

Community participation in forest management in the United Republic of Tanzania

by **Said Iddi**

Director, Forestry and Beekeeping Division, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania

Introduction

It is estimated that the United Republic of Tanzania has 33.5 million ha of forests and woodlands (MNRT, 1998). This is about 38 percent of the total land area. Almost two-thirds of the forest and woodland area consists of woodlands on general lands. About 13 million ha of forest and woodland area have been

gazetted as forest reserves. The reserved area includes 1.6 million ha that are managed as catchment forests, and about 80 000 hectares of government-owned plantations. The main species planted are *Pinus patula* and *Cupressus lusitanica*. In addition, there are 80 000 ha of private forest plantations. The distribution of forest area by type, use and legal status is shown in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2.

TABLE 1 • Distribution of forest area in the United Republic of Tanzania by type, use and legal status

DISTRIBUTION OF FOREST	1 000 ha	PROPORTION IN %
FOREST TYPE		
Forests (other than mangrove forests)	1 141	3.4
Mangrove forests	115	0.3
Woodlands	32 299	96.3
Total	33 555	100.0
USE OF FOREST LAND		
Production forest area	23 810	71.0
Protection forest area (mostly catchment areas)	9 745	29.0
Total	33 555	100.0
LEGAL STATUS		
Forest reserves	12 517	37.3
Forest/woodlands in national parks, etc.	2 000	6.0
Non-reserved forest land	19 038	56.7
Total	33 555	100.0

Source: MNRT, 1998.

FIGURE 1 • Forest distribution in the United Republic of Tanzania by legal status

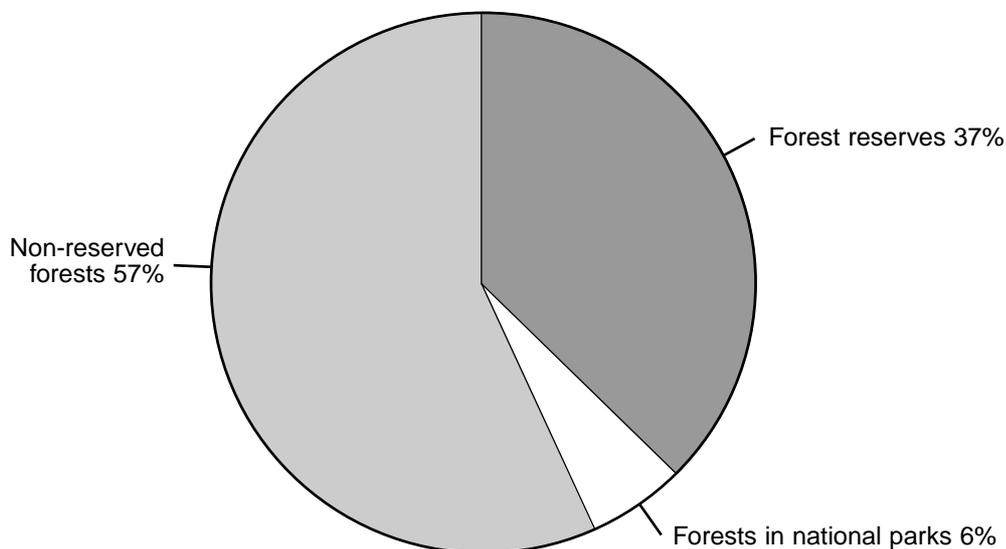
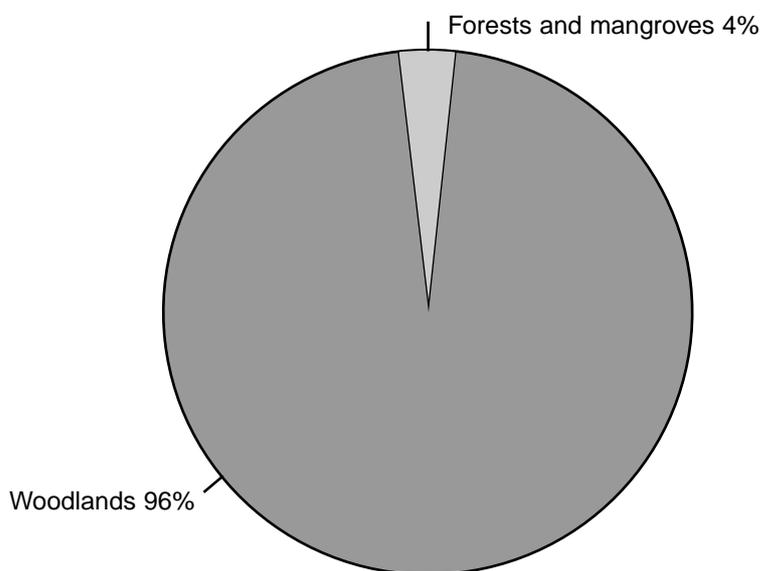


FIGURE 2 • Forest distribution in the United Republic of Tanzania by forest type



Forests and woodlands play an important role in the livelihoods of Tanzanians. It is estimated that more than 90 percent of the population uses biomass energy for cooking and heating. Bioenergy accounts for about 90 percent of the total energy consumption in the country (FBD, 2000). Forests and woodlands

also provide various non-wood products, such as fruits, nuts, medicinal plants, honey, beeswax, tannins and gum arabic (MNRT, 1998), and are important for water catchment. In addition, a number of rivers rise in the forests in the Eastern Arc Mountains. Among these are the Ruvu and Sigi rivers, which supply

water to the city of Dar es Salaam and to Tanga municipality, respectively (VPO, 1998), and the Pangani and Ruaha rivers, which supply water for hydroelectric generation. The forests and woodlands also provide logs for timber, paper products, wood-based panels and poles.

Forest and woodland resources face enormous pressure from the expansion of agricultural activities, settlements, livestock grazing, fires, charcoal making, illegal harvesting and mining. Resettlement of refugees in western Tanzania, for example, has led to clearing of large areas of forests and woodlands for human settlements and to overexploitation of forest resources for fuel and building poles. These activities lead to deforestation. There are no reliable data on deforestation, but estimates show that 91 200 ha are lost every year (FAO, 2000). Deforestation results in loss of biological diversity, severe land degradation and the threat of desertification, among other things.

The forest and woodland resources need proper management so that they may benefit present and future generations. As in many countries in Africa, for a long time forests and woodlands in Tanzania have been managed without full participation of the local communities that live in the vicinity of the resources. This approach has resulted in unsustainability of the resources. Local communities have a significant role in improving forest and woodland management, and their participation can contribute significantly to the sustainability of these resources. This paper highlights efforts being made to involve local communities fully in forest and woodland management, and the future of this strategy.

Community participation in forest management

Historical background

Community participation in forest management (CPFM) has existed in Tanzania for a long time but on a small scale. It is common to find trees of certain species, such as *Ficus* spp., being protected and managed for traditional reasons. Likewise, small patches of forests are commonly retained by various tribes and are used as venues for traditional rituals, such as initiation, prayers and fortune telling. Some of the regions in Tanzania in which trees and forests are traditionally protected are Shinyanga, Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Rukwa.

It has been observed that forests and woodlands that are managed using traditional knowledge and

practices are accorded high respect by concerned communities. They are thus not affected by fires or encroachment.

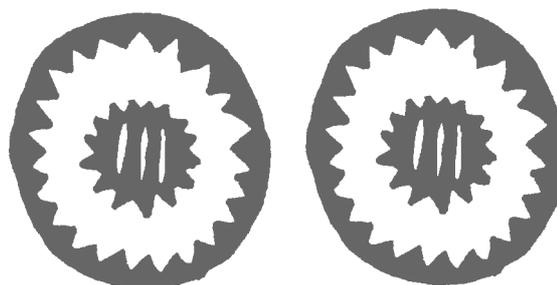
While the strategy of setting aside forests and woodlands for their protection remains the centrepiece of management of these resources in Tanzania, there has been an evolutionary process from conventional to participatory approaches that comprise community-based forest management (CBFM) and joint forest management (JFM). Cases of community participation in forest and woodland management include projects such as the Hifadhi Ardhi Shinyanga (HASHI) soil conservation project in Shinyanga Region, the Land Management Project (LAMP) in Arusha Region, the Hifadhi Mazingira (HIMA) environmental project in Iringa Region, the Soil Erosion Control and Agroforestry Project (SECAP) in Tanga Region, the Forest Resources Management Project (FRMP) in Tabora and Mwanza regions, the Tropical Forestry Action Plan (TFAP) North Pare in Kilimanjaro Region and the Mbinga District Agroforestry Project in Ruvuma Region (FRMP, 1995). The first two projects are outlined below, and examples of JFM also are provided.

Examples of CBFM

The HASHI project

HASHI is a soil conservation project, which has been implemented in Shinyanga Region since 1986 with the objective of devolving as much as possible the control of natural resources management activities to the local communities of the region in order to enhance the sustainable livelihoods of rural people.

HASHI is a result of a national environmental workshop that was held in 1984 in Mwadui and attended by government leaders from the national to the district levels to discuss strategies of combating the threat of desertification due to serious land degradation in several regions of the country, including Shinyanga. The project was therefore initiated to combat serious land degradation in Shinyanga Region.



Since its initiation, HASHI has revived the ngitiri, an indigenous system of forest and woodland management. The system has been widely adopted in Shinyanga Region because it is cheap to establish, as it depends on natural regeneration. Protection of ngitiris is also assured because they depend on the use of customary laws that are highly respected by the communities. This environment has made the scaling-up of the ngitiri system relatively easy. An inventory carried out in December 2000 shows that villages, institutions, groups, schools and households own a total of 71 154 ha of ngitiris in Shinyanga Region (see Table 2).

It is estimated that about 40 percent of the households in each of the about 800 villages in the region (excluding Shinyanga Urban) own ngitiris averaging 1.5 ha. The size ranges from 0.1 to 215 ha for households, and from 3 to 1 650 ha for communal (village) ngitiris.

Institutions that own ngitiris are Dagashida in Bariadi District (900 ha), the Traditional Healers' Association in Maswa (15 ha), folk development colleges (60 ha), prisons (325 ha) and religious institutions (1 700 ha).

The LAMP

LAMP started in Babati District, in Arusha Region in 1988, with the objective of promoting the utilization and management of natural resources on a sustainable basis (FRMP, 1995). The implementation of LAMP led to the wider participation in forest and

woodlands management of local communities in the district. For example, protection and management of Duru-Haitemba woodland was started through local people's initiatives. This 9 000 ha hilly woodland had been earmarked by the Forestry and Beekeeping Division (FBD) for gazetting as a reserve (Wily and Mbaya, 2001). The eight village communities surrounding the woodland convinced the government to abandon this proposal by demonstrating that they could protect the woodland more successfully than the forest guards posted there.

Duru-Haitemba is now well managed by the communities living in the eight villages that surround it. It is considered a model for community-based forest and woodland management in Tanzania. One of the main factors that has contributed to the success of the management of the Duru-Haitemba woodland is the fact that it is adjacent to organized villages with defined boundaries and democratic governments.

The experience gained from the Duru-Haitemba woodland has been adopted in Singida Region, where the LAMP project is also operating. The approach was adopted by FBD with respect to a larger (40 000 ha) miombo woodland in Mgori, Singida District, which had also been identified by FBD for gazetting. Instead, the woodland, which is surrounded by five villages, is managed today as a village woodland reserve. Legal gazetting of Duru-Haitemba and Mgori woodlands is under way.

**TABLE 2 • Recorded ngitiris in Shinyanga Region,
United Republic of Tanzania (December 2000)**

DISTRICT	VILLAGES		INSTITUTIONS		GROUPS		SCHOOLS		HOUSEHOLDS		Total Area (ha)
	No.	Area (ha)	No.	Area (ha)	No.	Area (ha)	No.	Area (ha)	No.	Area (ha)	
Shinyanga	36	11 214	6	2 300	4	150	12	32	2 930	4 795	18 491
Kahama	65	7 376	2	30	2	21	8	41	990	1 962	9 430
Maswa	16	2 561	3	35	1	3	14	33	1 925	2 743	5 375
Meatu	23	4 486	2	10	6	14	11	25	3 836	6 620	11 155
Shinyanga (Rural)	18	15 264	6	625	8	24	18	40	4 844	7 806	23 759
Shinyanga (Urban)	12	1 975	-	-	-	-	3	4	126	245	2 224
Bukombe	2	300	-	-	1	10	5	20	388	390	720
Total	172	43 176	19	3 000	22	222	71	195	15 039	24 561	71 154

Source: HASHI

Examples of JFM

Following the revision of the forest policy in 1998, local communities are now encouraged to co-manage forest reserves with the government through special agreements, namely JFM. Currently, there are a number of forests, e.g. Gologolo and Kipumbwi in Tanga Region, and Udzungwa in Iringa Region, that are at various stages of JFM.

Gologolo is a portion of the 12 425 ha Shume-Magamba Forest Reserve. It takes its name from a village called Gologolo, which is totally surrounded by the forest reserve. The forest portion under JFM is known as Gologolo village forest management area, and has an area of 5 300 ha. This area includes 1 300 ha of commercial plantation and 4 000 ha of natural forest (Wily and Mbaya, 2001).

JFM is also being implemented in a 422-ha portion of a mangrove forest reserve near Kipumbwi village in Pangani District, Tanga Region. Kipumbwi and Sange villages have agreed to co-manage the forest with the government. A draft collaborative management plan has been prepared as one stage towards legally agreed JFM.

A JFM proposal for the Udzungwa Mountains Forest Reserve in Iringa Region is awaiting approval. Udzungwa Mountains, occupying 10 000 km², are a major component of the Eastern Arc Mountains, which are a biological diversity hot spot.

Other forests where JFM is being implemented include Ufiome in Arusha Region, Kilimanjaro in Kilimanjaro Region, Kitulanh'alo in Morogoro Region, Amani Nature Reserve in Tanga Region and Urumwa in Tabora Region.

Opportunities for CPFM in Tanzania

Conducive forest policy

The National Forest Policy (1998) is quite clear on the need to bring unreserved forests and woodlands under the jurisdiction of local communities as "village forest reserves" (Policy Statement No. 5). The policy also opens the way (Policy Statement No. 6) for forest-adjacent communities to become co-managers of both central and local government forest reserves through JFM agreements (MNRT, 1998).

Building on traditional forest management

One of the most significant recent developments in forest and woodlands management in Tanzania has been efforts to strengthen, or to otherwise reintroduce, earlier management traditions (Kajembe, 1994; Kessy, 1998; Kajembe and Kessy, 2000; Kajembe and Mwihomeke, 2001). This has involved

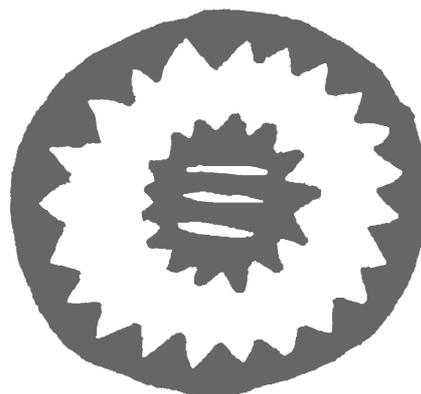
building on the customary practices of setting aside tracts of land for rituals or for later emergency use (Ylhaisi, 2000). Gerden and Mtallo (1990) mention more than 46 traditionally protected forests and their uses in Babati District. The forests are protected by customary laws.

Wily and Monela (1999), reporting on the concept of the traditional forest management system under *ngitiri* in Mwanza and Tabora regions said that the concept was originally applied to grazing areas and has recently been extended to include residual pockets of woodlands. *Ngitiri* is a portion of land protected from farming and grazing for a specified period of time, thus the allowing natural regeneration of trees, shrubs and grasses. The *ngitiris* provide products such as fodder (especially during dry season) and poles. Today, more than 1 300 *ngitiris* have been established in the seven districts of Mwanza Region and another 120 and 15 034 in Tabora and Shinyanga regions, respectively. These examples show that traditional forest management has high potential as a springboard for CPFM in Tanzania.

Devolved governance as a platform for PFM

There may be little doubt that the extent to which decentralized governance has been put in place in a country acts as a catalyst in the formation of community identity and, over time, its empowerment as both authority and landowner (Wily and Mbaya, 2001). In Tanzania, governance has been extended to the grassroots and given a sociolegal framework (Kikula, 2000).

Over the last quarter of a century, Tanzania's land policy and law have been built on what is arguably the most decentralized and devolved regime of governance in sub-Saharan Africa, in which governance is lodged first and foremost at the village level (Wily and Dewees, 2001).



An initial effort to consolidate local people's control over their land was framed in the 1983 National Agricultural Policy, which launched a programme of village titling. The new Land Policy (1995) and new Land Law (1999) have now reconstructed the tenure environment of Tanzania and, with it, the nature and expression of rights at the local level.

The village remains central in the new land policy and legal framework, and is in fact strengthened. The links between the village and its land have been given a clear and strong legal foundation by the introduction into the Law of the "village land" as one of the three land management categories. The other two are general and reserved land.

While the Land Law (1999) removed the right of the village council to secure title over the village land, it endows that body with functions more appropriate to its identity as a governing body by designating it as the "manager" rather than an "owner" of that land. The law is quite clear with regard to the responsibilities, duties and rights of the village council in this capacity as a land manager. The relevance of the village in PFM in Tanzania can thus be seen clearly. Most of the unreserved forests and woodlands are found in or adjacent to village lands, of which elected village councils are the designated and lawful land managers. The new Land Law not only allows local communities to demarcate parts of their local environment for common use and/or natural resource management, but also provides two mechanisms through which local-level jurisdiction may be reinforced. These are the legal mandate to declare a woodland or forest inside the village areas as common property, thereby protecting it from encroachment, and the provision in the Land Law for the ownership of rights in this land to be titled to the appropriate group in the community, or even to the community as a whole.

Conflict resolution capability at community level

Experience points to the vital importance that conflict resolution, or at least the first stage of resolution, should take place at the community level (Roe *et al.*, 2000). In Tanzania, conflicts at the village level, where PFM is based, can be resolved locally through reconciliation committees (Kihyo and Kajembe, 2000). These committees are recognized by formal law and are constituted at the village level by involving the "wise men and women of the village". Courts of law at the primary, district and regional levels can refer a case to the reconciliation committee, where mainly customary laws are used to resolve conflicts. Conflicts over land use and marital conflicts are the most common (Kihyo and Kajembe, 2000). However,

village governments sometimes feel the necessity to formulate by-laws to handle difficult cases that are beyond the capability of the customary laws.

Challenges for CPFM in Tanzania

The gap between policy and practice

There are risks in implementing PFM, especially when even basic understanding of processes of local institutional change is low among the foresters who are charged with moving the process forward (Kajembe and Kessy, 2000).

As a matter of fact, a gap still exists between the practice at the resource user level and the expected implementation of the policy. Foresters are practising PFM as "trials". This may enable them to avoid commitment to PFM.

The gap between policy and practice is, in part, a function of "traditionalist approaches" to forest management (Kajembe, 1994). Wider societal power shifts from the centre to the periphery, and inevitable struggles against the devolution of authority, which is equated with the loss of power and status, are also being played out in PFM (Kajembe and Kessy, 2000). PFM challenges fundamental power relations between the state and its citizens (Kajembe and Monela, 2000). Naturally, there has been, and will continue to be, some resistance, despite enabling policy and political support of PFM.

Poor understanding of the community's incentive structure to take on responsibilities for PFM

Indeed, there is a poor understanding of whether and when a community has any incentive to take on responsibilities for PFM (Wily and Dewees, 2001). Where there are strong cultural influences that place value on forests of religious significance, protection as an end in itself can emerge as a dominant local management paradigm (Ylhaisi, 2000). In other cases, there may be few incentives to manage at all unless forests are already scarce. Managing abundance may seem to be counterproductive. This is especially so in areas of high biological diversity, where global values (which are oriented toward conservation) may conflict with local values (which emphasize use) (Kessy, 1998).

The dilemma of finding the right locus for decision-making at the local level

As already mentioned, Tanzania has arguably the most decentralized and devolved regime of governance in sub-Saharan Africa, in which governance is lodged first and foremost at the village level. Having the village as the lowest locus for governance has its merits and challenges.

Kajembe and Monela (2000) found in Duru-Haitemba, Babati, Tanzania, that there are two factions competing for power at the village level: the “elite groups” and the “traditionalists”, or “conservatives”. Elite groups normally tend to cooperate with higher-level state apparatuses, such as foresters at the district level, in establishing externally sponsored institutional structures such as forest committees, whereas traditionalists (e.g. the custodians of ritual forests) seek to reconstruct the forest committees as entities performing predominantly ritual functions.

Experience in Tanzania shows that many decisions at the village level are being taken outside the formally recognized loci for decision-making, and the most important decisions, including those concerning PFM, are made by loosely bonded groups of individuals or factions. A faction is not a legitimate agent within an administrative structure. It may be a locus for decision-making, but the rules, if any, that govern it are not prescribed by the institutional framework in which it operates. Its criteria of membership and decision-making are necessarily informal.

In Duru-Haitemba, for example, the traditionalist faction is fully organized (Kajembe and Monela, 2000). Its primary concern is ritual, but it also retains an outward form of state powers.

The predominant characteristic of traditionalists’ political practice, however, is a tactful non-compliance with orders of the village government. The end result of this is the insulation of some households from the demands of the state (the village government is an extension of the central government). “Traditional”, in one sense, refers to what actually existed at some earlier and distant time, while, in another sense, it refers to modes of “behaviour” or “institutions” (Kajembe and Monela, 2000).

The elite faction is composed of wealthy and articulate members of the community. As more opportunities become available to citizens for participation, local elite groups can become dominant. Locally based dominant actors tend to hijack community-based processes and forcefully occupy the political space opened by decentralization (Agrawal, Britt and Kanel, 1999). Under such a situation, local elite groups strengthen the relations of domination and control in which the poor and the marginalized become even worse off.

Experience from Duru-Haitemba shows that communities are stratified (Kajembe and Mgoo, 1999). In all stratified communities, the interests of some actors are not represented adequately. Because of hierarchies and problems of

representation and accountability in most communities, it is important to create institutional structures of representation and accountability that can undermine existing asymmetries and prevent new ones from becoming entrenched. This situation may facilitate PFM.

The future of CPFM in Tanzania

Tanzania is determined to enhance and broaden implementation of PFM. This can be achieved through:

- strengthening extension service to stakeholders;
- developing sustainable financing of forest resources management;
- developing a legal and regulatory framework.

Strengthening extension to stakeholders

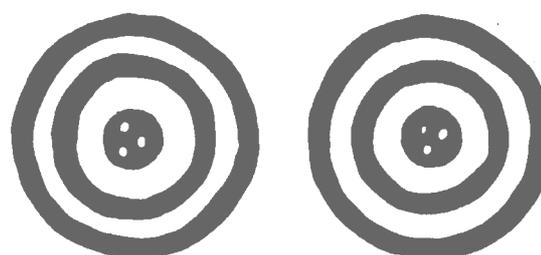
Intensified and harmonized extension will be provided to communities in order to promote their participation in forest and woodland management. As a step towards strengthening extension, a manual entitled *Community-based forest management guidelines* has been prepared and distributed to stakeholders under a project to support implementation of PFM in the country. Under this project, various PFM methodologies will be tested and promoted nationwide.

Developing sustainable financing of forest resources management

In order to enhance their participation in forest and woodland management, local communities will be encouraged to invest in forestry activities.

Developing a legal and regulatory framework

A new forest legislation to facilitate PFM has been proposed and is awaiting enactment. After enactment, a regulatory framework will be developed.



Conclusion

In conclusion, it is essential to draw some lessons from the experience. These include:

- the emergence of an extensively developed system of administration to the grassroots;
- the capacity for forestry institutions to accept and absorb the philosophy of “learning by doing”;
- the importance of integrity among the key people involved in PFM.

The emergence of an extensively developed system of administration to the grassroots

Tanzania has supported the emergence of an extensively developed system of administration to the grassroots (in the distinctive character of its villages). What has been most significant in the Tanzania experience, however, is less that it has had this advantage, but that local-level institutions have been greatly enlivened and further developed where PFM has been instituted.

The act of empowerment embodied in genuine PFM has, in turn, directly prompted and supported devolutionary and associated democratizing processes. A tangible example has been the mobilization of village legislative capacities, which had long existed but were very rarely used before PFM was introduced (Wily and Dewees, 2001)

The capacity for forestry institutions to accept and absorb the philosophy of “learning by doing”

The second lesson learned from experience is that the capacity for forestry institutions, including FBD, to accept and absorb the philosophy of “learning by doing” and “learning from the field” has been enhanced (FAO, 2000a).

It should be noted that PFM in Tanzania has not been born out of the policy; rather, policy formulation has in many respects been directly prompted by new approaches on the ground (FAO, 2000b). In addition, core strategies and instruments in proposed new forest legislation, in turn, derive from experience with PFM in the field.

The importance of integrity among the key people involved in PFM

Another important lesson learned is that PFM can only work if the key people involved have the necessary integrity (FAO, 2000a), that is, if they are not corrupt and involved in illegal practices. The forest administration must be aware that this requires changes related to attitude among the foresters and communities.

References

- Agrawal, A., Britt, C. & Kanel, K. 1999. *Decentralization in Nepal: a comparative analysis. A report on the participatory district development program.* Oakland, California, USA, International Center for Self-Governance. Institute For Contemporary Studies.
- FAO. 2000a. Community involvement in forest management: first experiences from Tanzania. The Gologolo Joint Forest Management Project: a case study from the West Usambara Mountains, by S. Iddi. In *Proceedings of the International workshop on Community Forestry in Africa. 26–30 April 1999, Banjul, the Gambia*, pp. 153–162.
- FAO. 2000b. The evolution of community-based forest management in Tanzania, by L. Wily. In *Proceedings of the International workshop on Community Forestry in Africa. 26–30 April 1999, Banjul, the Gambia*.
- FAO. 2000c. Global Forest Resources Assessment 2000. (draft)
- FBD. 2000. Forestry for poverty reduction and economic growth: national forest programme formulation in Tanzania. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Forestry and Beekeeping Division, Tanzania. (draft)
- FRMP (Forest Resources Management Project). 1995. Identification of best practices for forest activities. FRMP, Forest Division, Tanzania. (draft study report, Vol. 2)
- Gerden, C.A. & Mtallo, S. 1990. *Traditional forest reserves in Babati District, Tanzania: a study in human ecology. FTP: a project under the Community Forestry Section. Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism.* Working Paper No. 128. Uppsala, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.
- Kajembe, G.C. 1994. *Indigenous management systems as a basis for community forestry in Tanzania: a case study of Dodoma urban and Lushoto districts.* Tropical Resource Management Paper No. 6. Wageningen, the Netherlands. Wageningen Agricultural University.
- Kajembe, G.C. & Kessy, J.F. 2000. Joint forest management in Urumwa Forest Reserve, Tabora, Tanzania: a process in the making. In P. Virtanen and M. Nummelin, eds. *Forests, chiefs and peasants in Africa: local management of natural resources in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.* *Silva Carelica*, 34: 141–158. Finland, University of Joensuu.

- Kajembe, G.C. & Mgoo, J.S.** 1999. *Evaluation of community-based forest management approach in Babati district: a case of Duru-Haitemba village forest reserve*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Orgut Consulting AB.
- Kajembe, G.C. & Monela, G.C.** 2000. Empowering communities to manage natural resources: where does the new power lie? A case study of Duru-Haitemba, Babati, Tanzania. In S. Shackleton and B. Campbell, eds. *Empowering communities to manage natural resources: case studies from southern Africa*, pp 151-163. CIFOR/USAID/IUCN/WWF/Africa Resources Trust/SADC/CSIR/IES.
- Kajembe, G.C. & Mwihomeke, S.T.** 2001. *The role of local knowledge and practices in the management of natural resources of the miombo woodlands*. Final report submitted to the project on Participatory Management of Natural Resources, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Kessy, J.F.** 1998. *Conservation and utilization of forest resources in East Usambaras, Tanzania: conventional views and local perspectives*. Tropical Resources Management Paper No. 18. Wageningen, the Netherlands, Wageningen Agricultural University.
- Kihiyo, V.B.M.S. & Kajembe, G.C.** 2000. The Tanzanian Ujamaa policy: its impact on community-based forest management. In W.S. Gombya-Ssembajjwe and A.Y. Banana, eds. *Community-based forest resource management in East Africa*, pp. 34–48. Kampala, Makerere University.
- Kikula, I.S.** 2000. The place of forest and environmental management in the current participatory planning at district and village levels in Tanzania. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Participatory Local Level Consultative Processes in Forestry: Best Practices and Lessons of Experience for Designing the National Forest Programme*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- MNRT** (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism). 1998. *National forest policy*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Government printer.
- Roe, D., Mayers, J., Grieg-Gran, M., Kothari, A., Fabricius, C. & Hughes, R.**, eds. 2000. *Evaluating Eden: exploring the myths and realities of community-based wildlife management*. London, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED).
- VPO** (Vice President's Office). 1998. *Tanzania country study on biological diversity*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Wily, L. & Mbaya, S.** 2001. *Land, people and forests in eastern Africa at the beginning of the 21st century. The impacts of land relationship on the role of communities in forest future*. World Conservation Union (IUCN) Eastern AFRICA Programme.
- Wily, L. & Dewees, P.A.** 2001. From users to custodians: changing relations between people and the state in forest management in Tanzania. Environment and Social Development Unit, Africa Region, World Bank. (unpublished)
- Wily, L. & Haule, O.** 1995. Good news from Tanzania: the first village forest reserves. *Forest Trees and People Newsletter*, November 29: 28–37.
- Wily, L. & Monela, G.C.** 1999. *Communities and forests: what has been learnt and what is the way forward?* Report prepared for Forest Resources Management Project, FBD, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Ylhaisi, J.** 2000. The significance of traditional forests and rituals in Tanzania: a case study of Zigua, Gweno, and Nyamwezi ethnic groups. In P. Virtanen and M. Nummelin, eds. *Forests, chiefs and peasants in Africa: Local management of natural resources in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Mozambique*. *Silva Carelica*, 34: 194–219. Finland, University of Joensuu.