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**ASSESSMENT OF STAKEHOLDER KNOWLEDGE,
AWARENESS, AND PERCEPTIONS ON
PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT**

FINAL REPORT

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**ASSESSMENT OF STAKEHOLDER KNOWLEDGE, AWARENESS, AND PERCEPTIONS ON
PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT**

A report prepared for the Tanzania Forest Conservation and Management Project
entitled “Development and Implementation of an Awareness Campaign in
Participatory Forest Management”

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Report prepared by:

Elizabeth Robinson
Research Associate
Centre for the Study of African Economies
University of Oxford
For: PEM Consult, East Africa

This report could not have been written without the generous time and cooperation from all those we interviewed, from national level stakeholders through different levels of government to rural forest-dependent villagers. Enumeration was undertaken by Simphorosa Francis, Rose Komba, Rose Mangilima, John Mero, Christina Missana, Subira Mosha, Fredrick Mwakitwange, and Mohamed Swai. Thanks are also due to PEMConsult East Africa and TFCG, and the individuals who provided feedback on interim drafts.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Following the 1998 National Forest Policy and the Forest Act of 2002, participatory forest management (PFM) is being introduced as an approach to managing Tanzania's forests. Two broad approaches to PFM are being introduced. Under community-based forest management (CBFM), villagers can declare and gazette forest areas on village land as "Village Land Forest Reserves." The villagers take full management responsibility, setting and enforcing rules and regulations over the forest management and use, including the collection of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). The second approach, joint forest management (JFM), applies to the management of national or local authority forest reserves, in which villagers enter into management agreements with the district council or forest division. Under JFM, villagers may be given rights to collect forest resources such as timber and firewood within forests designated for production, but not those designated as protection reserves.

This assessment is a sub-activity of the overall "Communications" project to produce extension materials and develop and implement a national awareness campaign for PFM. Previous research and observations have revealed knowledge of the actual content of the new forest laws to be very low, both among rural communities and organisations responsible for supporting the forestry sector such as NGOs and local and national government institutions. Improved communications were therefore identified as a critical element of the national PFM process so as to create demand at the local level and improve the efficiency of the supporting organisations and institutions.

The specific objectives of this assessment were to determine the extent to which different stakeholders understand the key elements of the new forest policy and act; to determine the extent to which stakeholders understand the rights of other stakeholders, villagers in particular, with respect to the new forest policy and forest act; and to determine the extent of villagers' "legal literacy" with respect to the new forest policy and forest act. Structured and semi-structured interviews were undertaken with stakeholders at the national, regional, district, ward, and village level, including a survey of over 500 villagers in six regions (Iringa, Arusha, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Lindi, and Mbeya).

Key challenges for communications

The assessment highlights a number of key challenges with respect to communicating the new forest laws and policies. First, villagers as a group are much less well informed than other stakeholders concerning the changes in forest policy and law. For example, over a quarter of villagers have not heard of the changes in forest laws, compared with only 7% of village leaders. Similarly, village leaders are much more likely to have heard of JFM and CBFM than individuals in their villages,

suggesting that they may not have shared information sufficiently with villagers. Villagers living near to private concessions are particularly poorly informed. Villagers' specific knowledge concerning PFM is limited and often inaccurate. The large proportion of "don't know" answers to particular questions suggests that even when villagers are aware in general of the changes they are not sufficiently knowledgeable and hence empowered to ensure that their rights are protected. For example, even amongst villagers involved in PFM initiatives, a large proportion did not know or did not have an opinion as to who makes the rules for JFM or CBFM; and over a third did not know what happens to the proceeds of illegally-confiscated products and resources.

These findings suggest that efforts must be made to ensure that information flows to villagers are not restricted and that there are avenues of information that reach villagers directly. This far, for both male and female villagers, the most important source of information has been the radio, particularly so for men, and particularly in villages where there are no PFM initiatives, followed by village meetings and general village discussions. Overall, there was considerable agreement from villagers and village leaders in terms of the preferred sources of additional information: village meetings; radio; training sessions; visitors to the village; promotion groups; and printed materials. To date, villagers have received very little information through printed matter such as leaflets, brochures, and posters. However, they expressed a relatively strong preference for printed materials as a source of additional information. Although many villagers are illiterate, those who can read typically have confidence in such printed materials. Another advantage of this medium is that villagers can refer back to leaflets and posters to refresh their knowledge. Radio also has a number of advantages: many villagers can be reached at relatively low cost; and villagers are reached directly so other stakeholders cannot – deliberately or not – withhold information. However, this medium has thus far been more successful at reaching men than women.

Second, women are less likely than men to have heard of the changes, and these differentials are greater in villages where PFM initiatives are in place, suggesting that in villages where JFM and CBFM have been introduced communications initiatives to date have been much more successful at reaching men than women. Hence particular effort has to be made to reach women villagers. Separate workshops for men and women could help to redress the balance. So too could more involvement of women in designing and disseminating information.

Third, stakeholders at the ward level are particularly dissatisfied with communication on the changes in forest law, and this is reflected in their confidence and knowledge levels that are lower than for district and regional level stakeholders. Indeed, there is a general consensus among all stakeholder groups that those at the district level are particularly well informed and those at the ward level poorly informed. For example, ward-level officials are much less likely to have detailed knowledge of even the basic differences between JFM and CBFM. Particular effort should therefore be made to provide training and information to ward-level officials. Clear messages and easily accessible summaries of the key aspects of and differences between JFM and CBFM are needed, emphasising, for example, the implications and

roles for villagers. Such summaries will also benefit stakeholders at all levels who lack confidence in their knowledge and understanding of the changes and new laws.

Fourth, there are a number of mismatches in perceptions. For example, compared with those at the ward level, regional and district level stakeholders appear to significantly overestimate the extent to which village leaders are informed about changes in forest laws. Village leaders are considerably more likely to believe that villagers will have better rights after the changes. Where there is a mismatch between perceptions, there could be problems in the implementation of PFM. This is an area that could be addressed in future communications activities by ensuring that there is sufficient communication between stakeholder groups (both “upwards” and “downwards”) so that each understands the perceptions, knowledge, and concerns of the other groups.

Fifth, how PFM will contribute to poverty reduction is not clear to many stakeholders. Poverty reduction is stated as one of the key objectives of PFM, though few stakeholders identified it unprompted (villagers in particular overwhelming identified the goals, objectives, and changes resulting from PFM to be environmental rather than socio-economic), and where a PFM initiative has been introduced, villagers are actually less likely to consider poverty reduction as a key goal or objective than where there is no initiative. Villagers often gave poorly informed reasons as to why PFM might reduce poverty, which suggests that they need clear and realistic messages over the actual links between PFM and poverty reduction at the village and wider levels. Villagers who see poverty as increasing with the introduction of PFM typically attribute the increase to actual or anticipated reduced access to forest products. Communication initiatives need to manage villagers’ expectations carefully so that they are not at odds with reality. At the national level, the stakeholders that we interviewed all felt that the changes in forest laws would reduce poverty. However, they voiced a number of concerns: that although one of the objectives of PFM is poverty alleviation, the benefits to villagers of JFM appear to be limited; that the changes will have an impact on poverty only if they are well implemented – which is not guaranteed throughout the country; and that the current contribution of forest products to household livelihoods is not known, so it will be difficult to determine the impact of PFM on poverty reduction.

Although national and sub-national stakeholders we interviewed were confident that the new forest laws would achieve most of their aims, they raised a number of concerns. Common concerns include: the likelihood that villagers will continue to cut trees since there is no alternative to using charcoal and firewood; that the importance of forest products is not well understood and so poverty could increase given that rural people have a relatively high dependence on forest products; that villagers and officials do not understand the differences between JFM and CBFM; that forest regulations are not sufficiently clear concerning the involvement of villagers in forest activities; that communication among regional, district, and ward officials is not sufficient; that guidelines are not clear; that the capacity of partners to negotiate in JFM is limited because of a lack of knowledge and rights; and conflict among forest users and other stakeholders. Other concerns were the lack of real enforcement on the ground, despite often well drawn out plans; limited resources for participatory activities; and the lack of willingness of some stakeholders to share information fully

and release power to villagers. A general concern among villagers in Kilwa was frustration with the long delays in the implementation of JFM and CBFM programmes. Many felt that these delays encouraged people to assume that there were no laws covering the forests and so to extract whatever resources that they wanted from the forest, thus leading to excessive degradation.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this assessment

This assessment is a sub-activity of the overall “Communications” project to produce extension materials and develop and implement a national awareness campaign for PFM. Previous research and observations have revealed knowledge of the actual content of the new forest laws to be very low, both among rural communities and organisations responsible for supporting the forestry sector, such as NGOs and local and national government institutions. Improved communications were therefore identified as a critical element of the national PFM process so as to create demand at the local level and improve the efficiency of the supporting organisations and institutions.

1.2 Participatory forest management in Tanzania¹

Following the 1998 National Forest Policy and the Forest Act of 2002, participatory forest management (PFM) is being introduced as an approach to managing Tanzania’s forests, allowing, under specific conditions, for local communities to benefit legally from nearby forests but at the same time re-imposing more restrictive extraction rules in forests that are particularly important for ecosystem provisioning and biodiversity protection (Kajembe and Nzunda, 2002; FBD, 2006). Two broad approaches to PFM are being introduced. Under community based forest management (CBFM), villagers can declare and gazette forest areas on village land as “Village Land Forest Reserves.” The villagers take full management responsibility, setting and enforcing rules and regulations over the forest management and use, including the collection of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). The second approach, joint forest management (JFM), applies to the management of national or local authority forest reserves, in which villagers enter into management agreements with the district council or forest division. Under JFM, villagers may be given rights to collect forest resources such as timber and firewood within forests designated for production, but not those designated as protection reserves (Ramadhani, as reported in Mertz, 2005; Lovett, in press).

Table 1: Spread of PFM in mainland Tanzania (2006)

	JFM	CBFM
Number of villages involved (PFM established or in process)	719	1102
Percentage of total villages involved	6.6%	10.5%
Percentage of reserved forest area under JFM/ public land forests under CBFM	11.6%	10.2%

Source: FBD (2006)

¹ See “Participatory Forest Management in Tanzania: Facts and Figures”, produced by the Extension and Publicity Unit, Forest and Bee Keeping Division, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, July 2006, for more details.

1.3 Private concession arrangements

The stated objective of the PSI component of the new forest policy and act is to increase the contribution of the private sector in the management of plantation forests. There are three models of private concession that are currently being introduced, which differ considerably. The first model, “private sector concession arrangement” is the model that most individuals assume when private concessions are discussed. Private individuals or firms bid for the concession, and if successful, have management responsibility over the concession, and choose to what extent they involve local communities, and to what extent they permit local villagers to use the concession forest. In practice, this model only works where there is sufficient economic value from the standing forest for the private sector to be interested. And although in theory local communities could bid for the concession, the reality is that they are highly unlikely to win such a bid.

The second model, “community designated”, is one in which the local community purchases the concession, manages the plantation forest, and in return gets 100% of the revenues from selling forest products. The reality of this model is that it is likely to be introduced where there is little standing forest left – and hence little interest from the private sector – and so considerable regeneration is required before the revenues become significant. Indeed, the NPV of developing the forest at Kiwira has been estimated to be negative – hence the private sector would not be interested, and the local villages will have to invest extensively in the forest to turn it into a productive, if unprofitable overall, forest reserve. There are currently a few problems with the “community designated” arrangements that need to be resolved, such as that a land lease is paid for the land, but that fee goes to the Ministry of Land rather than Forests.

The third PSI model is called “co-management”, and is similar to the community-designated model in as much as the concession is taken up by the local communities rather than private individuals or firms, but in this case the FBD are partners with the local communities. Such a model is found in Meru and Buhindi.

Because it is still early stages for many of these PSI plantation forests, typically stakeholders can only have perceptions of what is likely to occur in the future, rather than being able to give observations about the functioning of a particular plantation. However, already many of the stakeholders, including villagers, have strong views on the role and contribution of the private sector, and the impact of concession arrangements on the villagers and the country in general.

1.4 Objectives of this assessment

The objectives of this assessment were:

- To determine the extent to which different stakeholders understand the key elements of the new forest policy and forest act
- To determine the extent to which stakeholders understand the rights of other stakeholders, villagers in particular, with respect to the new forest policy and forest act.

- To determine the extent of villagers' "legal literacy" with respect to the new forest policy and forest act; in particular, do they understand their rights and entitlements and are they confident to exercise them.

2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

To achieve the above objectives, a number of different socio-economic approaches were used, from structured questionnaires administered to individual villagers through semi-structured interviews with key informants at the ward and district level, to less-structured conversational interviews with individuals at the regional and national level. However, to allow us to compare the knowledge levels and perceptions of the different stakeholder groups, many of the same questions were asked to the different groups, though the format of the interviews differed.

At the village level, two broad approaches could have been undertaken – interviews with individual households or group-based discussions such as focus group discussions. Each approach could provide valuable information. However, for this assessment, given that quantitative data were required concerning villagers' perceptions and knowledge of PFM, we decided that focus group discussions would be biased by those respondents who were either most knowledgeable or most vociferous. The information gathered from focus groups would therefore most likely overstate the general knowledge levels of villages. By using individual surveys from a random sample of villagers in each village, we could ensure that a representative spectrum of villagers' voices would be recorded. Moreover, the data could be analysed by, for example, gender and whether JFM, CBFM, or PSI was being introduced.

2.1 Nature of questions asked of the different stakeholders

We asked a broad set of questions. The first questions addressed general knowledge concerning the recent changes in forest policy and laws, including whether individuals had heard of the changes and the specific policies and acts, and what they considered to be the most important goals, objectives, and what they perceived to be key impacts of the changes.

We wanted not only to determine stakeholders' perceptions and knowledge levels, but also how confident they were of their understanding and knowledge of the changes. Hence we asked a number of specific questions concerning confidence – some direct, and some indirect. Further, we attempted to determine the extent to which villagers are “legally literate”, that is, whether they know their rights with respect to PFM/PSI. We asked villagers both simple questions (such as whether the villagers have heard of PFM and whether they know that they can be involved in PFM) and more complex questions (concerned with the details of regulations over PFM forests) to determine the extent to which they knew their rights with respect to the changes in forest laws. Combined with the earlier questions, these questions allowed us to determine whether villagers' knowledge was more oriented towards the details and motivations behind the changes, or towards their rights (and responsibilities).

To aid in the decisions over how best to communicate information to the different stakeholder groups, we asked a number of detailed questions concerning how people obtain their knowledge concerning the changes in forest laws and how they would like to receive additional information in the future.

Poverty reduction is stated as one of the key objectives of PFM. We therefore sought to determine the extent to which different stakeholders believed that PFM would indeed reduce poverty, particularly at the village level. Moreover, we wanted to know how villagers and other stakeholders thought that poverty would be reduced, given that, during the pre-testing of the survey, some interviewees argued that, particularly in the short run, joint forest management may have a negative impact on local villagers who have typically used (admittedly illegally) government forests for extractive products, such as fuelwood, fruits and vegetables and medicines, but also more destructive extraction of timber and production of charcoal.

Reducing environmental degradation is also an important element of the changes. Hence we also explored this issue in more detail.

2.2 Sampling approach

A sample of regions around the country was chosen for the baseline survey. The sample was purposive, responding to the particular requirements of the project. For example, regions where specific private plantation concessions are to be granted were included, as were regions where joint and community-based forest management has been introduced. Within these regions, districts were chosen where villagers have had both considerable exposure to PFM/PSI, and less exposure, so that perceptions can be compared with more and less exposed villages. Villages were selected purposively, but within each village the sample of villagers was random.² The sample size was determined by project requirements and budgetary constraints.

Table 2: Regions and districts where the survey was undertaken

Region	District	Number of villages sampled with the following initiatives			
		JFM	CBFM	PSI	No initiative
Iringa	Iringa	1	1	0	1
	Mafinga	0	0	2	0
Arusha	Arumeru	0	0	2	0
Tanga	Muheza	0	2	1	0
Kilimanjaro	Rombo	0	0	2	0
Lindi	Lindi	0	2	0	2
	Kilwa	2	0	0	2
Mbeya	Mbeya	0	0	1	0
	Rungwe	0	0	1	0

² The sampling approach at the village level was as follows. We interviewed an average of 20 villagers per chosen village – a compromise between choosing a sufficiently large sample per village and sampling a sufficiently large number of villages. The villagers were chosen randomly from a village list of households, ensuring that both male and female-headed households were represented.

Table 3: Sample size

Stakeholders interviewed	No of interviews	Interview approach	Key objectives of interviews
National level	8	Flexible semi-structured interviews	Knowledge of forest policy and forest act. Communication with other stakeholders concerning the act and policy. Perceptions of involvement of private sector. Linkage of Forest Legislation and Policy to Land Acts and Policy;
Regional, district, and ward level officers ("sub-national")	44	Semi-structured interviews	Knowledge of forest policy and forest act; sources of information, knowledge of where to find information if they do not have to hand. Role in distribution of information (how have you communicated information about PFM/PSI to other levels of government/villagers). Perceptions of villagers' knowledge and empowerment.
Village level leaders	41	Semi-structured interviews	Knowledge of village rights and perceptions on village level benefits from PFM/PSI; access to information and information flow. Efforts to communicate to their villagers; perceptions of villager engagement.
Villagers	503 (comprising 99 JFM, 105 CBFM 189 PSI, and 110 no initiative villagers)	Structured stratified questionnaire	Knowledge of PFM/PSI and own rights and perceptions of costs and benefits of PFM/PSI forests for different stakeholders; perceptions of and trust of PSI; confidence in knowledge; confidence/ extent to which they feel empowered to undertake action in future; access to information and information flow

Caveat: Sample sizes for some of the stakeholder groups are small, and so, even though in this document comparisons are made of the responses of different stakeholder groups, it is not possible to make statistical inferences from all of the data collected.

3 FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY

3.1 General findings concerning knowledge and confidence

Not surprisingly, knowledge levels among different stakeholders differed considerably. Equally importantly, confidence levels among individuals differ. Some interviewees were knowledgeable and confident about their knowledge. Others may have been equally knowledgeable, but lacked confidence. Others simply appeared to know less about PFM. There are a number of causes behind these observations. Firstly, and simply, some individuals have had more opportunities to get information about PFM, for example, if their job demanded it, or their village was involved in it. Secondly, some individuals seek out information and have stronger opinions concerning PFM, where it works, and why it might not work. Finally, individuals naturally have different levels of confidence in their own knowledge and abilities. Naturally some of the responses we received may not truly represent stakeholders' knowledge, if, for example, they lacked confidence to express their true opinions. Improved communications concerning PFM are likely to increase confidence and hence could have the same observed impact as if stakeholders' knowledge was increased.

3.1.1 Information flows

Information concerning the changes in forest laws typically flows “downwards” from the national through regional, district, ward, and village level. However, whether information flows freely and accurately depends on the effort and abilities of particular individuals and organisations. Typically the more senior individuals have control over information flows and can choose the extent to which they share the information with those “lower down.” At each level information and hence empowerment can be restricted – whether deliberately or not, such that most likely villagers are the least-well informed. For example, at the national level, several stakeholders felt strongly that individuals at the district and ward level were deliberately restricting information flows to villagers, and that some individuals, such as councillors in particular, simply lacked sufficient knowledge, in part due to the low levels of education. There was also a feeling that, particularly at the ward level, people needed refresher courses, such as with respect to the new land laws.

If villagers themselves are provided directly with information concerning the changes in forest laws, then they are more likely to be empowered to ensure that their rights are respected and that, for example, forests concessions are not under-priced. Yet in parallel, village and government officials also need to understand the changes in forest laws and how this affects villagers' rights with respect to the forest resources.

By comparing perceptions, knowledge and confidence levels of different stakeholders, this base-line survey can suggest the extent to which information is flowing effectively – that is, whether the perceptions and knowledge of different stakeholders are consistent.

3.2 Knowledge levels concerning the changes in forest policy and laws

3.2.1 Villagers' knowledge of changes

Villagers' knowledge of the changes in forest policy and law varied by gender of the respondent and whether or not villagers had been exposed to specific PFM initiatives. The data below summarise the overall and differences in knowledge.

Table 4: The extent to which villagers have heard of the new forest laws

Question: Have you heard of any of the following?

% answering "yes"	Villagers			Village leaders (41)	
	All (502)	Men (314*)	Women (188*)		
National Forest Programme	55%	62%	44%	61%	
1998 Forest Policy	45%	49%	37%	71%	
2002 Forest Act	53%	56%	49%	68%	
None of the above	29%	25%	37%	15%	
If none, do you know that the way that forests are managed in Tanzania has changed over the past 10 years?	Yes	2%	2%	2%	53%
	No	98%	98%	98%	47%

* Number of individuals responding to particular question

Over a quarter of the villagers had not heard of any of the changes, either by their specific names, or in general. Considering male and female respondents, men on average were more likely to have heard of the changes than women. Further, village leaders were significantly better informed on average than villagers. For example, only 7% of village leaders did not know that the forest laws had changed, compared with 28% of villagers (including 38% of women villagers).

Naturally, it might be expected that villagers experiencing PFM/PSI in or near to their villages would be more likely to have heard of the changes, and so the data are presented below according to whether the villages are involved in JFM, CBFM, are near to a private concession plantation (PSI), or none of these. Because male and female responses are significantly different, and within the sub-samples the proportion of men and women differ, the data are given in disaggregated form for men and women in the different village "types".³

Over a quarter of all sampled villagers have not heard of the changes, compared with only 7% of village leaders.

³ Villages and villagers are classified according to four "types". JFM villages/villagers are those involved in a JFM initiative, similarly for CBFM. PSI villages/villagers are those living adjacent to PSI initiatives. "None" implies villages/villagers that are not involved in PFM nor near to a PSI initiative.

Table 5: Knowledge of changes in forest laws by village “type” and gender

Question: Have you heard of any of the following?

% answering “yes”	JFM (99)		CBFM (105)		PSI (189)		None (110)	
	Male (46)	Female (53)	Male (62)	Female (43)	Male (127)	Female (62)	Male (80)	Female (30)
Nat Forest Prog.	80%	45%	80%	43%	50%	39%	55%	53%
1998 Forest Policy	74%	49%	57%	41%	46%	31%	34%	23%
2002 Forest Act	78%	57%	56%	50%	59%	48%	40%	33%
None of the above	7%	26%	15%	43%	29%	44%	38%	30%

Table 6: Differentials between male and female villager responses

	JFM (99)	CBFM (105)	PSI (189)	None (110)
Nat Forest Prog.	35%	37%	11%	2%
1998 Forest Policy	25%	16%	15%	11%
2002 Forest Act	21%	6%	11%	7%
None of the above	-19%	-28%	-15%	-8%

	Average (JFM/CBFM)- (PSI/none) for male respondents	Average (JFM/CBFM)- (PSI/none) for female respondents
Nat Forest Prog.	27%	-2%
1998 Forest Policy	25%	18%
2002 Forest Act	7%	13%
None of the above	-22%	-2%

The knowledge levels in villages where there have not been any PFM/PSI initiatives (village type “none”) can be considered representative of general knowledge levels throughout the regions where the survey was undertaken (naturally allowing for the relatively small sample size). In those villages with no initiatives, although men’s knowledge is greater than women’s, the gender differentials are not on average large. However, in villages where JFM and CBFM initiatives have been undertaken, men’s knowledge of the changes has increased by considerably more than women’s, resulting in large differentials. That is, not only is women’s awareness is lower in general than men’s, but where there have been JFM and CBFM initiatives, their increase in awareness relative to where there have been no initiatives is relatively small.

Ideally time series data would be collected (data from each village before and after initiatives had been introduced), but these cross-section data do suggest that communication initiatives have been much more successful at reaching men than women in villages where JFM and CBFM initiatives have been introduced. In PSI villages, the differentials are lower, but this is most likely because overall awareness of the changes is lower.

These findings need not be a problem. Simply knowing about the changes does not necessarily imply that an individual is more empowered. However, given that in villages where initiatives have been undertaken, men have become relatively more

informed than women about the changes, more effort or different communications approaches are required to reach women villagers.

Communications initiatives appear to have been much more successful at reaching men than women in villages where JFM and CBFM have been introduced. Separate workshops for men and women could help redress the balance.

3.2.2 National and sub-national stakeholders' knowledge of changes

We asked national and sub-national stakeholders a related question – whether the individuals had access to documentation concerning the specific acts and policies, given that most had heard of the changes.

Table 7: Whether stakeholders have seen documentation of the changes

Question: Have you seen a copy or summary of the following?

	Sub-national stakeholders (44)	National stakeholders (7)
National Forest Programme	56%	86%
1998 Forest Policy	78%	86%
2002 Forest Act	63%	86%
Seen none of the above	18%	14%
Popular versions/briefs of NFP	22%	29%
Popular versions/briefs of 1998 Forest Policy	26%	43%
Popular versions/briefs of 2002 Forest Act	26%	14%

National stakeholders are more likely than sub-national to have seen copies of the actual forest policies and act (these are small samples). However, few of the stakeholders have seen popular versions of the same.

Table 8: Whether stakeholders feel the changes have been well communicated

Question: Do you feel that the new forest policy and act has been sufficiently well communicated to people at your level?

	Sub-National stakeholders		National stakeholders (7)
	Ward (13)	Region/district (31)	
Yes, very well	7%	26%	0%
Yes, somewhat	27%	30%	57%
Not very well	40%	37%	29%
Not at all	27%	7%	0%
Don't know	0%	0%	14%

Table 9: Confidence levels among stakeholders

Question: Overall, how confident are you about your knowledge about the changes?

	Sub-National stakeholders		National stakeholders (7)
	Ward (13)	Region/district (31)	
Very	13%	33%	0%
Somewhat	60%	44%	71%
Not very	27%	22%	14%
Not at all	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	0%	0%	14%

When asked about whether they feel that the changes have been sufficiently well communicated, regional and district stakeholders were most likely to respond that the communication has been sufficient. In comparison, two-thirds of ward-level stakeholders felt that the communication had been insufficient. Despite this, almost three-quarters were very or somewhat confident in their knowledge. These findings may be because respondents felt some pressure to be positive, given that over 80% stated that understanding the changes was very important for their jobs.

67% of respondents at the ward level felt that the changes had not been sufficiently well communicated, compared with 44% at the regional/district level and 29% at the national level.

Although the samples are small, it is worth considering whether there is a correlation between stakeholders' perceptions of how well the changes have been communicated and how confident the individuals are about their knowledge. For the national level stakeholders there is a strong positive correlation (that is, those who felt the changes had been well communicated tended to be most confident), for the sub-national a weak but positive correlation, confirming that if people feel that the changes have been well communicated, they are more confident about their knowledge concerning the changes.

Individuals who feel that the changes have been poorly communicated are less likely to feel confident about their knowledge concerning the changes in forest laws.

The sub-national stakeholders vary in their confidence levels and the extent to which they feel that the changes in forest law have been communicated sufficiently well. To help us determine their detailed knowledge of the new PFM regulations, we asked a number of specific questions concerning the implementation of JFM and CBFM.

The data below suggest that ward-level officials are much less likely to have detailed knowledge of even the basic differences between JFM and CBFM, and of the differences between JFM in production and protection reserve forests. Indeed, 42% of ward-level respondents felt there were no differences, compared with 16% at the regional and district level when asked about the differences for villagers between JFM and CBFM.

Table 10: Detailed knowledge of national and sub-national stakeholders

Question: In your opinion, what are the key differences for villagers between JFM and CBFM? (unprompted, multiple answers OK)

	Ward (12)	District/Region (26)	National (7)
Ownership of land	18%	8%	71%
Rights to forest resources for CBFM	17%	44%	29%
Different management of land	8%	4%	29%
Rights to revenues from land	17%	28%	29%
Joint decisions in JFM	0%	4%	0%
Limited access under JFM	0%	0%	14%
No benefits from JFM	0%	0%	14%
Other	0%	8%	0%
None	42%	16%	14%
Don't know	25%	8%	0%

Question: In your opinion, what are the key differences for villagers between JFM in protection reserve forests and JFM in production reserve forests? (unprompted, multiple answers OK)

<i>Benefits of production forests</i>	Ward (12)	District/Region (26)	National (7)
Revenue generation for villagers	8%	35%	71%
Rights to resources in the forest	8%	35%	57%
Rights to extract timber from forest	0%	15%	57%
Other	0%	4%	0%
None	42%	0%	0%
Don't know	42%	15%	14%

Question: In your opinion, what are the most important new rights that villagers have? (unprompted, multiple answers OK)

	Ward (12)	District/Region (26)	National (7)
Rights to manage own village forests	33%	55%	71%
Rights to own /have legal tenure over village forests	33%	52%	43%
Rights to co-manage government forests	0%	24%	29%
Rights to revenues from the sale of forest products	17%	34%	0%
Rights to fine those undertaking illegal activities	8%	7%	14%
To sell own trees	0%	7%	0%
Security	0%	7%	0%
None	17%	0%	0%
Don't know	8%	0%	0%

Officials, particularly at the ward level, need more training with clear messages and easily accessible summaries of the key differences between JFM and CBFM and in particular the implications for villagers.

3.2.3 Perceptions of key goals and objectives

When we asked stakeholders their perceptions of the goals, objectives, and outcomes of the changes in forest laws the emphasis of those villagers who had heard of the changes and had an opinion was strongly towards identifying environmental goals and objectives, such as conservation, reduction of degradation, and sustainable use of forest resources. Just 6% mentioned poverty reduction as one of the aims, and few mentioned other socio-economic benefits for villagers. Village leaders and key stakeholders also emphasised environmental goals. But they were also more likely to mention benefits to villagers, such as empowerment and poverty reduction. Overall, those villagers that expressed an opinion were relatively positive about the goals and objectives.

Table 11: Stakeholders' opinions on the goals and objectives of the new forest laws

Question: What in your opinion are the key goals and objectives of these changes? (unprompted, multiple responses permitted)

	Villagers* (502)	Village leaders (41)	Sub- national (44)	National (7)
To promote conservation of forest resources	30%	43%	58%	100%
To promote sustainable use of forest resources	14%	38%	3%	71%
To reduce forest degradation	52%	36%	61%	43%
To improve biodiversity/ ecosystem conservation	6%	14%	13%	14%
Poverty reduction	6%	14%	19%	14%
To get more rain/conservate water	5%	2%	6%	0%
To promote coordination/ cooperation among different agencies	0%	12%	6%	0%
To improve quality and marketability of forest products	1%	7%	3%	0%
To reduce government expenditure on forest management	0%	2%	0%	14%
To improve efficiency of forest management	0%	2%	0%	0%
To contribute to national and global initiatives	1%	10%	3%	14%
To increase private sector involvement in forest management	1%	14%	10%	29%
To bring development to the village	1%	2%	0%	0%
Decentralisation/participation of villagers	1%	19%	3%	0%
To help villagers live together	0%	0%	0%	0%
To empower/educate villagers	0%	2%	10%	0%
To improve cooperation between government and villagers	0%	2%	0%	0%
To close forests/oppress villagers	1%	0%	0%	0%
Other	3%	0%	3%	0%
Don't know	17%	2%	3%	0%

* The differences between male and female villager responses are not statistically significant and so are not shown in the table. The data are for all villagers whether or not PFM or PSI is being introduced.

Summary of perceived goals and objectives (unprompted)

	Villagers (502)	Village leaders (41)	Sub-national (44)	National (7)
<i>Environmental goals</i> % of respondents identifying at least one of the first four goals/ objectives	74%	88%	76%	100%
<i>Socio-economic goals</i> % of respondents identifying direct benefits to villagers (excluding general "poverty reduction" response)	2%	13%	21%	0%
<i>Poverty reduction</i> % of respondents identifying poverty reduction explicitly	6%	19%	14%	14%
Don't know	17%	3%	2%	0%

All of the stakeholder groups overwhelmingly identified environmental goals and objectives as the most important. Socio-economic goals, and poverty reduction specifically, were much less likely to be mentioned, particularly by villagers.

Villagers overwhelmingly perceive the goals and objectives of the changes in forest laws and acts to be environmental rather than socio-economic. These may or may not be realistic perceptions depending on the specific circumstances.

Table 12: Key goals and objectives identified by villagers, by "type" and gender

All villagers	Villages where the following are being implemented			
	JFM (99)	CBFM (105)	PSI (189)	None (110)
To promote conservation of forest resources	31%	32%	32%	24%
To promote the sustainable use of forest resources	17%	10%	18%	8%
To reduce forest degradation	56%	46%	54%	52%
Poverty reduction	5%	4%	5%	11%
Don't know	14%	17%	17%	22%

<i>Male villagers</i>	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None
To promote conservation of forest resources	34%	27%	36%	23%
To promote the sustainable use of forest resources	27%	9%	18%	6%
To reduce forest degradation	51%	52%	51%	55%
Poverty reduction	2%	5%	4%	13%
Don't know	7%	14%	19%	23%

<i>Female villagers</i>	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None
To promote conservation of forest resources	28%	44%	21%	25%
To promote the sustainable use of forest resources	6%	12%	18%	13%
To reduce forest degradation	61%	32%	62%	44%
Poverty reduction	8%	0%	6%	6%
Don't know	22%	24%	12%	19%

Women are more likely than men to answer "don't know" suggesting that they either are insufficiently informed or lack confidence concerning why PFM is occurring. Moreover, women are more likely to answer "don't know" in villages where JFM and CBFM are being introduced than where there is PSI or no initiative, suggesting that the additional information and activities may well have confused women as to the purpose of PFM.

3.2.4 Perceived changes resulting from the new forest laws

Following on from questions about goals and objectives, we asked the different stakeholder groups about the most important changes that they had observed or anticipated as a result of the new forest policy and laws. There were few differences between male and female respondents in the villages, and so the findings at the village level are not disaggregated by gender.

Table 13: Stakeholder perceptions concerning the most important changes

Question: What in your opinion are the most important changes that you know if that have come about as a result of the new forest policy, programme, and act (unprompted)?

	Villagers (502)	Village leaders (41)	Sub-national stake-holders (44)	National stake-holders (7)
Reduced degradation of forests	50%	45%	26%	0%
Introduction of PFM (JFM/CBFM/PSI)	3%	15%	28%	43%
Decentralisation/delegation of responsibility for forest management to lowest levels	3%	6%	30%	71%
More efficient management of forests	0%	0%	2%	0%
Reduced poverty in villages	4%	6%	19%	29%
Empowerment of villagers/encourage villager involvement in forest management	4%	15%	21%	14%
Better understanding of conservation	0%	9%	7%	0%
Change in ownership structure of forests	6%	3%	9%	43%
Privatisation/ Involvement of the private sector/better understanding	1%	9%	9%	43%
More trees/planting trees	4%	6%	7%	0%
More rain	3%	0%	0%	0%
Reduced forest burning	1%	3%	0%	0%
Forests closed to villagers	1%	0%	0%	0%
Increased cost of charcoal	0%	3%	0%	0%
Hotel/school built by donors	0%	3%	0%	0%
None	2%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know/no opinion	31%	18%	5%	0%
Other	3%	0%	4%	0%

Villagers who expressed an opinion were typically positive about the actual or likely outcomes of the changes in laws. Villagers focused most on the impact on the forests themselves, highlighting reduced degradation – as did the village leaders – though almost one third of villagers could not suggest any changes (which may not be surprising given that many of the villagers have not been involved in PFM/PSI). Village leaders and sub-national and national stakeholders were more likely than

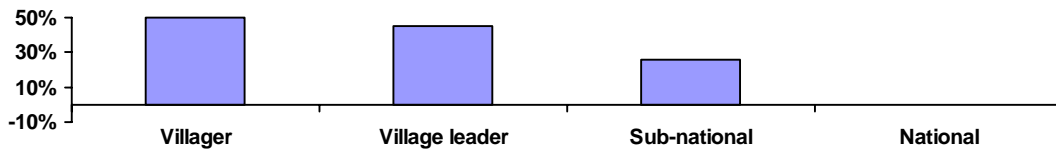
villagers to stress also the empowerment of villagers, the introduction of PFM, and the involvement of the private sector. Villagers (perhaps surprisingly given responses to later questions) did not highlight possible negative effects of the changes on their own livelihoods.

The perspectives of stakeholders at the national and sub-national level are different from those of villagers. In particular, national and sub-national stakeholders are more likely to identify as key changes poverty reduction, decentralisation, empowerment of villagers, the introduction of PFM, improved cooperation and coordination among different agencies, national initiatives, and the role of the private sector, whereas villagers are most likely to highlight reduced degradation.

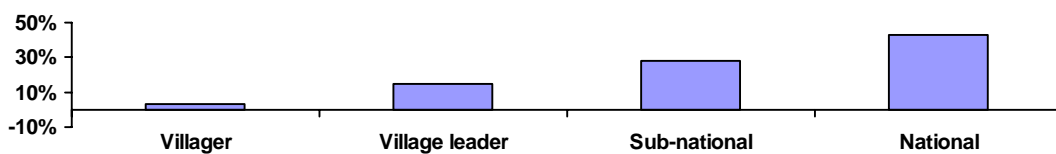
The change in emphasis of the different “levels” of respondents can be seen clearly in the graphs below. These graphs show clearly that local people are still in the main unaware of PFM/PSI and its implications. That villagers are most likely to identify reduced degradation as one of the key impacts of the changes could be a consequence of past campaigns on forest conservation rather than current information on PFM/PSI, given that there have been several extensive campaigns since 1980 such as Misitu ni Mali, Moto na Mazingira, and Village Aforestation.

Question: What are the most important changes due to the new forest laws that you know of?

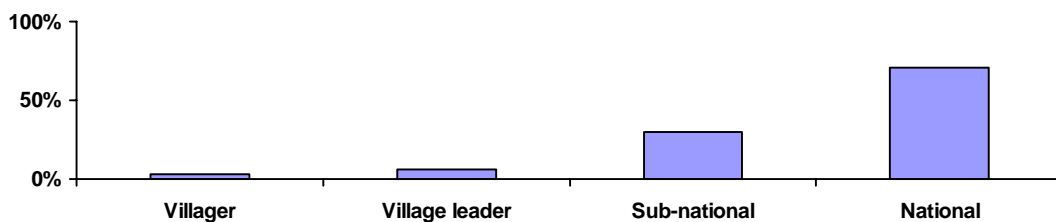
% of respondents answering “reduced degradation of forests”*



% of respondents answering “introduction of PFM/PSI”



% of respondents answering “decentralisation/delegation of responsibility for forest management to lowest levels”



% of respondents answering “don’t know”

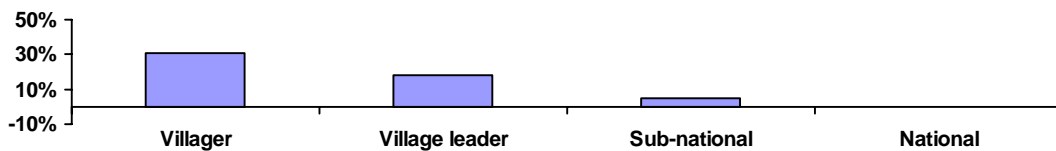


Figure 1: Graphs demonstrating differences in responses between stakeholders for selected questions

* Data are for all villagers whether or not initiative is being implemented

3.2.5 Opinions and concerns over the outcomes of the changes

Overall, the national and sub-national stakeholders we interviewed were confident that the new forest laws would achieve most of their aims.

Table 14: Stakeholder views on whether the new laws will achieve their aims

Question: Do you believe that the national forest programme, forest policy, and forest act will indeed achieve their aims?

	Sub-national stakeholders (44)	National stakeholders (7)
Yes, all or most of them	42%	0%
Yes, somewhat	47%	86%
No	5%	14%
Don't know	7%	0%

In elaborating upon this issue, a number of concerns were raised with respect to JFM and CBFM. Common concerns include: the likelihood that villagers will continue to cut trees since there is no alternative to using charcoal and firewood; that the importance of forest products is not well understood and so poverty could increase given that rural people have a relatively high dependence on forest products; that villagers and officials do not understand the differences between JFM and CBFM; that forest regulations are not sufficiently clear concerning the involvement of villagers in forest activities; that communication among regional, district, and ward officials is not sufficient; that guidelines are not clear; and the limited capacity of partners to negotiate in JFM because of a lack of knowledge and rights; and conflict among forest users and other stakeholders. For example, one respondent cautioned that villagers were poor and for many there were currently few alternatives to the forests for providing a livelihood, so villagers would continue to use the forests as they have done in the past despite the new laws unless alternative options were available to them.

Other concerns were the lack of real enforcement on the ground, despite often well drawn out plans; limited resources for participatory activities; and the lack of willingness of some stakeholders to share information fully and release power to villagers. More positive responses included that FBD staff had explained the policies to stakeholders at all levels, that there is a high level of commitment from government, and a willingness from communities to achieve the objectives of the new forest laws.

With respect to PSI, common concerns were: the high potential for conflict among users, particularly between villagers and private concession owners in PSI forests; the perception that the private sector will focus on profit maximisation at the expense of forest management; and the loss of access to traditionally collected resources from the plantation forests.

3.3 Rights, confidence levels, and empowerment

An important part of the assessment was to determine the extent to which villagers in particular feel that they are empowered with respect to their new rights as a result of the changes in forest laws.

Overall levels of confidence concerning understanding the changes are high, particularly among village leaders, and to a slightly lesser degree sub-national and national stakeholders. However, though lower than for other stakeholder groups, even villagers exhibit quite high levels of confidence. Perhaps surprisingly, given other responses, overall female villagers appear to be as confident as men (and so the disaggregated data are not shown in the tables).

Table 15: Confidence levels of stakeholders concerning their knowledge

How confident are you about your understanding of the changes in the way that forests are managed in Tanzania?

	Villagers (344)*	Village leaders (32)	Sub- national (42)	National (7)
Very	28%	52%	26%	0%
Somewhat	35%	36%	50%	71%
Not very	28%	12%	24%	14%
Not at all	7%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	2%	0%	0%	14%

Summary

	Villagers	Village leaders	Sub- national	National
Very or somewhat	63%	88%	76%	71%
Not very or not at all	35%	12%	24%	14%
Don't know	2%	0%	0%	14%

* All respondents who have heard of the changes whether or not initiative has been implemented

3.3.1 Villagers and village leaders

Not surprisingly, the following table shows that the least confident villagers are those that have not experienced any initiatives and consequently had less exposure to information concerning the changes.

Male and female villagers show similar levels of confidence in their understanding of the changes in the way that forests are managed in Tanzania.

Table 16: How confidence levels vary within “type” of village.

Question: How confident are you about your understanding of the changes in the way that forests are managed in Tanzania?

	Villagers in villages where the following are being implemented*				Village leaders	
	JFM (76)	CBFM (81)	PSI (126)	None (61)	PFM/PSI (29)	None (3)
Very	29%	27%	36%	11%	62%	33%
Somewhat	39%	33%	37%	28%	34%	33%
Not very	28%	31%	25%	33%	3%	33%
Not at all	3%	9%	2%	18%	0%	0%
Don't know	1%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%

*Male and female responses similar

Summary

	Villagers in villages where the following are being implemented*				Village leaders	
	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None	PFM/PSI	None
Very/somewhat	68%	60%	73%	39%	96%	67%
Not very/at all	31%	40%	27%	51%	3%	33%
Don't know	1%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%

*Male and female responses similar

Villagers almost exclusively identified positive aspects of the changes in forest policy and laws, and over three quarters felt that they could take advantage of the changes. However, when asked about their rights, almost half of villagers felt that their rights were worse rather than better or the same. Overall, village leaders are more likely to feel that villagers have better rights as a result of the changes. Villagers who have not experienced any PFM/PSI initiatives are least confident about their understanding of the changes, and least likely to believe that they can take advantage of the changes.

Villager leaders are much more confident about their understanding of the changes in forest laws than villagers, both where there are PFM/PSI initiatives, and where there are none.

Another aspect of determining the extent to which villagers feel empowered concerning the changes is to consider whether they feel able to take advantage of the changes to the benefit of themselves and the village as a whole, and whether they consider their rights to have changed for the better or worse.

Table 17: Extent to which villagers feel that they can take advantage of changes

Question: Do you feel that people in your village are able to take advantage of the changes?

	Villagers in villages where the following are being implemented				Village leaders (32)
	JFM (76)	CBFM (81)	PSI (126)	None (61)	
Yes, very much	35%	50%	51%	36%	57%
Yes, somewhat	40%	27%	30%	25%	24%
No, not really	13%	8%	9%	11%	14%
No, not at all	5%	5%	2%	7%	0%
Don't know	6%	10%	7%	21%	5%

Summary

	Villagers in villages where the following are being implemented				Village leaders
	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None	
Very/somewhat	75%	77%	81%	61%	81%
Not very/at all	18%	13%	11%	18%	14%
Don't know	6%	10%	7%	21%	5%

Table 18: Villagers' perceptions over changes in their rights

Question: Overall, do you feel that villagers in your village have the same or worse rights after the changes?

	Villagers in villages where the following are being implemented				Village leaders (32)
	JFM (76)	CBFM (81)	PSI (126)	None (61)	
Better	26%	24%	24%	14%	42%
Same	24%	18%	25%	22%	19%
Worse	46%	54%	42%	43%	33%
Don't know	4%	5%	9%	21%	7%

Village leaders are slightly more confident than villagers that villagers will be able to take advantage of changes in forest law, and considerably more likely to believe that villagers will have better rights after the changes. Where there is a mismatch between village leaders' perceptions and villagers' perceptions concerning their rights, there could be problems in the implementation of PFM, an area that could be addressed in future communications activities.

Villagers appear confident of their knowledge, but fear that they will have worse rights after the implementation of PFM/PSI initiatives. This suggests several possibilities. Firstly, that villagers do not fully understand their entitlements under the new laws. Secondly, that they know their entitlements but feel that they will not in practice be empowered. And thirdly, that villagers perceive that they will have worse rights because in many of the forests, before the introduction of PFM/PSI, they were using the forests extensively, albeit often illegally. That is, the successful introduction of PFM/PSI may curtail villagers' *de facto* rights, even if their *de jure* rights are greater after the changes. Which of these possibilities is the reality depends both on the particular initiative that is introduced (JFM, CBFM, or PSI), and how it is implemented. The following sections shed more light on these issues.

3.3.2 Perceptions at national and sub-national level

There is a general consensus that those at the district level are particularly well informed, but that ward and regional level and village leaders are considerably less well informed. However, whereas those at the regional and district level perceived village leaders as to be relatively well informed, those closer to the villages at the ward level perceive village leaders in general to be not very or not at all sufficiently informed about the changes in forest laws. Though a much smaller sample, the perceptions of national-level stakeholders were similar, with district level stakeholders perceived to be best informed and village leaders worst informed.

Table 19: Perceptions concerning access to information

Question: Do you feel that in general that regional/district/ward/village level officials are themselves sufficiently informed about the new forest policy and forest act?

	Perceptions of regional and district stakeholders over ...			
	Regional level officials knowledge levels	District level officials knowledge levels	Ward level officials knowledge levels	Villager leaders knowledge levels
Yes/somewhat	55%	93%	57%	48%
Not very/not at all	30%	4%	36%	33%
Depends	11%	0%	7%	19%
Don't know	4%	4%	0%	0%

	Perceptions of ward level stakeholders over ...			
	Regional level officials knowledge levels	District level officials knowledge levels	Ward level officials knowledge levels	Villager leaders knowledge levels
Yes/somewhat	46%	87%	40%	14%
Not very/not at all	40%	13%	60%	79%
Depends	13%	0%	0%	7%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%

Compared with those at the ward level, regional and district level stakeholders appear to significantly overestimate the extent to which village leaders are informed about changes in forest laws. However, village leaders themselves are very confident about their knowledge concerning the changes in forest laws.

From the semi-structured interviews at national and sub-national level, we got some additional clues as to individual respondents' actual confidence in their knowledge. For example, when we asked about the recent changes in forest laws, some individuals could talk at length giving us their opinion of the changes, whereas others appeared defensive, and referred us to the appropriate literature rather than giving their own opinions. These latter types appear to be much less willing to discuss the changes, and appeared to have much lower knowledge or confidence levels. However, they might also simply not accept the whole idea of the changes, or prefer to be silent whether their views are positive or negative. For individuals who lack knowledge or confidence, simple summaries could be particularly useful, providing

easy to access information and helping the individuals to increase their confidence in their knowledge over time.

Stakeholders who lack confidence, particular those at the sub-national level, could benefit from simple accessible summaries that explain the changes in forest laws.

3.3.3 Villagers' knowledge and rights

One third of villagers we interviewed had not heard of any of the terms PFM, JFM, CBFM, or PSI. In contrast, only 5% of village leaders had heard of none of these terms. Indeed, overall, village leaders were almost twice as likely to have heard of JFM, more than twice as likely to have heard of CBFM, and 50% more likely to have heard of PFM. The only anomaly in the above table is the percentage having heard of private sector forest concessions.

Table 20: Whether villagers have heard of different PFM/PSI terms

Question: have you heard of the following terms?

<i>% of respondents answering "yes"</i>	All villagers (502)	Men (314)	Women (188)	Village leaders (29)
Participatory forest management	41%	42%	40%	61%
Joint forest management	36%	38%	33%	71%
Community-based forest management	25%	26%	25%	68%
Private sector forest concessions	33%	38%	26%	15%
% having heard of none of the above	35%	29%	43%	5%

However, these data are distorted by the relative number of villagers and village leaders in each group. Disaggregating the data into villages by "type" gives a more relevant comparison of villagers' and village leaders' knowledge. The table below gives such comparisons. In particular, the comparisons that are highlighted in bold are particularly important. These demonstrate that village leaders are indeed much better informed than villagers, particularly in villages where as yet there has been no initiative. But even where initiatives have been implemented, a surprising number of villagers have not heard of the initiatives that are being implemented in their villages.

Table 21: Villager responses disaggregated by village “type”

Question: have you heard of the following terms?

% of respondents answering yes	Where JFM is being implemented		Where CBFM is being implemented		Where PSI is being implemented		Where no initiative being implemented	
	Villagers (99)	Leaders (15)	Villagers (105)	Leaders (7)	Villagers (189)	Leaders (13)	Villagers (110)	Leaders (6)
Participatory forest management	57%	93%	42%	86%	36%	67%	35%	67%
Joint forest management	67%	80%	35%	71%	33%	50%	16%	67%
Community-based forest management	21%	40%	58%	86%	17%	42%	13%	50%
Private sector forest concessions	27%	27%	28%	43%	38%	58%	36%	33%
% having heard of none of the above	22%	0%	27%	13%	40%	33%	43%	33%

Not surprisingly, villagers and village leaders are more likely to have heard of JFM, CBFM, or PSI in villages where the initiatives are being implemented. For example, in JFM villages, 67% of villagers had heard of the term, but only 21% had heard of CBFM, whereas in CBFM villages, 58% of villagers had heard of the term, but only 35% had heard of JFM. However, in all cases, village leaders were much more likely to have heard of the terms than the villagers. Villagers living in villages involved in or near to PSI initiatives have knowledge levels that are very similar to those where there is no initiative, suggesting that where PSI is being introduced, villagers have not been provided with basic information about participatory forest management in general – consistent with the earlier findings that people in villages near to private concessions are less likely to have heard of the changes in forest laws than those involved in JFM and CBFM.

Village leaders are much more likely to have heard of PFM, JFM, CBFM, and private sector concessions than individuals in their villages, suggesting that they may not have shared information sufficiently with villagers. Villagers living near to private concessions are particularly poorly informed.

Only one fifth of respondents where PFM has not been initiated either did not know or thought that their village could not become involved in PFM, suggesting a good general awareness of villagers’ general rights to being involved in PFM – if they have heard of the terms. However, the earlier tables demonstrate that a significant proportion of villagers are not even aware of these terms. Village leaders were better informed, with almost nine out of ten responding yes to the question. Disaggregating the data suggested that there was no statistical difference between the responses of men and women, or richer and poorer villagers.

Table 22: Whether villagers know if their village can be involved in PFM

Question: [Only asked to villagers/village leaders where PFM has not been implemented in the village] Do you know whether villages such as yours can become involved in JFM or CBFM?

	All villagers (108)*	Village leaders (13)
Yes	74%	85%
No	7%	0%
Don't know	19%	15%

*Only 108 villagers in the PSI and no-initiative villages where PFM has not been implemented had heard of PFM and could answer this question; responses from men and women were similar

3.3.4 More detailed knowledge of villagers involved in PFM

Several national level stakeholders suggested that villagers had limited capacity to negotiate in PFM arrangements, and JFM in particular. One individual noted that villagers in JFM partnerships had only limited knowledge of their rights and obligations, and felt that the government feared losing power if it was to share the benefits of the JFM agreement.

To get a sense of villagers' more detailed understanding of PFM, and therefore their ability to negotiate on a level playing field, we asked them specific questions about JFM and CBFM. The following responses naturally come only from villagers who have heard about these initiatives.

Overall, villagers' specific knowledge concerning PFM appears to be limited and often inaccurate. The large proportion of "don't know" answers to particular questions suggests that although villagers are aware in general of the changes, they are not sufficiently knowledgeable and hence empowered to ensure that their rights are protected.

The following responses demonstrate that even among those who have heard of PFM/PSI, most have little specific knowledge and are likely to answer “don’t know” to detailed questions concerning the initiatives.

Table 23: Knowledge over where JFM/CBFM can be undertaken

*Question: Do you know in which types of forest JFM/CBFM can be undertaken?
(Data by village “type”, unprompted, multiple answers OK)*

By type of village	JFM Villagers (43/99)	CBFM Villagers (46/105)	PSI Villagers (66/189)	No initiative (43/110)
Village reserves	37%	33%	26%	27%
Government reserve forests in general	16%	4%	14%	7%
Only government production forest reserves	9%	0%	5%	0%
Only government protection forest reserves	0%	2%	9%	9%
Any forest	23%	15%	8%	5%
Other (“natural forest”)	0%	0%	2%	0%
Don’t know	30%	50%	50%	61%

* Only villagers who had heard of the terms were asked this question. Even so, some villagers did not answer the question and so the sample size is smaller than for Table 24.

Similar to other findings, levels of awareness tend to be lower where villagers have not been exposed to PFM initiatives. But still a large proportion of villagers where initiatives have been introduced are not confident about where PFM initiatives can be undertaken.

Table 24: Knowledge over who makes the rules for PFM/PSI

Question: Do you know who makes the rules for JFM/CBFM/PSI?

	JFM villagers (53/99)*	JFM village leaders (14)	CBFM villagers (50/105)	CBFM village leaders (7)
The national government	32%	21%	28%	25%
NFA/FBD	11%	36%	6%	13%
Village environmental committee	4%	7%	8%	0%
Other environmental/forest organisation	0%	0%	4%	0%
Local government	0%	0%	8%	13%
Village/villagers	2%	21%	16%	38%
Private owners	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	0%	7%	0%	13%
Don’t know	51%	14%	30%	25%

*The numbers in parentheses give the number of interviewed villagers who have heard about the initiatives and answered this question as a proportion of the number of interviewed villagers living in villages involved in the initiatives.

	PSI (67/189)	PSI village leaders (9)	None (43/110)	None village leader (3)
The national government	51%	50%	28%	0%
NFA/FBD	9%	13%	9%	33%
Village environmental committee	3%	0%	2%	0%
Other environmental/forest organisation	3%	0%	0%	0%
Local government	1%	0%	0%	0%
Village/villagers	3%	50%	0%	0%
Private owners	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	1%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	24%	13%	60%	67%

Even amongst villagers involved in PFM/PSI initiatives, a large proportion did not know or did not have an opinion as to who makes the rules for JFM or CBFM.⁴ Not surprisingly, villagers where there had not been any initiatives were most likely to answer “don’t know,” though perhaps a surprising number of JFM villagers also did not know.

In fact, for CBFM, according to the Village Land Act 1999, villagers themselves develop a management plan that describes how the forest is used, managed, and protected, and how much timber and forest products can be harvested and from where. This plan is then forwarded to the District Council and Director of Forestry for comments and consideration. The plan then goes to the Village Assembly for approval.

More than half the villagers involved in JFM did not know who made the rules, with those who did express an opinion responding that it was either the national government or FBD. In fact, the management plans should be developed at the village level, though under a broad set of rules that were developed at the national level.

Table 25: More detailed questions concerning JFM/CBFM

Question [asked to those in JFM/CBFM villages respectively who have heard of the terms]: Under JFM/CBFM, do you know who has permission to confiscate and sell forest produce or equipment that has been used illegally to harvest in the village forests

	JFM villagers (95)	JFM village leaders (15)	CBFM villagers (98)	CBFM village leaders (7)
Forest officers (such as district forest officer)	20%	20%	4%	25%
FBD	8%	7%	8%	0%
Village government	17%	40%	29%	75%
District or ward government	3%	0%	0%	0%

⁴ In hindsight this question was ambiguous given that FBD makes the laws, regulations, and policy (that makes PFM possible) but villager are involved in making specific rules and bylaws (*sheria ndogo*). However, the question does suggest that a large number of villagers do not know at either level who makes the laws.

Village environmental/nat res/forest committee	32%	27%	36%	25%
Local villagers	20%	7%	16%	0%
Other	1%	0%	4%	0%
Scout	1%	0%	2%	0%
No-one	1%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	13%	0%	13%	0%

Question [asked to those in JFM/CBFM villages respectively]: Under JFM/CBFM, do you know what is to be done with the proceeds from the sale of confiscated forest produce or equipment that has been used illegally?

	JFM villagers (96)	JFM village leaders (15)	CBFM villagers (100)	CBFM village leaders (7)
Goes to central office	7%	13%	1%	0%
Goes to forest department	6%	20%	4%	0%
Goes to forest reserve manager	3%	0%	1%	0%
Goes to benefit the village	46%	60%	39%	63%
Goes to benefit the village committee/government	5%	0%	8%	13%
Other	0%	0%	1%	0%
Goes to forest scouts	0%	0%	0%	0%
Nothing/no benefits	1%	13%	2%	0%
Goes to the environmental committee	0%	7%	0%	0%
Goes to build school	0%	0%	2%	0%
Don't know	36%	7%	42%	25%

With respect to those having permission to confiscate and sell forest products and equipment used illegally, villagers involved in CBFM appear relatively well informed, with most recognising that permission rests at the village level. However, when asked about what is done with the proceeds from the sale of confiscated product and equipment, 42% replied that they did not know, whilst 39% knew that the proceeds go to the village. In contrast the village leaders were better informed. Even so, 25% answered that they did not know, and 13% answered that the proceeds went to the village government.

Similarly for JFM villages, over a third of villagers did not know what happens to the proceeds of illegally confiscated product and resources, though most of those that expressed an opinion assumed that the benefits went to the village. In fact, typically FBD receives the confiscated products and goods, disposes of them through public auction, and returns up to 50% to the villages.

Over a third of villagers who have heard of JFM/CBFM do not know what happens to the proceeds of illegally confiscated product and resources.

Whether villagers have a positive attitude towards PFM and hence be more likely to cooperate with the implementation is likely to be influenced by the extent to which they feel that they will benefit from the initiatives.

Table 26: Villagers' perceptions on who benefits most from PFM

Which individuals or groups do you think are among those who will benefit most from PFM? [Question asked to all villagers who have heard of PFM whether or not is being implemented in the village. Unprompted. Multiple answers permitted]

	JFM Villagers (73)	CBFM Villagers (72)	PSI villagers (64)	No initiative villagers (56)
Households in the village	53%	78%	77%	59%
People on the village environmental committee	15%	21%	5%	4%
Local government	4%	13%	6%	0%
National government	4%	13%	9%	9%
Private firms	3%	0%	2%	0%
Foreign individuals/groups	1%	4%	0%	0%
Whole community	1%	7%	0%	0%
Other	7%	1%	2%	0%
None	4%	8%	2%	2%
Don't know	15%	18%	9%	27%

With respect to questions concerning who benefits from PFM, villagers again were relatively optimistic that they themselves would benefit. Over half the villagers in JFM and three quarters in CBFM villages who had heard of the initiatives believed that households themselves would benefit most, though it might be of some concern that 15-20% thought that people on the local environmental committees would benefit most. Although villagers where there is no initiative were most likely to answer “don't know”, they were optimistic that villagers would in general benefit most from the initiatives.

When villagers were asked specifically about their own village, they were – perhaps surprisingly – confident that they would benefit from any initiative. Villagers in JFM and CBFM villages are somewhat less confident that their own household rather than the village as a whole can take advantage of the initiatives, but still confidence levels remain high.

Table 27: Perceptions on benefits from being involved in PFM/PSI

Question: Overall, how much do you think that this village would/does benefit from being involved in PFM [asked to those who have heard of the initiatives]?

	Villagers living in villages where the following initiatives are being implemented			
	JFM (31*)	CBFM (29*)	PSI (68)	None (52)
Very much	81%	83%	72%	67%
Somewhat	13%	10%	15%	17%
Not really	3%	0%	4%	2%
Not at all	0%	3%	0%	2%
Don't know	3%	3%	9%	12%

* Fewer villagers than expected answered this question

Summary

	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None
Very much/somewhat	94%	93%	87%	84%
Not really/at all	3%	3%	4%	4%
Don't know	3%	3%	9%	12%

Question: Overall, how much do you think that your household would/does benefit from being involved in PFM?

	Villagers living in villages where the following initiatives are being implemented			
	JFM (30*)	CBFM (29*)	PSI (64)	None (52)
Very much	70%	72%	72%	65%
Somewhat	17%	14%	13%	12%
Not really	10%	7%	8%	6%
Not at all	0%	3%	0%	2%
Don't know	3%	3%	8%	15%

* Fewer villagers than expected answered this question

Summary

	JFM	CBFM	PSI	None
Very much/somewhat	87%	86%	85%	77%
Not really/at all	10%	10%	8%	8%
Don't know	3%	3%	8%	15%

In Kilwa, Lindi, two villages were interviewed in a ward where JFM is being undertaken, and two in a ward where there is no programme. Where PFM has not yet started, concerns were based on "common sense" rather than on information that had been communicated explicitly to the villages - as is typically the case in other districts and wards. Yet even in those villages where JFM is being introduced, village leaders sometimes seemed to lack important information, such as why proposed JFM by-laws had not yet been passed, suggesting poor information flows.

A general feeling among villagers in Kilwa was frustration with the long delays in the implementation of JFM and CBFM programmes. Many felt that these delays encouraged people to assume that there were no laws covering the forests and so to extract whatever resources that they wanted from the forest, thus leading to excessive degradation.

3.4 Access to information

Despite relatively high confidence levels, almost all villagers and village leaders interviewed would like more information on the changes in forest laws.

Table 28: *Whether villagers want more information on the changes*

Would you like to have more information on the changes in forest policy and laws?

	All villagers (502)	Men (314)	Women (188)	Village leaders (41)
Yes	94%	96%	90%	100%
No, have sufficient	2%	2%	3%	0%
Don't care	2%	0%	5%	0%
Don't know	2%	2%	2%	0%

This far, for both male and female villagers, the most important source of information has been the radio, particularly so for men. The next most important source of information about the changes in forest policy and law was village meetings followed by general village discussions, and indeed meetings were seen as a preferred way to obtain more information, along with radio, training sessions, visitors to the village, and promotion groups. To date, villagers have received very little information through printed matter such as leaflets, brochures, and posters. However, villagers expressed a relatively strong preference for printed materials as a source of additional information.

Table 29: How villagers have heard about the changes

Question: [For those who have heard of the changes in forest laws and management]
In what ways have they heard about the changes in forest policy and laws? And for all villagers, how would they like to get more information?

	Ways have heard about changes				Ways would like to get more information			
	All (316)	Men (213)	Women (103)	Leaders (35)	All (474)	Men (300)	Women (174)	Leaders (40)
Government briefing	3%	2%	4%	9%	11%	10%	14%	10%
Training sessions	6%	6%	7%	21%	29%	30%	26%	25%
NGO ⁵	1%	1%	1%	3%	2%	2%	1%	5%
Civil society group	1%	0%	4%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Newspaper	6%	7%	3%	12%	15%	16%	14%	3%
Radio	69%	75%	57%	61%	45%	45%	45%	33%
Television	6%	7%	3%	0%	9%	8%	11%	8%
Video	2%	2%	1%	0%	3%	4%	2%	5%
Village meetings	24%	19%	34%	21%	51%	49%	56%	48%
Exchange visits	1%	1%	0%	3%	8%	9%	6%	8%
Barazas	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Workshops	3%	1%	6%	18%	12%	15%	8%	40%
Leaflets/brochures/printed materials	1%	0%	1%	21%	14%	14%	14%	28%
General village discussions/gossip	12%	13%	11%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Visitors to the village	13%	11%	15%	12%	36%	37%	32%	33%
Village officials	9%	10%	8%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%
MEMA	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Forest officer	3%	3%	4%	3%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Village natural resources/forest protect. committee	2%	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Songs	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Promotion groups	0%	0%	0%	0%	16%	16%	15%	10%
Other	2%	3%	1%	6%	0%	0%	0%	3%

Disaggregating the data according to village ‘types’ shows that in villages without PFM/PSI initiatives, villagers have got most of their information from the radio (a source that reaches all villages, regardless of whether they are involved in an initiative) and are less likely to have got information from training sessions or visits. However, even where there have not been initiatives, some villagers have also got information about the changes from village meetings and visiting villagers.

⁵ In the survey, NGOs were not mentioned explicitly as being important sources of information, nor were they mentioned as being important for villagers to obtain additional information. This may be because the villagers do not identify the NGOs as the source of information, even if they are in practice. However, in general discussions it was clear that in some villages, NGOs had played a large part in the planning and implementation of PFM arrangements.

21% of village leaders mentioned printed matter as a key source of information about the changes in forest laws, but only 1% of villagers. Yet 14% of villagers expressed a preference for printed matter as a source of further information suggesting that village leaders should be making more efforts to ensure that villagers have access to the same printed materials as they themselves have.

"Written documents should be prepared for the village so that villagers have access to information when they want it - villagers tend to be more trusting of the village leaders if they can see and read leaflets rather than just having information passed on orally from the village leaders and village committee." Village leader

"In some areas, many villagers do not know how to read or write so written documents may not be so useful." National level stakeholder

Overall, there was considerable agreement from villagers and village leaders in terms of the preferred sources of additional information: village meetings; radio; training sessions; visitors to the village; promotion groups; and printed materials, being the most preferred. Although many villagers are illiterate, those villagers who can read typically have confidence in printed materials.

Table 30: How villagers have heard about the changes, disaggregated by "type"

Question to villagers: In what ways or from what sources have you heard about these changes in the way that forests are managed? [unprompted, asked to villagers who have heard of the changes]

	Villagers living in villages where the following initiatives are being implemented			
	JFM (76)	CBFM (79)	PSI (125)	None (65)
Government briefing	4%	4%	2%	2%
Training session	11%	8%	4%	3%
NGO	3%	1%	0%	0%
Civil society group	1%	3%	1%	2%
Newspaper	7%	5%	6%	5%
Radio	62%	63%	70%	85%
Television	7%	4%	5%	8%
Video	0%	3%	2%	3%
Village meetings	28%	26%	26%	17%
Exchange visits	0%	5%	1%	0%
Barazas	0%	0%	0%	2%
Workshops	2%	7%	4%	0%
Leaflets/pamphlets/posters	2%	0%	1%	0%
General village 'gossip'	10%	12%	16%	8%
Visitors to the village	11%	10%	8%	2%
Village officials	5%	0%	18%	5%
Visiting officials	7%	2%	5%	2%
Other	3%	0%	3%	2%

3.4.1 The use of radio for providing information?

Key informant and pilot interviews suggested that radio could be an important approach to getting information about PFM directly to villagers, rather than only relying on information being passed to them through regional, district, ward, village leaders, or NGOs. Hence we introduced some more detailed questions concerning villagers' radio preferences. Because different stakeholders can withhold information from local villagers (whether deliberately or not), radio broadcasts can ensure that information reaches villagers directly, thereby empowering them, for example, either to seek more information or to know their rights and challenge those in authority where necessary. The responses in the tables above confirm the importance of radio.

Overall, 64% of those villagers interviewed listen to the radio at least once per week, with 61% listening most days. However, there was a significant difference between the responses of men and women: whereas 72% of men listen to the radio most days, only 42% of women do, suggesting that it might be easier to reach men than women through the radio. In terms of preferred radio stations, men and women respondents had similar preferences, with Radio Tanzania the most preferred, followed by other FM stations in general, Radio Free Africa, and Radio Maria. Not surprisingly, villagers are less likely to watch TV, though women watch TV slightly more frequently than men (naturally TV is not common in most villages – indeed, half of respondents rarely or never watch TV).

Table 31: The extent to which villagers listen to the radio/watch TV

		All	All %	Male %	Female %
How often do you listen to the radio?	Most days	294	61%	72%	42%
	At least once per week	15	3%	4%	2%
	Rarely	115	24%	19%	33%
	Never	55	11%	5%	23%
Preferred radio station	Radio Tanzania	356	85%	86%	84%
	FM stations	61	15%	15%	13%
	Other	20	5%	4%	6%
	Radio Maria	25	6%	5%	8%
	RFA	40	10%	10%	8%
	Radio Iringa	3	1%	1%	1%
	Radio 1	18	4%	6%	1%
How often do you watch TV	Most days/ once per day	118	26%	26%	25%
	At least once per week	93	20%	18%	23%
	Rarely	71	15%	14%	19%
	Never	180	39%	42%	33%

Radio has been a key medium for villagers to get information about the changes in forest policy and laws, and indeed almost half of villagers interviewed suggested that the radio would be a good way for them to get more information. Not surprisingly, given that they listen to the radio more frequently, men were more likely than women to have got their information from the radio.

Table 32: Suggestions for improving communications concerning PFM (selected responses)

Stakeholder	Suggestions
National NGO	<p>“Ward Development Committees currently have meetings where they invite experts such as DFOs and WFOs. These meetings could be used to update people on the new forest laws.”</p> <p>“In the villages there are supposed to be meetings every three months for all villagers. These meetings could be used to inform villagers about new forest policies and the implication for villagers. Alternatively civil society organisations could share information with villagers.”</p> <p>“The government used to use Radio Tanzania to provide information on, for example, farming and health. Now there are many more radio stations but information is not getting to the villagers.”</p>
Regional	<p>“Study tours outside the region. Exchanges for villagers to learn about plans implemented in different villages. Taking videos to show villagers, though TV is limited to where there is electricity. Brochures are useful, but they should have lots of pictures that are interesting for the villagers, cartoons also go down well in the villages. Also campaigns through primary schools, such as coastal ecology courses – school children are likely to talk to their parents about what they learn.”</p>
District and regional level respondents	<p>“Seminars and workshops will allow people to explain their problems and look for solutions”</p> <p>“Training, leaflets, and workshops”</p> <p>“Workshops at all levels and education of villagers to understand the new laws”</p> <p>“Kiswahili versions of forest laws should be available”</p>

3.5 PFM and perceptions on poverty

Poverty reduction is stated as one of the key objectives of PFM. Broadly, options for poverty reduction at the village level can be considered “direct” and “indirect”. Direct options are those whereby villagers get increased tangible benefits from the forests themselves, either through improved management and more sustainable harvesting, or new rights to collect non-timber forest products or to cut timber.⁶ Bee keeping is an additional forest-based enterprise that could provide villagers with alternative incomes, requiring relatively low levels of investment. However, bee keeping can be practiced outside the forest reserves and so could be adopted by villagers irrespective of PFM/PSI initiatives. Indirect options are those in which villagers would be provided with alternative livelihood options or with improved facilities, such as a new school building or hospital. And indeed, villagers have identified such alternatives in the survey. However, these initiatives can also be undertaken irrespective of PFM/PSI activities.

Table 33: Summary statistics concerning poverty perceptions

Question: What in your opinion are the key goals and objectives of the changes in forest policy and laws? [unprompted, to those who have heard of the changes]

	All villagers (341)	Village leaders (31)	Sub-national stakeholders (42)	National stakeholders (7)
Poverty reduction	6%	18%	14%	14%

Question: What in your opinion are the most important changes that you know of that have come about as a result of the new forest policy and laws? [unprompted]

	All villagers	Village leaders	Sub-national stakeholders	National stakeholders
Reduced poverty in villages	4%	10%	26%	28%

Villager responses disaggregated by village type

	JFM (72)	CBFM (81)	PSI (125)	None (63)
Poverty reduction as key goal/objective	5%	4%	5%	11%
Poverty reduction as a consequence	4%	1%	5%	0%

The above tables first suggest that villagers are less likely than village leaders and national and sub-national stakeholders to identify (unprompted) poverty reduction as a key goal and objective of the changes in forest laws. And similarly, they are less likely to identify (again, unprompted) reduced poverty as a predicted outcome of the changes. Indeed, only 4% of villagers suggested that poverty reduction was an important change whereas 26% of those at sub-national level suggested that poverty reduction was a key change. The disaggregated data further suggest that where an

⁶ Key non-timber forest products (NTFPs) collected by villagers from the PFM/PSI forests adjacent to the surveyed villages are fuelwood, poles for house construction, mushrooms, and medicine. Other studies that have quantified these benefits suggest that the rural poor have a high dependence on these resources (Narain et al, 2005).

initiative has been introduced (JFM, CBFM, and PSI villages), villagers are less likely to consider poverty reduction as a key goal or objective.

Where a JFM, CBFM, or PSI initiative has been introduced, villagers are less likely to consider poverty reduction as a key goal or objective than where no initiative has been introduced.

When prompted, respondents were relatively positive about the impact of PFM on poverty reduction. For example, when stakeholders were asked “Do you think that the new approaches to forest management will help to reduce poverty?”, 81% of sub-national and 100% of national stakeholders replied yes. The reasons given are summarised in the following table.

Table 34: Perceptions on how poverty reduction will be achieved through PFM

Question: If you believe that poverty will be reduced, how do you think that it will be achieved (unprompted, to those who answered that they believed that poverty would be reduced)?

	Sub-national stakeholders (38)	National stakeholders (7)
More employment opportunities for local villagers	32%	57%
More income/revenue from forests	41%	57%
Villagers will get marketable tree species	5%	0%
More tax revenue for the government	9%	43%
More exports	5%	0%
Less environmental damage/ improved environmental or ecosystem services	50%	0%
More secure forests	5%	0%

Perceived direct benefits to individual villagers are from employment and income or revenue generating opportunities for villagers. These stakeholders also considered more general benefits to the communities such as reduced environmental damage and improved ecosystem services. Finally, some of the respondents – particularly those at the national level – identified benefits at the national level, particularly more tax revenue and more exports.

Villagers where JFM or CBFM has been introduced were asked specifically about their experiences of poverty reduction, if any, as a result of PFM. Naturally, these results most likely also reflect the different initial forest conditions and how long PFM has been operating in the particular villages.

Table 35: Perceptions on the impact of JFM on poverty

Question: How do you feel that the introduction of JFM has affected poverty within your village [asked to villagers where JFM is being introduced]?

	All (95)	Men (58)	Women (37)
Poverty has been reduced significantly	14%	17%	10%
Poverty has been reduced somewhat	24%	22%	27%
No noticeable impact	25%	26%	24%
Poverty has worsened somewhat	13%	13%	12%
Poverty has worsened considerably	4%	0%	8%
Don't know	20%	22%	18%

Summary

	All	Men	Women
Poverty has been reduced	38%	39%	37%
Poverty has worsened	17%	13%	20%
No change or don't know	45%	48%	42%

Question: How do you feel that the introduction of CBFM has affected poverty within the village [asked to villagers where CBFM is being introduced]?

	All (100)	Men (51)	Women (49)
Poverty has been reduced significantly	10%	10%	10%
Poverty has been reduced somewhat	17%	14%	21%
No noticeable impact	26%	29%	21%
Poverty has worsened somewhat	16%	19%	12%
Poverty has worsened considerably	13%	14%	12%
Don't know	18%	14%	24%

Summary

	All	Men	Women
Poverty has been reduced	27%	24%	31%
Poverty has worsened	29%	33%	24%
No change or don't know	44%	43%	45%

In JFM villages, villagers tend to have a more positive attitude towards poverty reduction than in the CBFM villages. These differences in results are driven mainly by the perceptions of male villagers who are considerably more pessimistic than women in the CBFM villages. However, overall, almost half of all respondents felt that either there had been no change, or “didn't know.” In part, that villagers perceive no change is a reflection of the early stages of many of the initiatives.

Villagers who see poverty as increasing with the introduction of PFM typically attribute the increase to actual or anticipated reduced access to forest products. For example, one villager felt that poverty had increased considerably because activities such as wood cutting and tree cutting had been reduced, but at the same time, he recognised that there was much less forest degradation, suggesting that he recognised a trade-off between livelihoods and environment, at least in the short run.

The quarter of villagers who felt that poverty had been or would be reduced as a result of CBFM or JFM initiatives gave a wide range of answers as to why this was their perception, some realistic and some unrealistic and some that could be achieved even without the initiatives. The responses given are listed below.

Table 36: Reasons given for perceptions over changes in poverty

<i>Reasons given for perception that poverty has increased/will increase</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No more cutting trees • No more access to forest products • No longer able to sell timber
<i>Reasons given for perception that poverty has decreased/ will decrease</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job opportunities like ploughing • Drought reduction/increased rain • Money from tourism industry • Benefits from efforts to manage the forest • If stolen timbers are caught, can be used to construct schools • If we protect the forest we will be rich by selling charcoal • Villagers will get timber, firewood, and building poles • We will get timber for housing and school construction • We will get forest products to make furniture, boats etc • Revenue from sale of forest products

Many villagers gave what appear to be poorly-informed reasons as to why JFM and CBFM might reduce poverty. Villagers' expectations need to be managed carefully so that they are not at odds with reality.

Naturally the responses depend upon which initiative is being introduced. For example, where CBFM is being introduced, villagers were more likely to respond that they will get increased revenues from forest products – these can be considered realistic expectations. Yet these findings might seem at odds with the findings reported above, that villagers where CBFM is being introduced are more likely to perceive poverty as increasing as a result of the initiative than villagers where JFM is being introduced.

We also asked villagers which individuals or groups they felt benefited most from JFM and CBFM. Again, villagers were fairly optimistic that the villagers themselves benefit from the initiatives. This was particularly so in CBFM villages where 82% of respondents believed that villagers benefited compared with 56% in JFM villages. In the JFM villages, men were much more likely than women to suggest that village households benefited, women were twice as likely as men to answer that they did not know. However, in the CBFM villages, there was also a relatively strong feeling that people on the environmental committee (or similar committees) were likely to benefit more than others (indeed 26% of women respondents felt thus).

The above responses concerning the impact of JFM and CBFM often appear contradictory. For example, only about a quarter of villagers believe that the initiatives have reduced or will reduce poverty, and many of these respondents cannot articulate well how poverty will be reduced, and yet well over half of respondents believe that villagers benefit from JFM and CBFM initiatives.

Villagers often lack realistic expectations over the impact of JFM and CBFM on poverty. They need clear and realistic messages over the actual links between the initiatives and poverty at the village and wider levels.

At the national level, the stakeholders that we interviewed all felt that the changes in forest laws would reduce poverty. However, when asked to expand on how poverty would be reduced, their answers were more nuanced. Several of the stakeholders noted that although one of the objectives of PFM is poverty alleviation, the benefits to villagers of JFM appear to be limited. Others suggested that the changes will have an impact on poverty only if they are well implemented – which is not guaranteed throughout the country. Finally, one stakeholder commented that the contribution of forest products to household livelihoods is not known, so it will not be possible to determine the impact of PFM on poverty reduction.

If the contribution of forest products to local livelihoods is not known, the impact of PFM on poverty cannot be determined.

3.6 PFM and perceptions on forest degradation

Earlier tables suggest that villagers identify environmental conservation such as reduced forest degradation as one of the most important key aims and one of the most likely consequences of the changes in forest policy and law.

Table 37: Perceptions of impact of changes on forest degradation

Question: What in your opinion are the most important changes that you know if that have come about as a result of the new forest policy, programme, and act (unprompted, asked to all respondents who have heard of the changes)?

	Villagers			Village leaders	“Sub-national” stakeholders
	All	Men	Women		
Reduced degradation of forests	50%	49%	51%	45%	26%
Introduction of PFM (JFM/CBFM/PSI)	3%	3%	3%	15%	28%
Decentralisation/delegation of responsibility for forest management to lowest levels	3%	3%	3%	6%	30%
More efficient management of forests	0%	0%	0%		2%
Reduced poverty in villages	4%	4%	3%	6%	19%
Empowerment of villagers/encourage villager involvement in forest management	4%	3%	4%	15%	21%
Better understanding of conservation	0%	0%	0%	9%	7%
Change in ownership structure of forests	6%	7%	5%	3%	9%
Privatisation/ Involvement of the private sector/better understanding	1%	1%	1%	9%	9%
More trees/planting trees	4%	4%	3%	6%	7%
More rain	3%	2%	5%		0%
Reduced forest burning	1%	2%	0%	3%	0%
Forests closed to villagers	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%
Increased cost of charcoal	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%
Hotel/school built by donors	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%
Cost savings for national, regional, or local government	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
None	2%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Other	3%	4%	0%	0%	4%
Don't know/no opinion	31%	28%	36%	18%	5%

That villagers identify reduced degradation of forests as the most important change (50% compared with 4% identifying poverty reduction) is perhaps not surprising. Firstly, these are forest policies and laws, and not anti-poverty laws, so villagers are most likely when unprompted to think about the impact on forests rather than livelihoods. Secondly, messages about the changes may have emphasised forests rather than people. This could particularly be true if the messages are being delivered by conservation-oriented NGOs whose focus and expertise is on forests rather than livelihoods. Thirdly, the reality of the situation could be that reduced forest degradation is indeed occurring more than poverty reduction, particularly at the village level. Villagers are most likely to perceive the impact of forest law changes on their own livelihoods in the short term, rather than on the country as a whole in the long term. Hence villagers who experience reduced access to extract resources from the forest most likely will feel poorer, and may recognise that this will reduce degradation of the forests, but not account for any “external” impacts that benefit the country in general. Finally, as mentioned earlier, there have been a number of past campaigns on forest conservation so villagers may have an increased tendency to identify forest-related initiatives with forest conservation and reduced degradation.

We asked villagers who are experiencing JFM and CBFM specifically about their perceived impact of PFM on degradation both in the specific forests where PFM was being undertaken, and in other forests around the village. Although most villagers felt that degradation had decreased in the specific forests where the initiatives had been undertaken, a significant number felt that degradation had increased in other forests around the village.

Table 38: Perceptions over how PFM has affected forest resources

How do you feel that JFM/CBFM has affected the particular forests in the village where JFM/CBFM is occurring? Would you say ...question asked to villagers where either JFM or CBFM is being undertaken]

	Where JFM is being introduced			Where CBFM is being introduced		
	All (96)	Men (46)	Women (50)	All (97)	Men (56)	Women (41)
There is much less degradation than before	28%	30%	26%	27%	30%	22%
There is slightly less degradation	36%	28%	44%	33%	32%	34%
The resource quality is about the same	5%	11%	0%	8%	5%	12%
There is slightly more degradation	16%	17%	14%	6%	9%	5%
There is much more degradation	2%	4%	0%	8%	11%	2%
Don't know	13%	9%	16%	18%	13%	24%

Summary

	JFM villages			CBFM villages		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
Less degradation than before	64%	58%	70%	60%	62%	56%
No change	5%	11%	0%	8%	5%	12%
More degradation than before	18%	21%	14%	14%	20%	7%
Don't know	13%	9%	16%	18%	13%	24%

Question: Now think about other forest resources around the village: Would you say...

	JFM villages			CBFM villages		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
There is much less degradation than before	13%	12%	14%	22%	27%	14%
There is slightly less degradation	14%	18%	8%	17%	17%	16%
The resource quality is about the same	11%	10%	12%	7%	6%	9%
There is slightly more degradation	17%	17%	18%	16%	12%	21%
There is much more degradation	6%	8%	2%	10%	15%	2%
Don't know	39%	35%	45%	28%	23%	37%

Summary	JFM villages			CBFM villages		
	All	Men	Women	All	Men	Women
Less degradation than before	27%	30%	22%	39%	44%	30%
No change	11%	10%	12%	7%	6%	9%
More degradation than before	23%	25%	20%	26%	27%	23%
Don't know	39%	35%	45%	28%	23%	37%

As is consistent throughout the survey, women are more likely than men to answer “don’t know”. In the JFM villages, men and women had similar perceptions on whether degradation had increased or decreased (from summary table) in the specific forest. In the CBFM villages, women were slightly less optimistic than men concerning the impact on degradation (though this in part is due to the large number of “don’t know” answers).

Comparing the responses to the specific PFM forests and other forests suggests that overall villagers perceive that degradation in the PFM forests has decreased, but some villagers perceive that some of this decrease in degradation may have been displaced into the non-PFM forests (about a quarter of villagers felt that there was more degradation in other forest areas). However, a relatively large proportion of villagers (39% in JFM villages and 28% in CBFM villages) were not willing/able to make a judgement on the changes in non-PFM forests. And a proportion of villagers felt that degradation had actually been reduced in the other forest areas, suggesting that there had not been a displacement effect, but rather that perhaps the commitment to the PFM forests had spilled over into other forests.

4 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Overall, knowledge levels concerning the recent changes in Tanzania's forest laws, specifically the introduction of PFM, are low. Even where PFM is being introduced, a large number of villagers are not aware of the changes, and even those who are often lack even basic knowledge of the implications of the changes. Hence a new communications strategy is much needed.

This assessment has highlighted a number of challenges for the new communications and awareness strategy for PFM in Tanzania. First, villagers as a group are considerably less well informed than other stakeholders, and so specific effort is needed to reach them, and in particular women villagers. Radio, village meetings, and general village discussions have provided much of the information to date that villagers have received about PFM and the changes in forest laws. However, villagers also expressed a preference for additional printed materials, such as leaflets and posters, as a way of getting information that they could trust. Second, particular effort is required to reach ward level stakeholders. They are a key link between district level officials – who are perceived to be best informed about PFM – and village leaders. Yet ward level officials lack knowledge and confidence. Clear messages and easily accessible summaries are required. Third, there are a number of mismatches in perceptions that could cause problems in the long-term implementation of PFM. Future communications activities could help to reduce these mismatches by ensuring effective communication among different stakeholder groups. Finally, although poverty reduction is stated as one of the key objectives of PFM, the links between poverty reduction and PFM are not clear, and villagers are poorly informed and often have unrealistic expectations. National stakeholders expressed a number of concerns, particularly that the benefits of JFM appear to be limited, and that the current contribution of forest products to household livelihoods is not known so the impact of PFM on poverty will be tricky to determine.

APPENDIX 1

Summary statistics for the household survey

The household survey involved 503 household interviews in 25 villages throughout the country. The following table provides summary statistics of the households and individuals that were interviewed. From the sample it can be seen that both men and women, and male and female-headed households were well represented.

		Number	Overall %*	Male-headed %	Female-headed %	Child-headed %
No. of interviews		503				
Gender	Male	314	63%			
	Female	188	37%			
Head of household	Male	319	65%			
	Female	171	35%			
Wealth ranking	Very poor	29	6%	8%	0%	8%
	Poor	318	63%	67%	62%	67%
	Better off	150	30%	24%	38%	24%
	Rich	6	1%	1%	0%	1%
Where born	In village	278	58%			
	Other village, same district	85	18%			
	In different district	67	14%			
	Other	49	10%			
Education	None can read or write	24	5%	4%	8%	0%
	Can read/write a little	19	4%	4%	4%	0%
	Primary	334	70%	70%	69%	89%
	Secondary	87	18%	19%	18%	11%
	Tertiary (College, tech, uni)	12	3%	3%	1%	0%
	Other	2	0%	1%	0%	0%
Most important livelihood activities	Farming/agriculture	428	81%			
	Business e.g. shopkeeper	48	9%			
	Wage employment	19	4%			
	Livestock	10	2%			
	Fishing	8	2%			
	Grass cutting	1	0%			
	Not working	1	0%			
	Charcoal	2	0%			
	Timber cutting	4	1%			
	Worker at Sao Hill	1	0%			
	Other	7	1%			
Importance of forest products to households	Very important	245	51%	54%	45%	56%
	Quite important	132	28%	26%	32%	22%
	Not very important	63	13%	13%	14%	11%
	Not at all important	36	8%	7%	9%	11%

* Percentage of those who responded

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