tawi	Tawi	2,787
Liwale	Kiangara	Malowalowa	641
Liwale	Kibutuka	Kinyololo	5,654
Liwale	Kibutuka	Kiomanyilo	266
Liwale	Kitogoro	Nakipome	8,275
Liwale	Legezamwendo	Nangula	483
Liwale	Legezamwendo	Kindumbachajike	829
Liwale	Litou	Mtamba	1,808
Liwale	Mtawatawa	Mbila	12,391
Liwale	Mtungunyu	Nabete	18,992
Liwale	Nahoro	Kokoliko	20,905
Liwale	Nahoro	Namai	1,028
Liwale	Nangano	Unguungu	8,823
Liwale	Ngunja	Nakawale	6,555
Liwale	Ngongowe	Kiwiga	6,488
Liwale	Ngongowe	Ndungutu	5,471
Liwale	Mikuyu	Mkung'unda	11,644
Liwale	Mikuyu	Miwagilo	1,387
Liwale	Mikunya	Njanje	1,369
Liwale	Turuki	Nambikwi	9,086
Liwale	Mihumo	Machimakele	8,691
Tunduru	Sautimoja	Chihuruka	21,966
Tunduru	Machemba	Chiumbe	4,612
Tunduru	Namakambale		4,991
Tunduru	Mindu		3,713
Tunduru	Songambe		10,217

Ruangwa	Nga'u	Nga'u	4,050
Ruangwa	Nandenje	Matete	5,025
Handeni	Gole	Gole A	6,703
Handeni	Gole	Gole B	66
Nachingwea	Namatunu		8,567
Nkasi	China	Katulyange	515
Nkasi	Myombo	Tuna	146
Nkasi		Kaende	95
Muleba	Nyamilanda	Nyambugu	70
Muleba	Ngenge	Rwamahungu	68
Muleba	Kyaibumba	Kashegwe	27
Muleba	Kisana	Nyamishemelo	886
Total			350,820

Source: MCDI (2018). Group Certificate Members. <http://www.mpingoconservation.org/what-we-do/forest-certification/certificate-members/>

Region	Number of Districts with CBFM	Number of villages with CBFM	Number of declared VLFRs	Number of gazetted VLFRs	Total Area under CBFM
Tanga	4	94	22	1	12,391
Morogoro	3	38	2	0	173,431
Iringa	7	122	82	50	166,057
Mbeya	3	37	0	0	44,700
Lindi	4	31	0	0	284,826
Tabora	3	22	22	0	111,925
Kigoma	3	32	9	0	22,530
Kilimanjaro	1	58	8	0	1,656
Mwanza	1	101	14	0	17,730
Shinyanga	4	348	45	0	401,222
Mara	2	45	37	0	4,887
Manyara	2	55	28	0	209,494
Arusha	1	10	3	0	3,084
Pwani	6	20	19	2	57,401
Kagera	1	15	8	0	15,450
Mtwara	1	25	0	0	73,121
Dodoma	2	0	12	0	24,421
Singida	1	35	4	0	376,400
Rukwa	1	14	14	0	59,882
Totals	50	1,102	329	53	2,060,608

Notes: VLFR: Village Land Forest Reserve

Data missing from Kilimanjaro, Ruvuma and Mara Regions