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Livelihoods Count: When Inclusive Approach Meets Exclusion

*A Case Study of Community Based Forest Management Approach
in Tanzania*

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Abstract

By realizing the imbalanced focuses of Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) on livelihood improvement at community and household levels, this thesis specifically explores the impacts of CBFM on the livelihoods of forest-dependent poor households. By adopting the lens of exclusion, an analytical framework was established to connect three main concepts consisting of CBFM, exclusion and livelihoods. A single case study, in line with the main purpose of this thesis, was carried out in Mfyome village in Tanzania through mainly semi-structured interviews as data collection method. Findings revealed that, firstly, CBFM in Mfyome contributed to the exclusion of forest-dependent poor households in a way lacking considerations of those households in the design of CBFM. Secondly, those interviewed households were primarily influenced financially, which was shown as a significant decline in household incomes. Thirdly, the impacts of exclusion on those families had the potentials to result in more illegal logging which is against the forest protection aims of CBFM. Based on first three findings, two recommendations, with the hope of catching more attentions on this exclusion issue, were provided with regard to changes of attitudes toward forest-dependent poor's role in CBFM and further improvements in livelihoods of those households.

Key words: CBFM, exclusion, livelihood improvement, forest protection, forest-dependent poor households, government, Tanzania

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Abbreviations

CBFM	Community Based Forest Management
FGD(s)	Focus Group Discussion(s)
JFM	Joint Forest Management
NGO(s)	Non-Governmental Organization(s)
PFM	Participatory Forest Management
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
VGAM(s)	Village General Assembly Meeting(s)
VNRC(s)	Village Natural Resource Committee(s)

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1. Introduction

Forest goods and services have significantly contributed to the economy in Tanzania (MNRT, 2008a), including more than one million formal jobs with most of which are primarily in rural areas, while informal employments related to forests is estimated as about five to ten times more (DPG, 2006). This can be explained by that the majority of rural villagers depend on forests as a support for their livelihoods (MNRT, 2009).

The deforestation rate, however, has still been high despite conservation efforts such as introduction of participatory initiatives including Community Based Forest Management (CBFM). More than 50% of forest land is under unclear management (URT, 2012) which might lead to misuse (FAO, 2019). Most of these unreserved or ground forest lands are protected by villages due to religious or other traditional reasons (MNRT, 2008b; MNRT, 2009). Although specific traditional forest management practices have been applied for a long time in some areas, the forests are still vulnerable to deforestation-oriented land use practices. Around 40% of land in Tanzania is covered by forests (URT, 2012), but only around 10% of rural villagers participate in CBFM (FAO, 2019), or 4.9% of overall forest areas (MNRT, 2008b).

CBFM has been proved effective in promoting forest conservation, but its contributions to improving livelihoods of participants are unclear and controversial (Vyamana, 2009), especially that economic benefits for participating villagers have yet to be fully proved (MNRT, 2008b). Even in some communities CBFM might be able to somehow contribute to livelihoods at community level, some individual households including the poor have been hard to gain benefits from CBFM (Vyamana, 2009). Differences of impacts of CBFM at community and household level should therefore be under consideration (*ibid*). One of the key to conserve forests lies in motivating local communities to protect and govern their own forests (USAID, 2018). Obtaining larger benefits from forests' huge economic potentials through sustainable management is the primary intention of participants (MNRT, 2007a). The poor, however, might be difficult to actively engage, especially when CBFM tends to widen the gap between the rich and the poor rather than narrowing it down (MNRT, 2007b).

Such imbalanced focus of CBFM would undermine motivations of those poor households to embrace CBFM. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the impacts of CBFM on livelihoods of poor households especially those highly depend on forests.

1.1. Research purpose and research questions

This study aims at exploring CBFM's implications on livelihoods of forest-dependent poor households through the lens of exclusion, followed by strategies those households apply to cope with challenges and by further effects of such changes on the future of CBFM. By do so, this study takes the form of qualitative case study in Mfyome village in Tanzania. Based on above mentioned concerns, the research questions are:

- 1. Does CBFM contribute to the exclusion of forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome Village? If yes, how?*
- 2. How does social exclusion affect the livelihood assets of forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome village?*

Putting the first last is even more difficult than putting the last first since dominants need to listen to and empower the poor (Chambers, 1997). Especially when the poor's realities are diverse, complex and usually against the preference of those dominants (*ibid.*). The connections between the realities of the poor and development initiatives designed by the dominants, therefore, should be further explored.

- 3. What are the changes in the livelihood strategies of forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome and how could those changes potentially impact the future development of CBFM?*
- 4. What could be potential action-oriented suggestions?*

This thesis intends to contribute both theoretically and practically to this research field. With the aims of being action-oriented, this thesis is inclined to be more practical with the hope that more attentions could be brought to the realities of the forest-dependent poor households, thereby making positive changes happen.

1.2. Research structure

This thesis consists of six chapters. The following chapter presents the background of CBFM in Tanzania to gain a general image of CBFM in Tanzania. What follows is Chapter 3 outlining an analytical framework to connect three basic concepts which are CBFM, exclusion and livelihood, thereby contributing to research design and analysis in following chapters. Subsequently, methodology including research design and data collection methods is introduced in Chapter 4. This is followed by Chapter 5 in which findings and analysis of this thesis are displayed with answers to each research question. Lastly, Chapter 6 concludes by summarizing research findings and presenting further expectations.

2. Background

Tanzania has one of the leading legal and policy frameworks in Africa in terms of managing forests through communities (MNRT, 2009), especially for having its sustainable development initiatives such as Participatory Forest Management (PFM). PFM in Tanzania consists of Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) and Joint Forest Management (JFM) (MNRT, 2009). Since PFM is a basic idea behind both CBFM and JFM, this chapter starts with a general introduction of PFM featuring devolution of power. Therefore, international background of PFM is briefly presented before going deeper into its applications and development in Tanzania. Further, differences between CBFM and JFM, which are sometimes confusing in characteristics, are compared for the purpose of gaining a comprehensive image of CBFM. This chapter ends with a brief introduction of basic operational structure of CBFM in Tanzania for the preparation of further discussions in following chapters.

2.1. Participatory Forest Management (PFM)

PFM, as a sustainable development initiative, was not internationally popular until the end of twentieth century. After the Rio de Janeiro summit in 1992, known as United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) centering on sustainable environment issues, many countries followed the main themes of devolving central resource management to involve local communities in natural

resource management (Mkhai et al., 2017). Tanzania, as one of the countries following this trend, started to formalize the involvement of communities in forest management.

After the pilot tests of PFM in some areas in Tanzania in 1990s, the National Forest Policy 1998 was launched to embrace the thinking of decentralized forest management approaches (MNRT, 1998). By realizing that insufficient management leads to inadequate use of value from forests in Tanzania, cross-sector coordination and stakeholder involvement were set as the main targets in this policy (*ibid.*). Focusing on improving effectiveness in forest management through engaging more stakeholders which reflects the themes of participation, this policy encouraged involvement of local communities into governing the forests. With PFM serving as the center in the forest policies and laws in Tanzania (MNRT, 2008), the pass of Forest Act 2002 set the foundations of providing legal protections for PFM (URT, 2002). These two important polices therefore paved the path for PFM to spread in Tanzania.

The popularity of PFM in Tanzania is, however, not completely impacted by the international tendency, historical attempts in devolving power also count. Although PFM was not formalized until 2002, the attempts of decentralization of management can be traced back to 1984. It was the first time the central role of Tanzania government in managing forest was challenged since the launch of the First National Forest Policy during colonial period, but such attempts of decentralization of central power ended up with failing due to unclear definition of responsibilities in governing forests (FAO, 2019). This failure, therefore, could contribute to the awareness of importance of clarifying accountability of forest management.

2.2. Devolution of power

The introduction of PFM signified the devolution of power from central to community level in Tanzania. This devolution is regarded as good for the practice of protecting forests, developing capacity of local institution and promoting livelihoods (Brockington, 2007). Devolution of power in forest management contributes to both sustainable rural livelihoods and more equal distribution of benefits, this could be due

to the gradual shift of decision-making from top to down (Mbwambo, 2014). PFM contributes to improving the participation of locals to gain benefits from forest conservation through power devolution (Wily, 2001). But other findings (MNRT, 2007b) also show that devolution of power does not mean benefits of the poor is considered during the implementation. The devolution of power from central government to the community could be more effective with necessary assistance from the government (WRI, 2005), necessary supports from government are still required for smooth operations (Meshack, 2006). In addition, the government's role should not be paid less attention. Although less involvement of government in forest management has been internationally encouraged, but if decentralization is motivated by cost saving rather than real democracy, it is not real decentralization (Patenaude & Lewis, 2014). The central issue is whether power is transferred for the good of the lowers.

2.3. JFM and CBFM

Both CBFM and JFM share the same basic participatory ideas under PFM, but these two initiatives have many differences. The main difference is the role of central government in forest governance. For CBFM, the owners, mainly villagers, are responsible for the benefits and costs of governing forest lands; while owners of JFM forest lands, which are mainly governments, share the duties with villagers who join forest management (MNRT, 2008b). Secondly, CBFM encourages more community ownership of forest than JFM, thereby having positive impacts on nearby forests which are under unclear management; this can be explained by the recognition of importance as well as potential benefits of forest protection (MNRT, 2007b). Based on the data, thirdly, the number of villages attending CBFM is almost twice as JFM (MNRT, 2008b). Growing interests in CBFM and administrative restrictions in benefit sharing of JFM makes the number of places taking CBFM overtakes those of JFM (MNRT, 2008b). In addition, the commercial use of products are allowed in CBFM but not JFM, which leads to high community income under CBFM since village government can collect permit fees through issuing commercial harvesting permits (MNRT, 2007b). The fees collected, in return, mainly contribute to the operation of CBFM and public benefits at community level. JFM has better governance in villages than CBFM, this could result from the extent of supervision

from government since JFM is performed in the government reserved lands (Persha & Meshack, 2016).

As can be seen above, main differences between CBFM and JFM are linked to the extent of involvement of central governments in forest management. Compared with JFM, CBFM is supposed to have less supervisions from the government, which means communities have more freedoms as well as responsibilities on forest management.

2.4. Basic structure of CBFM in Tanzania

As CBFM is a bottom-up development initiative expected to devolve power to community level, the success of CBFM highly relies on the performance of the communities. By giving out power to a lower level, CBFM is expected to ensure the considerations of differences in the context of various communities. In communities, villagers are supposed to be the real managers as well as the decision makers since CBFM is a power sharing strategy which ensures not just the responsibilities of management, but also the right to make decisions (MNRT, 2007). Understanding of basic structure of CBFM could assist in comprehending the process of forest management as well as decision making in CBFM. Considering various CBFM main actors are the key points to connect different activities, the presentation of basic structure of CBFM in this part focuses on briefly introducing the roles of different CBFM key actors.

One of the obvious characteristics of CBFM is the changes in power of managing forests among actors. With some actors decreasing their power towards governing forests, others increase. Instead of being the ‘policemen’, district councils serve as the coordinators or assistants in forest management (MNRT, 2007a). Comparatively, village government, which is considered as a democratic organ to govern the village (Matose & Wily 1996, cited in Brokington, 2007), has the right to form its own bylaws to manage the forests under the guidance of the Local Government Act (MNRT, 2007a) to ensure sustainability and profitability of bylaws (MNRT, 2009). One of the most important purposes of the Bylaws is to empower the Village Natural Resource Councils (VNRCs) to manage the forests. As a sub committee of village

government, VNRCs' members are elected by adult community members through Village General Assembly Meetings (VGAMs) rather than through village government (MNRT, 2007a). In the VGAMs, CBFM related issues are discussed and feedback of forest management operations are provided. In this way, villagers elected members of VNRCs to fulfill the responsibilities of governing forest resources (Brokington, 2007), thereby reflecting the democratic and bottom-up thinking.

3. Analytical Framework

This chapter presents an analytical framework in accordance with research questions. Firstly, concepts are defined and explained before connecting each other. According to the research questions, the main concepts are CBFM, exclusion and livelihoods. After clarifying key concepts, the second step is to establish connections between those concepts based on theories and empirical data. The first research question examines the causal connections between CBFM and exclusion, in which Sen's categories in exclusion are applied to present a detailed look at the issues. Research question 2 is reflected by addressing the impacts of those exclusions on livelihood assets of forest-dependent poor households. Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) framework is applied to categorize livelihood assets with the purpose of clarifying the impacts on various livelihood assets. What follows is the predictions of impacts of potential acts of those local forest-dependent poor households on the future development of CBFM, which falls on research question 3. Chamber's theory of uppers and lowers is adopted for further analysis on which the predictions are based. Since research question 4 is suggestion-oriented and context-based, it is based on the findings from the first three questions. In this thesis, this analytical framework is applied as guidance for both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

3.1. CBFM and exclusion

The connections between CBFM and exclusion are established in this subsection. Since CBFM is partly presented in Chapter 2, only brief definitions are given in this part. Definition of exclusion is taken as connecting with poverty through capacity deprivation. Such decision is for the concern of main purpose of this thesis. After

giving definition to concepts, the connections between concepts are set up. According to literature reviews, contributions of CBFM to exclusion can take two forms. The first is active exclusion at the implementation level through lack of decision-making representation. The second is passive exclusion at the design level through prioritizing equality over equity.

3.1.1. Definitions of CBFM and exclusion

CBFM is a participatory approach aiming at involving communities in the management of forest resources (MNRT, 2007a) with the focus of power devolution by giving back the rights and responsibilities of forest management from central government to local communities (Dresller et al., 2010). Although various definitions can be applied from different angles, the definition applied here includes not only the involving role of communities, but also connections to a broad level of concepts of environment and development. The engagement of communities to conducting decision-making and managing natural resources fits with the purposes of reaching balance between environment conservation and social-economic development (Armitage, 2005; Zanetell & Knuth, 2004).

Compared with common-accepted and brief definitions of CBFM, the definitions of exclusion are more complicated. It is commonly agreed that no existing definition of exclusion is sufficiently comprehensive to present all factors shown by exclusion. Giving a representative definition of exclusion has been an unsolved difficulties haunting professionals and officials (Weinberg et al, 1993, cited in Silver, 1994). Such ambiguity could be attributed to internationally popularity of the concept (Aktinson, 1998, cited in Silver, 1994) and the interaction of numerous factors affecting it (Silver, 1994). The popularity of applying exclusion as an concept increases the number of definitions in various contexts, while the variety of factors behind exclusion in different situations tend to multiply the ways of explaining exclusion. The existence of unclear definition of exclusion might contribute to the ineffectiveness of solving real issues facing the society (Rawal, 2008). Therefore, selection of certain dimensions of exclusion in line with the real needs is necessary to provide a clear definition of exclusion.

In addition to arguments on multidimensional definitions of exclusion, the other focus is on the relations between exclusion and poverty. While some concentrate on advantages and disadvantages between concepts of exclusion and poverty (Aasland & Flotten, 2000, Geddes & Benington, 2001, cited in O'Reilly, 2005), others are concerned with causal relations between them (de Hann, 1998, Gore & Figueiredo, 1997, cited in Jackson, 1999). However, instead of setting comparisons between the concepts of exclusion and poverty, Sen (2000) suggests that by linking exclusion with poverty as capacity deprivation, some specific focuses can be achieved. Such recommendation of narrowing down the range of exclusion can solve the concerns of potential abuse of applying concepts of exclusion (*ibid.*). This might in return contribute to diminishing the array of definition of exclusion,

In addition to solving previous critics towards broad range of definition of exclusion, Sen's (2000) theory also provides the casual links to analyze the situations with complicated causal connections (Nevile, 2007). By connecting exclusion with human capacity and placing both concepts under detailed categories, Sen (2000) persuasively identifies and defines two pairs of exclusion: active and passive exclusion, constitutive and instrumental exclusion. Based on the purposes of exclusion, active exclusion means that victims are excluded purposefully while passive exclusion indicates that exclusion is not planned (*ibid.*). Considering the impacts of exclusion, constitutive exclusion can by itself cause the damage while instrumental exclusion can only through indirect causes (*ibid.*).

The concept of exclusion in this thesis takes Sen (2000)'s definition of exclusion as connecting to poverty through capacity deprivation. Firstly, such definition is in agreement with the research questions in which casual links are expected to be explored. Secondly, the concentration on poverty through exclusion is conforming to CBFM's main issues of livelihood improvement. Thirdly, clear category of exclusion would make it easier to further contribute to the action-oriented characteristics of this thesis.

3.1.2. Connecting CBFM and exclusion

From the perspectives of human capacity, if individuals could be given sufficient social opportunities, they can be the owners of their own fate (Sen, 1999). One of the dimensions of those social opportunities is participation which is considered as part of process of development (*ibid.*). However, not all kinds of participation counts. In terms of public policy, individuals should act as active participants rather than passive recipients or followers because public discussion and social participation are the key to public policy making (*ibid.*). Collective decision making plays a key role due to the necessity of actively engaging locals in the decision making process (Feeny et al., 1990). Therefore, sufficient active social participation is necessary when it comes to social choice for the society. The exclusion or lacking participation of local communities is by itself against the fundamental idea behind community based management initiatives which are social justice and material well-being and environmental integrity (Dressler et al., 2010). Since these three pillars are integrated, the costs on social justice and material well-being would be associated with the compromises on environmental integrity.

CBFM, however, as a sustainable development initiative with promising aims of increasing involvement of local communities in the process of protecting forests and local development, seems to face exclusion issues. Based on the available empirical data, representative is one of the serious issues with regard to exclusion in CBFM in Tanzania¹. Brockington (2007) argues that the success of roles of the management committees, such as VNRCs, has nothing to do with the representation of participating villagers. Instead, it only represents parts of the members such as the elites, which might result in exclusion of parts of the community in planning process (*ibid.*). However, Vyanama and others (2009) contend that CBFM is good at engaging more poor representatives for the poor in VNRCs, but quantity of representatives is not necessarily equal to quality of decision making. Being less educated and informed make the representatives of the poor difficult to express their interests effectively in the meetings (Behera & Engel, 2006, cited in Vynama, 2009). Such difficulties of representing ones' own interests tend to increase the potentials that the rich guide the

¹ Due to the consideration of being practical and differences in structure of CBFM in various backgrounds, the range of relevant literature review is narrowed down to Tanzania rather than at an international level.

decisions for their own interests (Vynamo, 2009). Elites tend to take control of the meetings while such exclusions of the marginalized is still looking for the solutions (FAO, 2019). Meanwhile, the government also plays a role in the exclusion of communities with regard to decision making in forest management. The long-term dominance of government in decision-making of CBFM makes it difficult for villagers to speak out their pursuit for better livelihoods out of participating CBFM (Meshack, 2006). Based on this concern, it is questionable whether the decision-making is the real decision-making.

Different from above-mentioned representative issues which reflect the exclusion at the implementation level, benefit sharing issues are at the design level. The expectation of active engagement of participants in CBFM should be based on tangible benefits from managing forests which might serve as the main motivations for participation (Veltheim & Kijazi, 2002). Brown and others (2002), however, argue that imbalanced focus of current CBFM on forest conservation than benefit generating implies less benefit chances for the participants. Even development at community level is taken into consideration, the benefit sharing is still problematic at household level. By conducting researches in the impacts of CBFM on the livelihoods of participants, Vyamana (2009) suggests to tell the differences between the influences at both community and household levels. The benefits brought by CBFM at community level does not mean that it also works at household level. In terms of providing benefits, it usually stays at community level while the poor and marginalized families are not taken into consideration (McDermott & Schreckenberg, 2009). Those families might not be able to take the benefits due to the lack of capacities (Adams, 2009). The possible reason for limited contributions of CBFM to households is that CBFM focuses on forest management and benefits are used at community level through village government (MNRT, 2009). Benefit sharing issues are the main result of lacking inclusion of the marginalized in the consideration of revenue sharing (McDermott & Schreckenberg, 2009).

By applying Sen's perspectives on exclusion, as discussed above, exclusion can be categorized as active and passive exclusion. The difference between active and passive exclusion is that 'no deliberate attempt to exclude (Sen, 2000: 15).' It is reasonable to consider those decision-making representative process as active

exclusion since involved actors are linked to each other with potential benefits from CBFM. Those having low-paid jobs represent the most of the exclusion cases in our society (Byrne, 2005). The weak among all actors are actively excluded by the powerful who normally turn out to be the winners in the game. Meanwhile, the exclusion from benefit-sharing system of CBFM should be treated as being passive. One of basic idea of CBFM is to provide benefit to communities, but distribution with equality is not equal to distribution with equity. Since equity is not the priority even in the design of CBFM, the specific individual interests come to be ignored in the face of broader equal community interests.

3.2. Exclusion and livelihoods

This subsection firstly presents the concept of livelihoods and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) framework² adopted by DFID (1999). In the SLA framework, livelihood assets are mainly introduced in order to clearly capture the implications of exclusion on livelihoods. Subsequently, empirical data is applied in SLA framework for further explanations. As livelihoods assets are the major concern in this thesis, Sen (2000)'s category of exclusion as being Constitutive and instrumental is applied in order to trace the impacts of exclusion on livelihood assets. Finally, livelihood strategies are briefly introduced following livelihood assets. Since the SLA framework is only applied to categorize livelihood assets and strategies, its structural strength and weakness are not further discussed in this thesis.

3.2.1. Definition of livelihoods and Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) framework

The definition of livelihoods in this thesis is:

'A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance

² See Appendix 1 for SLA framework.

its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney, 1998: 4).'

Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) framework is adopted in order to clearly measure livelihoods. SLA is a development approach understanding the livelihoods of the poor by providing the thinking of livelihoods of the poor on the basis of intervening key issues facing livelihoods (DFID, 1999). Those key issues in livelihoods are categorized by DFID (1999) as Vulnerability context, Livelihood assets, Transforming structures and processes, Livelihood strategies and Livelihood outcomes. Among five categories in the SLA framework, vulnerability context serves as the starting point which can be developed by transforming structures and process, and can further contribute to livelihood assets which consist of human, finance, social, physical and natural capitals.

3.2.2. Exclusion works in SLA framework

In this thesis, exclusion works as the starting point in the SLA framework, developed by CBFM which serves as Transforming structures and process. Exclusion, as the shock for the villagers' livelihoods, contributes further to the changes in five livelihoods assets. According to Brockington (2007) and Vyamana and others (2009), income gap between community members participating CBFM has the tendency to be maintained or even widened rather than narrowed because of weak representative of decision-making and elite capture. Such exclusions, obviously, could contribute to the decrease in finance assets due to its direct connections with income gaining. Furthermore, exclusion from training courses aiming to improving knowledge of participants of CBFM (MNRT, 2007b) could lead to the reduction in human assets. Difficulties of villagers to speak out their pursuit for better livelihoods out of participating CBFM (Meshack, 2006) could directly undermine both social and finance assets.

However, other assets could also be indirectly influenced by exclusion. 'It is important to pay attention to the distinct types of exclusions and the different ways in which they can impoverish human lives (Sen, 2000: 30)'. According to Sen (*ibid*)'s category of exclusion as being Constitutive and instrumental, the exclusion can affect

livelihood assets directly or indirectly. For instance, the households might decrease quantity or quality of their daily meals due to limited income, leading to inadequate necessary nutrients for family members to conduct daily tasks and further compromise the performances evaluated through human assets. In addition, ‘greater household income may extend scope for participation in external activities (DFID, 1999: 22)’, this means income of households is closely connected with social activities. Lower income resulted from exclusion from situations such as decision making or benefit sharing could result in lower participation in necessary social activities, which is reflected as lower social assets. Through this thinking, although empirical data mainly show direct connections between exclusions and income which is reflected in finance assets, other assets can be indirectly influenced by exclusion through finance assets.

Changes in livelihood assets, as shown in the SLA framework, result in application of various livelihood strategies of households to cope with changes. Since five livelihood assets are inter-connected, different trade-offs are made by individual households as livelihood strategies, based on various situations, to achieve different livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999). Whether influences from exclusion are direct or not, affected households would apply various livelihood strategies based on available livelihood assets. Since no empirical data are obtained, the discussion on livelihood strategies would be limited to the data collected in the field.

3.3. Livelihoods and CBFM

As the first two part of the analytical framework in this chapter go deep into the micro level of CBFM and its impacts on livelihoods at household level, this part is intended to bring it back to the argument at a macro level to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the whole picture, especially how changes in livelihoods of the households at the bottom could possibly push back to CBFM at a wider level. By doing so, the importance of how changes at the lowers could affect the uppers’ development initiatives is expected to be shed light on.

The poor’s realities are diverse, complex and usually against the preference of those uppers (Chambers, 1997). Due to the complexity of the realities of the lowers, ‘a

person who is not poor who pronounces on what matters to those who are poor is in a trap (*ibid.*: 163)’. This requires more understanding of the realities of the poor from their angles. ‘If the reality of poor people is to count more, we have to dare to try to know it better (*ibid.*: 163)’. However, putting the first last is even harder than putting the last first since the uppers need to listen to and empower those from the lower (*ibid.*), while dominance in power makes it hard for the uppers to learn from the lowers (Chambers, 2005). This might, sometimes, lead to standardized programs misaligned with realities (Dressler et al., 2010) or poorly reflecting real local situations.

Respecting to CBFM, as one of key concepts in this thesis, such struggles also exist. Exclusion of part of households in CBFM implies that consideration of the livelihoods of those households is insufficient. Such lack of concern has the potential of undermining not just the livelihoods of those excluded, but also the future of development initiatives designed by the uppers. ‘Imposed community-based conservation is a contradiction in terms, and implies an exercise in futility (Murphree, 1994, cited in Adams, 2009: 289)’. CBFM without adequate considerations of uncovered key players might risk in compromising its ambitions.

Such potential compromise could start from the strategies applied by lowers in the face of challenges from the uppers. By facing power from the dominance of the uppers, the lowers also develop their own strategies (Chambers, 1999). Assumptions should not be made that local communities would follow the same sustainable thinking adopted by the uppers (Adams, 2009). When disagreements appear, the lowers come up with their own strategies. The strategies developed by the lowers includes supporting, rejecting or a middle way of hiding which is the most misleading way deserving deep discussions (Chambers, 1999). Pure support and rejection would be easy to understand. However, both ways might turn to the middle way which is much more complicated since political considerations play an important role under this situation.

Under the context of CBFM, such political considerations intertwine with environmental concerns. Interconnections between human and environment, which is also understood as the process of politics (Adams, 2009), can be reflected by the

imbalanced power relations between actors (Bryant and Bailey, 1997, cited in Adams, 2009). Since relations between human and surrounding environment is connected mainly through powers (*ibid.*), power conflicts between actors could impose serious impacts on surrounding environment. Environments would be the one suffering in both consequences no matter who are winners or losers in the battle of power relations.

After being created by power imbalance between the uppers and the lowers, the relations are primarily maintained by personal and interpersonal deception (Chambers, 1997). If personal self-deception takes the form of unconscious adaptation of personal thinking to the context which could even be wrong, then interpersonal mutual deception is operated with purposes in many forms (*ibid.*). Firstly, the lowers might protect the uppers due to their self-thinking of inferiority which would further lead to self-blaming (*ibid.*). In this way, the relationships between the uppers and the lowers are maintained by the voluntary sacrifice of the lowers' interests. In CBFM, this can be reflected as that villagers follow the sustainable thinking of CBFM to protect the forests even such compliance might jeopardize their livelihoods. The second is the bearing of hope to be successful by imaging successes exist somewhere else (*ibid.*). The main concern is shifted to an outward imagination which might not exist at all. Lastly, the lowers attempt to make the uppers see what they want to see though the 'realities' presented are not the realities (*ibid.*). This means the villagers could pretend to follow sustainable development initiatives such as CBFM, while conducting activities against CBFM but for the good of themselves. No matter in which ways, the relations maintained by strategies between the uppers and the lowers would, to some extent, distort the direction of CBFM, resulting in that reflections misaligned with the realities.

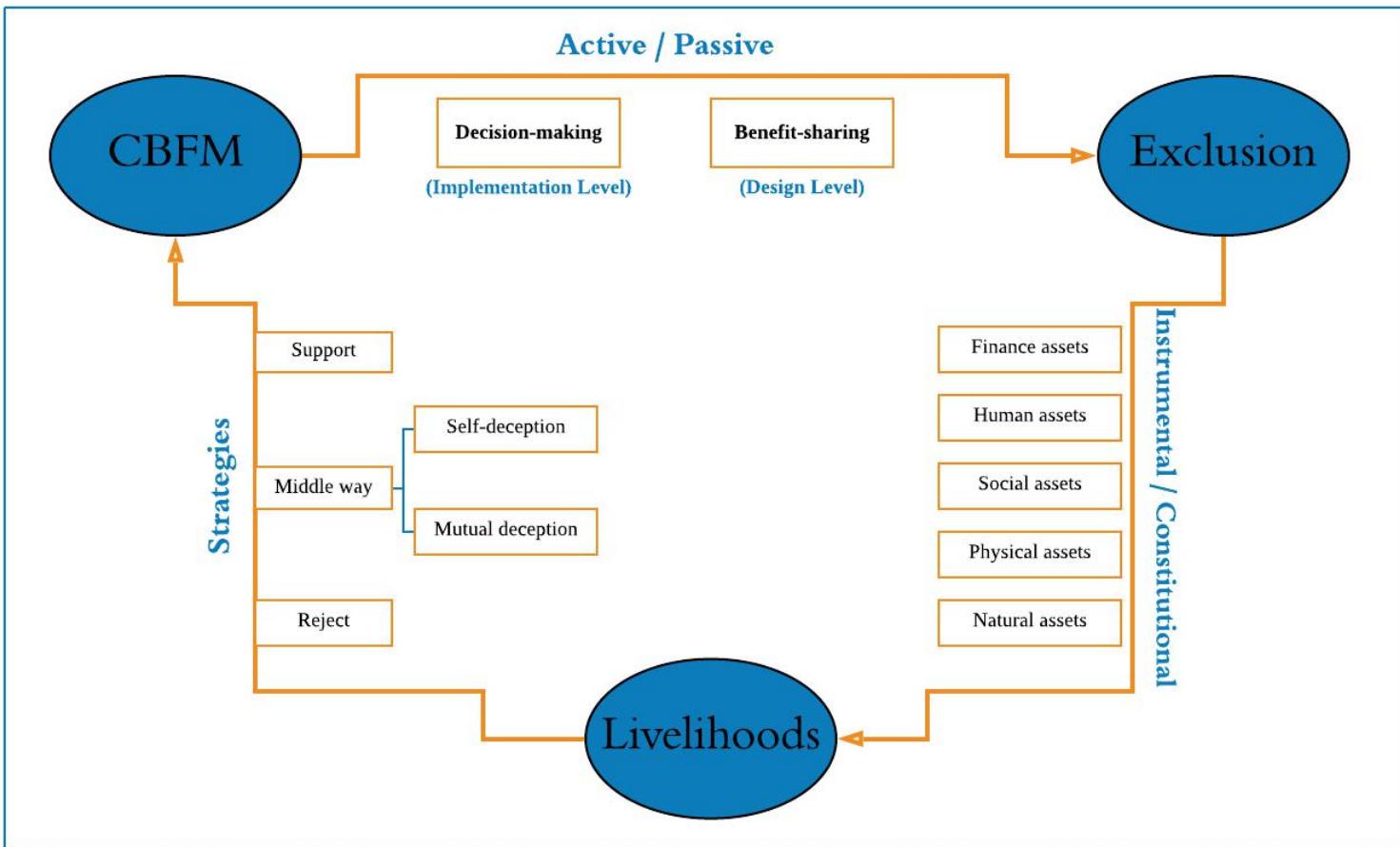


Figure 1. Analytical framework (established by the author of this thesis)

4. Methodology

Methodological concerns are presented in this chapter. Firstly, a combination of advocacy/participatory worldview and critical epistemology is applied in order to be in line with the action-oriented purpose of this thesis. Although the stance of this thesis is mainly for the vulnerable, multi-perspectives are still taken into consideration to ensure the persuasiveness of this thesis. The openness of this action-oriented research to various perspectives is the reflection of traditional academy versus action research. Such decision leads to the selection of qualitative case study. Secondly, at the data collection and analysis stage, guided by sampling strategies including key informants and snowballing, data were collected through interviews, direct observations and participant observations. What follows is the introduction of strategies applied in analysis. In addition, considering the flow of this thesis, the validity and reliability part are inserted into each part such as sampling and data collection. Finally, as this topic is somehow sensitive in local context, confidentiality is the major concern in terms of ethical considerations, while sufficient respects given to interviewees is another key aspect.

4.1. Ontology and epistemology

Advocacy/Participatory is taken as the ontology for this research. Under the guidance of this ontology, the research questions are designed to understand specific issues facing the vulnerable with discourses such as power relations and inequality (Creswell, 2007). Such interpretive position leads to the identification of relations among participants and uncovering of further potential solutions (Jupp, 2016). This could be done by providing a voice for those vulnerable and inquiry to connect to political agenda with the aims to change current situations (Creswell, 2007). By doing so, such worldview is held with expectations, to some extent, to get participants out from development restrictions (Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998).

Critical theory, as an interpretive theory, is in accordance with Advocacy/Participatory worldview in that it also concentrates on the limitations on development of human through criticizing social issues (Fay, 1987). From a critical

perspective, it is necessary to be skeptical about the meanings of development, about whether it positively contributes to all of human beings (Munck, 2018). Critical theory is perspective-oriented, which means it seeks to explore relationships between the interpreters and the interpreted (Bohman, 2005). Such characteristic makes it easy to deeply explore the relationships or interpretation to uncover implicit connections (Scheyvens, 2014).

In addition to criticizing social issues, critical theory also targets on encouraging the vulnerable to go beyond limitations posed by negative conditions such as class (Fay, 1987, cited in Creswell, 2007). The real problems in the society should be identified with clear norms and further actors to solve them (Bohman, 2005). Therefore, the tasks of Critical theorists, the critiques of the society, are mainly the comprehension of roles of actors and the visions for potential changes.

4.2. Research design

Following the ontology and epistemology, qualitative research is selected as research methodology due to its characteristics of exploring diversity and uncovering the unrepresented. ‘The full diversity and richness of livelihood can be understood only by qualitative and participatory analysis at the local level (DFID, 1999: 3)’. In addition, qualitative research can play an important role when researchers decide to identify or hear the voices rarely represented and to understand complicated issues as well as relevant contexts (Creswell, 2007).

The complex and diverse livelihoods are likely to be well-described by case study (Chambers, 1997). It is helpful when researchers tend to gain a comprehension of complicated problems or issues through analyzing cases (Creswell, 2007). Another advantage of case study is to examine or explore phenomena or perspectives in real situations, which allows researchers to get closer to the realities (Flyvberg, 2006). Meanwhile, the focus on details and insignificant truth might contribute to uncovering the hidden realities (*ibid.*).

Single case is over multiple cases because multiple cases prevent case studies from going deeper into obtaining an in-depth picture of issues (Creswell, 2007). This might

lead to the discussions on whether case study should be generalized or specific. The characteristics of in-depth case study - context-based and interpretative - would be sacrificed by generalizing (Peattie, 2001). However, generalization is not the only purpose of conducting research, specific single cases with descriptions can also contribute to the gaining of knowledge and even innovation thinking. Instead of concentrating on generalizing findings, qualitative study - especially some case studies - focuses on exploring the special (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Therefore, instead of getting extensive, case study gets intensive (Creswell, 2007).

Another issue is whether case study should be theory-based. Theory leads to the choice of cases, while the case selection has great impacts on the examination of theory (Curtis, 2000). Although a general guideline of sampling is regarded by some researchers as a restriction, it ensures the preciseness of justification of the research by listing out important aspects, this is very important especially for new researchers (*ibid.*). In this thesis, analytical framework, which is framed on a basis of research questions, serves as the selecting standards for case selection.

4.3. Basic information of case site

Mfyome, with 2400 inhabitants, is located in the ward of Kiwele, Iringa district, Iringa region which is in Middle South Tanzania. Forests were managed by district government through setting up check-point controls until the decentralization of management power as PFM was first applied here in 1999 with the approval of by-law in 2002. Since then, Mfyome has the highest annual income from CBFM at community level among all of nine researched villages, and even almost four times higher than the second ranking (Vyamana, 2009). Those incomes are mainly from user fees of commercial harvesting, grazing livestock in the forests and ecotourism (*ibid.*).

However, although CBFM in Mfyome has high revenues at community level and is successful with regard to forest conservation supported by the lower forest harvesting rate compared with growth rate (Lund & Treue, 2008; Treue et al., 2014), in-depth study of Mfyome in Tanzania found that governance outcome of CBFM is unclear and that the situations of forest-dependent minorities have been worse due to the

combination of forces from the uppers and taxes as well as regulation from CBFM (Lund & Treue, 2008). Some researches show the sign of exclusion of some households from properly enjoying benefits brought by CBFM (Lund & Treue, 2008; MNRT, 2007b; Vyamana, 2009). In addition, the instance of corruption took place at village government level in Mfyome - an officer was kicked out of the management committee after being uncovered of bribing (Lund & Treue, 2008).

Since this thesis aims at exploring relations between CBFM and livelihoods of forest-dependent poor households through the angle of exclusion, the features of Myfome village have the potential to be explored deeper. Good conditions of forests and high benefits from CBFM imply that CBFM in Mfyome has been performing well in reaching the balance between forest conservation and improving community livelihoods. Meanwhile, signs of exclusion at household level from gaining certain benefits of CBFM might bring to the main direction of this thesis. Based on these two main considerations, the case in Mfyome was chosen.

4.4. Sampling

Purposeful sampling is to select a group of people who are expected to provide fruitful information about the researched topics (Creswell, 2007). As the rationale of purposeful sampling is necessary for collecting information effectively (*ibid.*), the sampling strategies adopted in this thesis combines key informant guidance and snowball strategies. Ensuring multiple source is the major concern to achieve the richness of information, while one of the best ways to reduce biases is to listen to multiple voices (*ibid.*). Therefore, actors from different categories -government, village and Non-Government Organization (NGO) - were selected as interviewees to guarantee the variety of source of information. Those actors consist of district government officers, village government officers, VNRC members, villagers who highly depend on forest resource as their incomes, related NGO staff. To reduce potential biases from key informants who play a vital role in introducing interviewees, snowball sampling method was applied.

The sampling strategy was implemented in the order of approaching key informants and subsequently tracking the lines provided by interviewees. After approaching and

building a good relationships with key informants, names of potential interviewees - usually around 3 to 5 names - were asked from those key informants in order to get access to potential interviewees more accurately. However, further snowball sampling strategy was applied to reduce potential biases held by the key informants. This means every interviewee contributed to the selection of interviewees. In this way, potential bias of guidance from key informants could be largely mitigated by directions pointed out by other interviewees.

Another uncertainty still remain unsolved. Due to the difficulties in identifying the total number of forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome, the representativeness of this study is undermined. However, it does not affect the main purpose of this thesis to speak out for those who can not speak out.

4.5. Collecting methods

Several data collection methods were applied under the consideration of research design. Primary collection approaches consisting of interviews, direct observation and participant observations were applied in order to increase the details of data collected, thereby improving validity of this thesis. Multiple data can contribute to data triangulation, which could be linked to maximum variance (Creswell, 2007) and reflection of ontology and epistemology. The combination of various data collection approaches provides another way of improving the abundance of data source by looking into same subjects from different angles. To be specific, semi-structured interviews³ were conducted due to its characteristics of ensuring flexibility of conversations while partly maintaining the structure (Bryman, 2012). This is crucial for this thesis since the purpose of uncovering voice rarely heard might be undermined by strictly designed questions. However, recording the process of interviews might be difficult because of the existence of some sensitive issues (Scheyvens, 2014). Sensitive issues would result in interviewees' intentions to partly hide the information provided. Therefore, observations were employed to mediate the compromise on validity issues.

³ See Appendix 2 for List of interview questions.

All data were collected in the ways of individual interviews consisting of 16 interviews⁴ from various related actors. Before getting into the field which is the targeted village, background information was accessed by going through literature and information provided by related informants in order to gain a basic understanding of local situations. Such understandings contributed to the identification of main actors including 8 local villagers, 3 government officers, 3 VNRC members and 1 NGO staff. Basically, all interviews were conducted in the interviewees' places to ensure that environments were comfortable for the interviewees to focus on the interviews.

However, recordings and translation were the major difficulties during the data collection process. As mentioned above, the sensitivity of this topic led to refusal of many interviewees to be recorded. Such concern, plus translation of interviews from local language to English, might to some extent compromise the accuracy of further analysis. Although the translator has a close working partnership with the interviewer who is the author of this thesis, data collection might still face the risk of 'lost in translation'. Some key messages would be distorted or missed during the translation process when recordings were not allowed. In order to offset potential less accuracy of data due to translation issues, field notes were carefully noted and communications with translators were conducted.

The researcher's self reflection was also taken into consideration because of its close relations with validity and reliability issues. Researchers' own self-reflection as insider-outsider should be not just seriously considered at the sampling stage, but also the data collection stage. Researchers themselves should recognize their subjective lens (Creswell, 2007). Such subjective thinking of researchers could create imbalanced power relations between researchers and interviewees. The power imbalance is very important since it is the major concern for collecting good data (*ibid.*). Although there is no guarantee that balancing power relations between the researchers and the researched works apparently, efforts were made in balancing the power with interviewees such as using translator as a buffer zone between the researcher and the interviewees. Having translators might lead to inconvenience in

⁴ See Appendix 3 for List of interviewees.

terms of directly receiving messages from interviewees, but it can also be important in getting researchers closer to interviewees.

4.6. Analysis

Following the steps suggested by Creswell (2007) and Hammett (2015), analysis in this thesis started with data organization and initial reflections on the data collected. In this stage, transcriptions and filed notes were transferred to the Word to make it easier to organize and further analyze. Meanwhile, memos, which are the analyzer's thinking on the data, were added on the transcripts or notes in order to get familiar with the contexts.

Coding is the next step after preparation of data through data organization and initial reflections. Coding is 'reducing the data into meaningful segments and assigning names for the segments (Creswell, 2007: 148)', is the key in the process of analysis for identifying important categories and patterns of content (Hammett, 2015). The first round of coding is open coding from the collected data, which can reduce analyzers' biases on the analysis (*ibid.*). Open coding in this thesis was conducted without placing any previous categories for the data collected. Subsequently, descriptive coding was applied to gain more details from various informants in this specific settings, which plays a vital role in case study depending on detailed description of the case and contexts (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, this requires further thinking of meanings of data and stories behind data in terms of specific topics (Hammett, 2015). After descriptive coding, codes were built in segments with the purpose of limiting total number of codes. Initial round of connections were made before combining into themes, and the frequency of codes was counted as a reminder of occurrence (Creswell, 2007).

Thematic analysis and interpretation stepped in after finishing the process of coding. Themes are developed through identifying connections and differences among codes developed previously (Hammett, 2015). A combination of inductive and reductive analyzing strategies was applied in order to ensure linkages to existing literature and meanwhile, opening to new insights from the field. Therefore, this requires analyzers to bear in mind that coding segments should be built with the aim of looking for

information expected and unexpected (Creswell, 2007). ‘The divergences and differences in perspectives are as much interest as the similarities (Hammett, 2015: 258)’. Therefore, differences and similarities were given the same weight to assure the opening to expected and unexpected information. Following is the interpretation which focuses on justification of themes through applying related theories from a broader level but still with social science (Creswell, 2007). The triangulation among theories, empirical data and collected data were conducted in this stage to explore the potential new aspects of the topic.

Moreover, data supplement was employed to enhance the analysis. Leaving the field is not the ending point of data collection. Maintenance of post-interview relationships is important since leaving the field might make researchers open to the data collected and thus making sense of the study. Therefore, further supplement data from the field would contribute to a more fruitful analysis. In this thesis, data were supplemented through contacting with interviewees including governmental officials and NGO staff.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were conducted by both linking to literature and following the realities. Firstly, rather than employing FGDs to collect data as most qualitative researchers do, this thesis only applied individual interviews for the concern of protecting privacy of interviewees. Since the research topic is somehow sensitive in the local context, FGDs might put the interviewees under potential risks such as revenges from other villagers. Furthermore, keeping privacy of conversations might contribute to the intention of interviewees to speak freely, thereby reducing biases of information they provided. Secondly, respects were maximally given to the interviewees. The majority of interviews were conducted without recordings since the interviewees felt uncomfortable with the recorders on. Purposes and process of the researches were explained before the interviews started. All interviewees were invited with the rights to stop the interviews whenever they felt uncomfortable instead of being forced to join the interviews. Thirdly, confidentiality is another main concern in the analysis stage. This was mainly done by avoiding direct quotes of specific personal information in this thesis to avoid potential conflicts.

5. Findings and Analysis

5.1. CBFM as an exclusion in another way

To answer Research question 1, this section starts with discussions on implementation issues of CBFM in terms of exclusion referring to the analytical framework in Chapter 3. However, due to insufficient relevant data collected from various actors, plus not being the priorities of this section, this discussion only serves as a reminder and leads to following central argument. The next, which serves as central argument in this subsection, casts light on a normally ignored aspect of the design of CBFM through the case of forest harvesting permit closure in Mfyome village.

As can be seen in the analytical framework, the majority of relevant researches in Tanzania concentrate on implementation aspects of CBFM regarding to exclusion. According to the discussions in the analytical framework, the implementation issues are mainly reflected as decision-making problems including weak representative of the poor in decision-making. However, the extent of decision-making power of representatives in CBFM is dependent on whether VNRCs, as the key organ connecting the community with governments, have adequate decision-making power. If VNRCs have insufficient decision-making power in the process of CBFM, the discussions on decision-making of representatives would be in vain since it makes nearly no differences in improving decision-making power of the community. The precondition of increasing decision-making power of the community is to ensure that VNRCs have adequate decision-making power as the representatives of the villagers in managing the forests. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the role of main decision-making actors including VNRCs, village government and district government to map the power relations.

As a key part of CBFM, VNRCs in Mfyome mainly plays an important role in implementing various activities of CBFM rather than making decisions. VNRCs supervise the CBFM forests through scouting in the forests (VNRC 2, 2020), collecting information from the community (VNRC 1, 2020), submitting collected information to the village government (VNRC 1, 2020; VNRC 2, 2020) and waiting for decisions from village government (VNRC 1, 2020). Since VNRCs are close to villagers, deeper collaborations between VNRCs and government is expected in the

future (VNRC 2, 2020). In Mfyome, VNRCs do not mainly take the role of representing the community to make decisions as it is supposed to be. However, since this argument rests on only information from VNRCs members due to the difficulties in collecting relevant data from other actors, it is therefore not fully guaranteed to reflect the realities in Mfyome. Nevertheless, it serves as the reminder that the role of VNRCs in decision-making should be brought into consideration rather than assuming that it could play a big part in decision-making. Only in this way can discussions in representation issues make effective sense.

The implementation aspects of CBFM is obviously important in the discussions of exclusion issues, but one of the preconditions is that the design of CBFM itself in Tanzania does not lead to exclusion. In the National Forest Policy 1998 which is regarded as the first formalization of CBFM in Tanzania, community's role in sustainable forest management was identified, which led to the involvement of local community as the whole in decision-making process and benefit gaining in community-managed forests (MNRT, 1998). CBFM, apparently, can contribute to development at community level, but it does not mean that such benefits can fairly reach the poor or the marginalized households (McDermott & Schreckenberg, 2009). In Mfyome, benefits collected from community forests under the management of CBFM had contributed to the constructions of public buildings such as toilets and dorms in schools (Government officer 1, 2020; Villager 3, 2020; Villager 4, 2020; VNRC 1, 2020; VNRC 2, 2020). Although some individual assistance such as disaster emergency had been provided to the victims, the major direction of applying benefits collected from CBFM was obviously at community level. Those benefits brought by CBFM are theoretically enjoyed by all villagers in Mfyome, which leads to the general development of whole village.

Following such thinking which is based on the equal distribution rather than distribution with equity, CBFM mainly gives priorities to community rather than individual benefits. Through the implementation of CBFM, the participants has experienced the ways of collecting benefits out of forests from household level to community level (Schreckenberg & Luttrell, 2009). Instead of allowing access to forest resources freely during the time before the implementation of CBFM, the CBFM works in a way that collecting benefits from the forests at community level.

However, such approach has raised questions whether benefits at community level has the equal weight as at household level, especially for those who mainly depend on forest resources as their incomes. Even inequality exists in some main activities related to CBFM, forest-dependent poor households can still maintain their daily livelihoods through incomes from forest activities. In terms of holding forest harvesting permits and conducting harvesting in the forests, those households were not the one benefiting the most since they were mainly employed by others holding harvesting permits (Villager 1, 2020; villager 6, 2020). In this way, although benefits might not be distributed with equity, it is still acceptable by those households since they still had income sources to support their daily life.

If that the distribution of benefits from CBFM without sufficient equity is acceptable by those poor households, namely the forest-dependent poor households in this case, then the costs of CBFM seem to serve as a disaster for them. Ironically, when it comes to the costs of CBFM, it is no longer equally distributed, but with ‘equity’. As discussed above, when the forests were open to commercial harvesting, forest-dependent poor worked in harvesting as the main source of income. However, the closure of commercial harvesting permits means that their previous heavy dependence of income no long exists. Such transformation can be clearly depicted by the forest harvesting permit closure in Mfyome.

In may 2019, a forest harvesting ban was imposed on the forests in Mfyome village under the management of CBFM. According to one of the government officers (Government officer 1, 2020), this ban is reasonable and necessary. In order to conserve the forests which were seriously damaged, the complete ban on forest harvesting was regarded as one of the necessary solutions. This is done by following the guidelines on the new Government Law No. 417 which charts the directions of every area with regard to protecting forest resources and is

‘a government directive which explains the best way [and] best practice for managing the resources and these forest resource (Government officer 1, 2020).’

Such consideration is apparently a good news for forest conservation, but it would be another story by considering its impacts on villagers' livelihoods. Firstly, the villagers were not well-informed about the whole process. Many villagers had no ideas what happened except that decisions were made at government level and permit books were taken subsequently. Secondly, it is uncertain about exact time for the recovery of harvesting permits. Since the permits were promised to be given back without exact time (Villager 4, 2020), villagers were still waiting for the evaluation of forests to see when the forest harvesting permits would be reopened (VNRC 2, 2020). Last and most importantly, no support was provided to make up for the loss of incomes especially for those forest-dependent households. Although other activities were still allowed except commercial harvesting, it was the hard time for those who used to highly depend on forests as income sources. Such feeling is precisely reflected by one of interviewed villagers,

'It had been taking too long and some villagers have suffered too much (Villager 7, 2020).'

There were lots of complaints from the community, but the decision was still made through a letter from the top to down (VNRC 2, 2020). However, this does not mean that the decisions of imposing harvesting ban on the forests should be fully blamed. Some requirements, especially harvesting processes, need to be complied with the laws for the harvesting to be continued because 'compliance... makes you legible (Government officer 1, 2020).'

From this point, the problems seem to go all the way up to the top where CBFM is designed. It seems that livelihoods of forest-dependent villagers are insufficiently considered in the design of CBFM. As a governmental officer puts it,

'Only commercial extraction of resources requires the permits, but other activities do not need it (Government officer 1, 2020).'

Based on those words, one of assumptions is that villagers can live their life by shifting their focuses to other income-generating activities. But if some households can still live a somehow decent life by shifting their focuses to other livelihood

activities, then the sufferings for those forest-dependent households would probably be the most among all households in Mfyome. The loss of income from forests means the loss of main pillar of income sources for the whole households. As discussed above, the benefit-sharing of CBFM follows the thinking of equal distribution, the cost-sharing is ironically the opposite. Under this situation, those forest-dependent households are the ones benefiting the least but suffering the most.

In sum, the exclusion of forest-dependent poor households in CBFM in Mfyome does exist but not in an implementation way which has been mainly identified and discussed in existing researches in Tanzania. Instead, it is embedded in the design of CBFM in Tanzania. Benefit-sharing serves as one side of CBFM, while cost-sharing is the other. Such exclusion revealed by the cost-sharing rather than popularly discussed benefit-sharing also brings in a new aspects of thinking on CBFM from the angle of exclusion. When Mfyome's CBFM forests were banned from commercial harvesting, such decision was in compliance with the law assuming the cut in forest-based incomes is acceptable for the households in Mfyome since various income-generating activities exist. Such assumption is obviously lacking considerations of the real situations of forest-dependent poor households. For the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the realities of those forest-dependent poor households, therefore, a close look is required at the influences of this exclusion on livelihoods of those households.

5.2. Those livelihood assets being affected

As discussed in last part, the closure of forest harvest permits had obviously affected the livelihoods of villagers in Mfyome, especially those highly depending on forest as the main income source. This subsection explores the impacts of forest harvesting permits closure on livelihood assets of those forest-dependent poor households. Based on SLA framework, those livelihood assets are categorized as finance assets, human assets, social assets, physical assets and natural assets. By applying Sen (2000)'s categories of direct and indirect impacts of exclusion, which is in line with the interacting characteristic of livelihood assets, those assets of interviewed forest-dependent poor households are briefly analyzed through both direct and indirect influences of the closure of forest harvesting permits.

5.2.1. Finance assets

After the closure of forest commercial permits, the majority of interviewed forest-dependent poor households had experienced serious reductions in finance assets. Before the closure, those forest-dependent poor households relied on various forest harvesting activities such as collecting charcoals and firewood as their primary income source. After the closure, most of interviewees expressed that household incomes had sharply dropped even though some alternative jobs, such as helping in the seasonal farming harvesting, had been done to compensate the loss (Villager 3, 2020; Villager 4, 2020; Villager 6, 2020; Villager 7, 2020). Income dropped a little bit, but still affected the daily life (Villager 8, 2020). Compared with the sharp decrease in income of most interviewed households, one household (Villager 5, 2020) claimed little affects of forest harvesting permit closure on finance assets. This was attributed to, according to her words, entering the forests secretly for harvesting even the forests were closed (*ibid.*).

5.2.2. Human assets

The human assets are generally considered by interviewed households as lower than the period before the forest permit closure. Since no clues show that interviewed households had been included in relevant training, human assets here are mainly assessed by nutrients of household members, which are reflected by food they could get access to. The budget for food had dropped tremendously in most of the interviewed households. Some families responded by reducing quality and quantity of food they had. Rather than having three meals, one household sometimes only had one meals to face the difficulties (Villager 4, 2020), while two other households showed the concerns to serious troubles in bringing food to the table (Villager 6, 2020; Villager 7, 2020). In addition, education opportunities had the potentials to be undermined. The budget for education fees, in some households, were mainly from the forests. This is how one of the interviewed household described the concerns:

'In the off season you can't do farming, so you depend on forest resources for income that would pay school fees and purchase food for the family. You can skip school fees and buy food instead (Villager 8, 2020).'

Therefore, food, as the most important basic needs for any household, was given priorities over education.

5.2.3. Social assets

Social assets in those families had also declined. This is mainly reflected in attending family or public events such as weddings (Villager 3, 2020) or funerals (Villager 6, 2020). According to local culture, those who have close relations with the hosts should contribute to the weddings or the funerals. Those having insufficient or no contributions might feel shameful. Although assistance from friends can be expected, but it was not the proper time considering the long term relationships (Villager 7, 2020). This serves as one of the main reasons of keeping themselves from social life since the serious cut in income limited their attendance and contributions to those relevant public events, thereby reducing social assets of those interviewed households. In addition to attending public activities, social assets in this case also shows in the relations with villagers from other villages. Sometimes conflicts among villagers occurred on the border between Mfyome and Kiwele due to the fights for forest resources (Villager 5, 2020).

5.2.4. Physical assets

No direct impacts had been linked to physical assets of those interviewed households. Although disaster-related supports, such as assisting victims to repair roofs destroyed by natural disasters, were sometimes provided by village government through applying incomes from CBFM (VNRC 1, 2020), no interviewed household had faced those situations after the closure of forest harvesting permits. However, it could be assumed that such supports would be limited due to the decrease in incomes of village government from CBFM. Since collecting forest harvesting permit fees was one of the main source of income for CBFM in Mfyome, the closure of forest harvesting permits resulted in a sharp cut in incomes of CBFM. In addition, physical assets could

be expected to be reduced by considering its connections with other livelihood assets such as finance assets which were under serious conditions.

5.2.5. Natural assets

The access of interviewed households to natural assets (forests) were analyzed in two aspects. Firstly, assessing to forests with harvesting purposes had been totally banned. This means the reliance of household incomes on forests had been formally shut down, thereby reducing the access to forest resources. Secondly, however, assessing to forest resources as subsistence supplement such as using for cooking fire was not severely affected. Villagers were still allowed to collect forest products in the forests with limited standards (Government officer 1, 2020). Forest products could be used for firewood and cooking, even mushrooms in the forests could be an small income source (Government officer 2, 2020; Villager 7, 2020). Some standards for substance use of forests are:

'a small amount that we usually pick does not need permit, that's why they have regulated the days for picking firewood to reduce the rate. And we're allowed to only pick the dry woods not to cut the wet trees (Villager 2, 2020).'

Under the impacts of forest harvesting permit closure, all five assets had experienced general declines. Finance assets were the most directly influenced since those forest-dependent households relied on forest harvesting as their main income source. What follows are human and social assets which were mainly indirect affected by having finance assets to deal with food, education and attending public events. Access of physical assets was not shown by those interviewees, but assumptions of physical assets could be made as a decline due to its connections with financial assets. The last and most controversial one is natural assets. Because villagers were still allowed to enter the forests for subsistence purposes, the evaluation of natural assets depends on whether the purpose is subsistence or income-earning. According to SLA framework, changes in livelihood assets would bring transformations in livelihood strategies.

Such changes have the potentials to further implicate future development of CBFM, which is the argument in next part.

5.3. A potential threat to CBFM

This section centers on livelihood strategies applied by forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome in the face of shocks of forest harvesting permit closure, as well as further potential impacts of these changes on CBFM's ambitions. Before going directly to livelihood strategies, a context is established through comparisons between analytical framework and the case data. By doing so, further discussions are prepared on the relations among actors by applying Chambers' theories. Subsequently, discussions are presented on the connections between forest-dependent households' livelihood strategies and CBFM's future.

According to the analytical framework, uppers' inadequate understanding of the realities of the lowers might lead to misalignment of programs with the realities in context (Dressler et al, 2010). This fits with the findings in this case. In Mfyome, punishments such as fines play a vital role in conserving forest resources managed by CBFM against illegal forest harvesting. Imposing fines serves as not only the main source of income for CBFM (VNRC 2, 2020), but also the existing strategy of controlling forest illegal logging. Certain fines would be imposed on those who get caught entering forests illegally, further actions would be taken such as bringing to the court which might lead to prohibition of accessing forests for six months, if illegal invaders refuse to pay the fines (Government officer 2, 2020). The fines are fixed, but normally it depends on the number of trees being cut down, which was considered as being too harsh on those illegal invaders (Villager 1, 2020), especially considering that the ones who usually get caught were the poor (Government officer 2, 2020; VNRC 3, 2020).

In terms of attitudes toward those illegal invaders, the village had different voices. Some believed that those who 'go in the forest and steal trees are because they are starving (Villager 1, 2020)', while others insisted that such situations should not be tolerated since it would last until the forests empty (Government officer 2, 2020). Illegal invasion slashed every tree, which is not good for the conservation of the tree

species (VNRC 3, 2020). Meanwhile, serious punishments were also considered necessary to ensure the intensity of agreement, thereby preventing people from illegally entering the forests due to no impacts being seen (Villager 2, 2020).

As those actors look into the illegal logging from various angles, different attitudes appeared. Their angles in conflict is explainable as the clash between two basic concepts of sustainable development. Sustainable development is an idea worth exploring even it is the combination of two contradictory concepts - ecological conservation and economic development (Redclift, 2018). The government showed major concerns to the conditions of forests for the sustainable use of forest resources, which is reflected in the opinions that sustainability is the government's priority over development. This priority is reflected by one of the government officers:

'Of course the priority of the government is sustainability. So that when resources are managed, they can provide current and future needs (Government officer 1, 2020).'

Those who do not highly depend on forest resources showed their supports to forest conservation, while those who are closely linked to the forests were inclined to economic development which is their main focus. Whose realities should be counted more is a dilemma. This goes to thinking that 'if the reality of poor people is to count more, we have to dare to try to know it better (Chambers, 1997: 163)'. Therefore, the key to these divergences lies in the understanding of the realities of various actors and thereby figuring out whose realities should be placed firstly.

However, such punishments turned to place illegal invaders, who are mainly forest-dependent poor, on the opposite of CBFM. The lowers might not follow the sustainable long-term thinking as do the uppers (Adams, 2009), as the basic needs could be the main drive for those to conduct illegal logging. Motivations of illegal harvesting might not be necessarily complex, without realizing it would lead to the misunderstanding of key factors in solving the problems. Such misalignment with the realities provides one of explanations for why standardized forest permit rules was not working effectively in protecting forests in Mfyome, resulting in the closure of

harvesting permits to conserving the forests. However, the effectiveness of closure on environmental sustainability is also questionable.

The closure of forest harvesting permits tremendously changed not only livelihood assets of those forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome, but also their livelihood strategies. By facing serious cut in incomes, most interviewed households picked up alternative jobs to compensate for the loss of income from forest harvesting. Those jobs include seasonal cultivation in others' farms (Villager 1, 2020; Villager 4, 2020; Villager 7, 2020) and collecting mushrooms (Villager 7, 2020). One of the common points of those alternatives is being seriously unstable. The expectations seemed to be pessimistic:

'We concentrated on farming at first so as to compensate for the loss but there was heavy rainfall and the condition on the farms are not good so we tried to add more fertilizer on the farms but in terms of harvest, we are expecting that hunger can happen (Villager 8, 2020).'

Borrowing money from friends could be another choice, but it is hard to handle in the long term (Villager 6, 2020). Borrowing without sufficient capacities to turn back on time might undermine their social relations. The most popular option among those interviewees is to wait for the forests to be reopened. However, not everyone can tolerate the existing or potential hunger in the long run, opening forest as soon as possible would therefore be regarded as a good way to avoid potential forest destruction (Villager 8, 2020). During this special period, however, 'courage' could also play an important role in livelihood strategies. Courage is required to harvest forest resources in the forests during the closing period, this is what a 'brave' interviewee said:

'As what I know so far, only six villagers are brave enough to enter the forests for harvesting (Villager 5, 2020).'

This potential is in line with the interpersonal deception (Chambers, 1999) in the analytical framework. On the one hand, those villagers might show their respects to the governments' decisions on closing the forest harvesting permits in order to

maintain a somehow good relationships with the governments. On the other hand, they might harvest in the forest secretly knowing that it is illegal. Although only few villagers were ‘brave’ enough to enter forests for harvesting by then, situations would be totally different when those forest-dependent poor households were left with few or no choices.

Although the forest-dependent poor can not be the representative of the whole village, they are the one with most tendency to enter the forest and cut the trees. Therefore, their attitudes towards CBFM might play a key role in the future of CBFM. In response to the illegal invasions, governments would concentrate more on pushing those invaders further as the enemies to the forests by imposing stronger supervision in the forests and keeping the forests closed for a longer period. Such decisions might create a vicious circle in which government, villagers and the forests are all losers.

5.4. What could be done

The discussions on the previous questions show the important role forest-dependent poor households can play in the general performance of CBFM in Mfyome, this section aims at raising suggestions with the focuses on this main actor in CBFM. The suggestions fall on two aspects. Firstly, the significance of intensive involvement of forest-dependent poor in the design of CBFM is recommended to be underlined. After setting up a friendly policy environment, the second suggestion is the capacity building of the forest-dependent poor. These two recommendations, with the considerations of both external and internal causes, are expected to contribute to livelihood improvement of the forest-dependent poor households at micro level, while the performance improvement of CBFM at macro level.

5.4.1. Changes in attitudes might help

Changes in attitudes of individuals from the implementing organizations is the key in transformation for the purpose of being consistent with the bottom-up ideas (Chambers, 2005). As expressed by government officers (Government officer 1, 2020; Government officer 3, 2020), the direction of new management plans is to involve more actors with various capacities to impose a more strict control on the forests,

thereby targeting the occurred degradation issues which result from previous relatively loose management plans. Technically, this is a reasonable and straightforward thinking to protect the forests. But the risk is that the forest-dependent poor's needs might not properly reflected and instead covered by the more restricting ways of protecting forests. This might have the tendency to fall on the trap described as,

'International donors, government and practitioners then advocated for more streamlined and predefined policy prescriptions going under the name of 'forest management contracts', which offered local people formalized limited access to state-claimed forests. With an outside push, local people have begun to take part in CBNRM governance bureaucracies, which set out overly organized, and neither necessarily legitimate nor long-term sustainable, solutions to fluid politically-contested problems (Dressler et al., 2010:12). '

If previous failures of government in governing the forests decades ago led to the involvement of people in managing the forests rather than only government itself doing the job (Government officer 1, 2020), then it is necessary to include those affected to decide what they want and reasons behind, which, if lacks, might be the issues of inadequate consideration of legitimacy and local needs (Sen, 1999). Reduction in the dependence of locals on forest resources, therefore, can be done in another way with less conflicts involved.

An alternative thinking with forest-dependent poor in rather than out is recommended. As more actors are expected to be involved in CBFM for a better forest management mechanism, the focus on key players such as the forest-dependent poor is necessary to be highlighted. Democratic is questionable when voters have limited understandings of the complex situations of forest issues (Larjavaara, 2012). Involvement is problematic when participants have limited capacities to solve the basic need issues. Forests are the villagers' resources, they can get different benefits from the forests because they are the first beneficiaries (Government officer 1, 2020). Being the first beneficiary with key role in forest conservation, plus CBFM's basic characteristic of being bottom-up, the forest-dependent poor deserve an important role in the design of CBFM.

This is not to say sustainability is not important. Forests are facing double threats from both inside and outside (*ibid.*). The outside demand of the forest resources is regarded as the basic root and serves as the primary drive for illegal harvesting (*ibid.*). Increasing demand of forest resources has mainly contributed to the over-logging which was not the serious problem for a long time when forest resources were for domestic needs. Therefore, those who were involved in protecting forests turn against the protections now (*ibid.*). Sustainability is not the priority any more for some villagers involved, while the priorities of government in CBFM have been given to environmental sustainability with the belief that effective management of natural resources can meet current and future needs. However, the imbalance between accessing to and conserving natural resource might lead to the undermining of natural environment, thereby causing the long term damage to the livelihoods (Patenaude & Lewis, 2014). Conserving environment is undoubtedly important, but the precondition is to ensure the economic development. The community management's complexity lies in the interactions among factors from social and ecological systems (Mohammed & Inoue, 2012). Increasing demand of forest resources could be the main outward drive for deforestation, then decreasing standard of livelihoods domestically could be the mirrored inward.

Devolution of power from government to local communities does not mean that it can ensure sufficient control of locals over natural resources (Ribot & Larson, 2004, cited in Adams, 2009). The inclusion of those forest-dependent poor in the design of CBFM serves as a starting pointing for the shift of thinking on the role of the forest-dependent poor in CBFM, thereby contributing to further implementation of capacity improvement which will be discussed in next part.

5.4.2. Livelihood diversification might help

One of the basic hypothesis of successful CBFM is the precondition of poverty reduction (Hutton, 2005, cited in Adams, 2009). The analysis on livelihood assets and livelihood strategies of those forest-dependent households in Mfyome shows that livelihood structure of those households was too simple to face various livelihood shocks which might make them turn to forests for solutions. At the same time, however, CBFM decreases the ability of households to depend on forests in difficult

periods (Vyamana, 2009). Such dilemma serves as significant pressure on the livelihoods of those forest-dependent poor in Mfyome. Livelihood diversification is suggested to diversify those households' livelihood structure, thereby reducing their reliance on the forests as their income source.

Livelihood diversification is an effective way to achieve balance among assets building, poverty reduction and natural resource protection (Ellis & Allison, 2004), which also fits with CBFM's balance in forest conservation and livelihood improvement. Getting access to livelihood assets has been regarded as the key to reduce poverty (World Bank, 2000; IFAD, 2001). Limited access to livelihood assets is by itself an obstacle for households to get out of poverty. Accessing to assets has significant influences on the choices of livelihood activities, more available livelihood choices equip people with more flexibility rather than being forced to adopt activities (DFID, 1999). In Mfyome, many small business chances had been provided such as livestock raising and meat selling (Government officer 2, 2020), some of which might not be fulfilled.

'Villagers can still survive since so many other activities in which they can engage and yet earn something (Government officer 1, 2020).'

Those opportunities were embedded with a precondition of requirement of certain capitals, which made it nearly impossible for those forest-dependent poor households to engage in. To improve or maintain livelihoods, people usually expand current activities or move to new activities (Dorward et al., 2009). Those forest-dependent poor families were provided with opportunities to move to new activities though the entering bar was too high for them. The fact that opportunities were available but inaccessible left those households with the only choice of expanding current activities which were mainly in forests. Accessibility rather than availability of alternative income generated activities should be highlighted. Attentions are therefore suggested to move from local household level to a wider political structure (Scoones, 2009) to target the problems more accurately.

The linkages among livelihoods, power and politics are established by locating household livelihoods at a micro level in the policy structure at a macro level (*ibid.*).

Since livelihood opportunities and constraints are defined by political structure as well as process (*ibid.*), the role of uppers is not just about providing opportunities, but also filtering restrictions to ensure the accessibility of opportunities. A systematic approach is therefore recommended to be adopted to understand the aspirations, chances and obstacles of the poor to have sustainable livelihoods and thereby delivering tailored supports as well as a broader understanding of poverty reduction (Dorward, et al., 2009). This approach divides households into three categories which are ‘hanging in’, ‘hanging up’ and ‘stepping out’. Briefly speaking, these three categories represent maintaining current livelihoods, improving current livelihoods but with apparent limitations, and improving livelihoods to achieve sustainable livelihoods, respectively (*ibid.*). The very poor tend to apply ‘hanging in’ strategies due to their struggling with sustaining current livelihoods, the potential to pursue future livelihoods is accompanied with the consideration of its impacts on current activities (Dorward et al., 2009). Factors behind the choices of livelihood activities of households should be explored with the hope to enhance positive impacts while reducing negative effects (DFID, 1999). By exploring reasons behind the forest-dependent poor’s ‘hanging in’ strategies can it be embedded with hopes of moving toward ‘hanging up’ and even ‘stepping out’. Therefore, a certain understanding of livelihood assets contributing to current needs of forest-dependent poor households is recommended to be underlined at the political structure and process level.

Another consideration with regard to targeting the forest-dependent poor is the competing nature of human being. Value and interest differences should not be ignored even in the same targeting group since actors intend to engage in only when the projects fit with their own interests (UNDP, 2017). Therefore, it is not just about opening up choices to build capacities while leave the livelihood decisions to people, but also offering a safety net for those who fail to compete (DFID, 1999).

Looking into two suggestions raised in this section, it is obvious that focuses are placed on the policy making to improve current struggling situations of the forest-dependent poor households. SLA enables the attentions from policy makers to capacity building of the poor (Patnaik, 2014). It is not to say other stakeholders play less important role in this issue, but that government could work as a key coordination

point to tailor the needs of forest-dependent poor households. This requires the shift of focuses from availability to accessibility of activity chances. To play this role well, government should first change the attitudes toward the role of forest-dependent poor households in CBFM, then starting to gain a better understanding of the realities of those households.

6. Conclusions

This thesis explores the implications of CBFM on the livelihoods of forest-dependent poor households through a single case in Mfyome village with an exclusion angle. By constructing an analytical framework defining and connecting three main concepts which are CBFM, exclusion and livelihoods, relations among these concepts were established. This analytical framework subsequently guided the process of research design and data collection. After the analysis of data collected in Mfyome, this thesis firstly found that CBFM contributes to the exclusion of forest-dependent poor households in Mfyome. Instead of excluding those households through a mostly discussed way at an implementation level, CBFM was shown to be lacking considerations of the forest-dependent poor in its design. Secondly, findings revealed that livelihoods of those households were affected in a sense that all five evaluated livelihood assets had experienced declines. With finance assets the most direct influenced assets, other assets were to some extent impacted indirectly by exclusion of CBFM through finance assets. The changes in livelihood assets of those households resulted in the transformations in livelihood strategies, leading to the third finding. Thirdly, forest-dependent poor households had the potentials to conduct illegal harvesting in the forests, which might undermine CBFM's aims to conserve forest resources. In that way, CBFM in Mfyome village would neither protecting the forests nor improving livelihoods effectively. Based on this concern and the realization that the forest-dependent poor plays an important role in the future success of CBFM in Mfyome, this thesis raised two suggestions centering on changing attitudes towards forest-dependent poor's role in CBFM and on improving their livelihoods to reduce their reliance on forests as main household incomes.

The main purpose of this thesis is to speak out for those who have insufficient opportunities to speak. This is done by shedding lights on the realities of those forest-dependent poor who had not received sufficient attentions from CBFM. The lens of exclusion, therefore, fits with this purpose due to its characteristics of ‘draw[ing] attention to problems that may otherwise be neglected in more traditional studies of poverty and deprivation (Sen, 2000: 32).’ Issues being paid inadequate attentions does not mean they were not existing. Issues showing one side does not mean they do not have the other side. The normality of daily life might cover the realities. Sometimes, special events might turn out to be good opportunities to speak out for those victims who might suffer under the covering of peaceful normal life. Therefore, one of the most important take-home points of this thesis is that attentions on uncommon events might have the potentials to uncover the hidden secrets under the appearance of society.

Limitations, however, is also necessary to be presented for further improvements. The first limitation is regarding to existing literature in related topics. Lack of existing empirical data in the analytical framework leads to restrictions on conducting more fruitful triangulation among theories, previous researches and collected data. In addition, the majority of current relevant literature in Tanzania were conducted for more than one decade. It implies that this field in Tanzania has not received adequate attentions both domestically and internationally in recent years. The second is limited time in the field - Mfyome village. Unverified assumptions on the local life is usually inclined to misguide the realities (DFID, 1999). Out of this concern, this thesis makes the compromise in raising suggestions in terms of improving livelihoods of forest-dependent poor households due to the limited understanding of local realities. The last is the representation capacity of this case study. Since it was conducted in one small village with a small size of sample, there is not guarantee that it can represent the situations in other areas in Tanzania.

More efforts are therefore expected. CBFM, as a sustainable development initiative with ambitions to reach the balance between environmental protection and livelihood improvement, deserves more attentions from not just policy makers, but also other actors including researchers. More uncovered aspects of this promising initiative

could help to shed lights on the realities of the poor. This requires more practices. As one thought puts,

'Ideals such as democracy, transparency, and civil society do not reshape practice of themselves; rather, they are shaped by the societies in which they are introduced (Brockington, 2007: 845)'.

Ideas could be profoundly molded by the social practice which is decided by various factors full of uncertainties. Specific culture and history can form specific exclusion as well as the policy to combat it (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1999). The understanding of local realities, therefore, rests on practices. It is true that time will tell how it works. Room and time are required for new arrangements to prove whether it is good or bad (Government officer 1, 2020). However, what worth bearing in mind is that no matter how time runs, the realities are always there, especially those awaiting for being noticed.

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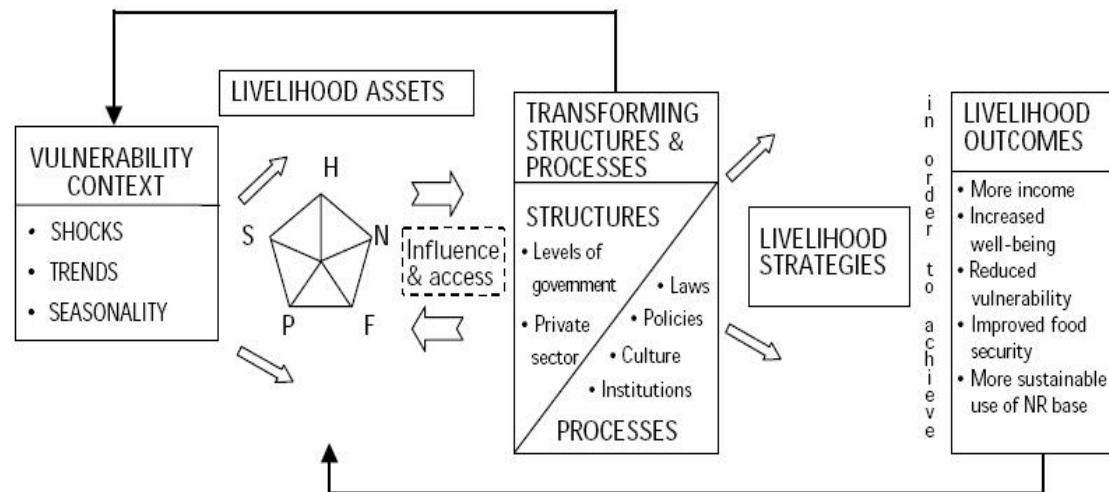
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Appendices

Appendix 1. Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) Framework



Source: DFID (1999)

Appendix 2: Lists of semi-structured interview questions

Questions for VNRC members

VNRCs

- ❖ What do you, as a representative, do in VNRCs?
- ❖ What is the role of VNRCs in CBFM in Mfyome?
- ❖ How do VNRCs get the finance source for operations?

CBFM

- ❖ What have been done by using benefits from CBFM?
- ❖ Are there any benefits from CBFM to individual household level?
- ❖ Why do you think the forest harvesting permits were closed?
- ❖ Who made the decisions of closing harvesting permits?
- ❖ What can people do in the forests with or without harvesting permits, respectively?
- ❖ What are your suggestions for improving performance of CBFM in Mfyome?

Extra

- ❖ Which households do you think are highly dependent on forests as the income source? If possible, name three.

Questions for villagers

Basic information

- ❖ What is your household size?
- ❖ What are the jobs of household members?
- ❖ How do you mainly earn your income?

CBFM

- ❖ Have you ever benefited from community benefits provided by CBFM?
- ❖ How do you think of community benefits provided by CBFM?
- ❖ How do you get benefits from the forests when the forest harvesting permits were still working?
- ❖ How do you get benefits from the forests now?
- ❖ Why do you think the government closed the forest harvesting permits?
- ❖ How did the government make the decisions of closing harvesting permits?
- ❖ Why do you think people still invade the forests even know that it is illegal now?

Livelihoods

- ❖ What are the differences of income in your family before and after the forest harvesting permit closure? Why?
- ❖ What are the differences of food in your family before and after the forest harvesting permit closure? Why?
- ❖ What are the differences of social network in your family before and after the forest harvesting permit closure? Why?
- ❖ How do you cope with these challenges?
- ❖ What are your expectations for the forest management?

Extra

- ❖ Which households do you think are highly dependent on forests as the income source? If possible, name three.

Questions for government officers

Basic information

- ❖ What are the main economic activities in Mfyome?
- ❖ How are the situations of forest conservation in Mfyome?

CBFM

- ❖ How does CBFM in Mfyome produce benefits?
- ❖ How are CBFM's benefits used?
- ❖ How does district government support CBFM in Mfyome?
- ❖ What is the process of decision-making in terms of closing forest harvesting permits?
- ❖ How do you think of the performance of CBFM so far?
- ❖ What are your suggestions for improving performance of CBFM in Mfyome?

Extra

- ❖ Which households do you think are highly dependent on forests as the income source? If possible, name three.

Appendices 3. List of interviewees

Role	Gender	Date	Location
VNRC members			
VNRC member 1	Male	23-Feb-2020	Mfyome
VNRC member 2	Female	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
VNRC member 3	Female	23-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Mfyome villagers			
Villager 1	Male	23-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 2	Female	23-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 3	Male	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 4	Male	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 5	Female	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 6	Male	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 7	Male	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Villager 8	Male	24-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Government officer			
Government officer 1	Male	17-Jan-2020 26-Feb-2020	Iringa
Government officer 2	Male	23-Feb-2020	Mfyome
Government officer 3	Female	26-Feb-2020	Iringa
NGO staff			
NGO 1	Male	27-Feb-2020	Dar es salaam