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POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF PUBLIC ASSETS MANAGEMENT FOR FOREST AND WILDLIFE CONSERVATION IN TANZANIA

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I, Wenceslaus Mselya Sobayi, declare that this thesis is my own original work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

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ABSTRACT

This research aims at studying policy implications of public assets management for forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. The study has been conducted in Tanzania and the main subject areas of examination include: Tanzania foreign policy and how it affects donors' financial and technical support in forest and wildlife management; the cooperation that exists between bureaucrats and other actors in designing and implementing policies; research studies and their contribution to the effectiveness of policy provisions; Government decentralisation policy and how it affects operational efficiency in managing forest and wildlife resources; and lastly, involvement of local communities in forest and wildlife management and its influence on their livelihood outcomes.

The study has used qualitative content analysis and narrative techniques in analysing data. Purposive (i.e. judgemental) method was applied when samples were chosen. The data were gathered by using semi-structured interviews guided by a list of open ended questions. The sample size was 40 respondents.

Most importantly, the empirical results provided an answer to the intellectual puzzle of improving policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. Thus, the research offers empirical evidence which add to the existing narrative, particularly in areas of knowledge contribution to disciplines, theories and models used.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Jairus Gracewell Sobayi and Grace Evelyn Sobayi: Thank you for bringing me to the world and to my purpose. You will be ever present with me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

AA	:	Authorised Association
AWF	:	Africa Wildlife Foundation
CCM	:	*Chama cha Mapinduzi*
CITES	:	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CBD	:	Convention on Biological Diversity
COPs	:	Conference of the Parties
CGDP	:	Cabinet Guide to Document Preparation
CBFM	:	Community-Based Forest Management
CBO	:	Community-Based Organisation
CHF	:	Community Health Fund
CPRs	:	Common Pool Resources
CWMAC	:	Community Wildlife Management Areas Consortium
CCS	:	Community Conservation Service
CEDR	:	Centre for Environmental Economics and Development Research
DANIDA	:	Danish International Development Agency
DPP	:	Director of Policy and Planning
D by D	:	Development by Devolution
DV	:	Dependent Variable
ESRF	:	Economic and Social Research Foundation
FD	:	Forest Division
FBD	:	Forest and Beekeeping Division

FINNIDA	:	Finnish International Development Agency
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GMP	:	General Management Plan
IAD	:	Institutional Analysis and Development
IV	:	Independent Variable
IDA	:	International Development Agency
IHI	:	Ifakara Health Institute
IMTC	:	Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee
JFM	:	Joint Forest Management
JICA	:	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JGI	:	Jane Goodall Institute
KVTC	:	Kilombero Valley Teak Company
KILORWEMP	:	Kilombero and Lower Rufiji Wetlands Ecosystem Management Project
LEAT	:	Lawyers' Environmental Action Team
LGAs	:	Local Government Authorities
LUP	:	Land Use Plan
LUS	:	Land Use Strategy
MTNRE	:	Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment
MFAIC	:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
MLHHSD	:	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development
MFAEARIC	:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, East Africa, Regional and International Cooperation
MNRT	:	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism

MCD	:	Multilateral Cooperation Division
MDGs	:	Millennium Development Goals
MUE	:	Masito-Ugalla Ecosystem
MKUKUTA	:	*Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupambana na Umasikini Tanzania*
NPM	:	New Public Management
NEC	:	National Executive Committee
NSGRP	:	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NTFP	:	Non-Timber Forest Products
NCAA	:	Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD	:	Norwegian Agency for Development
ODA	:	Official Development Assistance
O&OD	:	Opportunities and Obstacles to Development
PAs	:	Officially Protected Areas
PAMS	:	Protected Area Management Solutions
PFM	:	Participatory Forest Management
PPD	:	Policy and Planning Division
PMG	:	Paymaster General
PPP	:	Public Private Partnership
PRS	:	Public Research Scale
QDA	:	Qualitative Data Analysis

REC	:	Research Ethics Committee
REDD+	:	Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries
REPOA	:	Research on Poverty Alleviation
RE	:	Revised Edition
RICS	:	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors
SIDA	:	Swedish International Development Agency
SUA	:	Sokoine University of Agriculture
STEP	:	Southern Tanzanian Elephant Project
SDGs	:	Sustainable Development Goals
SCP	:	Sustainable Charcoal Project
SWRI	:	Serengeti Wildlife Research Institute
TAWA	:	Tanzania Wildlife Management Authority
TaTEDO	:	Tanzania Traditional Energy Development Organisation
TAWIRI	:	Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute
TNC	:	The Nature Conservancy
TNRF	:	Tanzania Natural Resource Forum
TFCG	:	Tanzania Forest Conservation Group
TFS	:	Tanzania Forest Services Agency
TANAPA	:	Tanzania National Parks Authority
TAFORI	:	Tanzania Forestry Research Institute
TDV	:	Tanzania Development Vision
UK	:	United Kingdom

UNFCC	:	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNO	:	United Nations Organisation
UNEP	:	United Nations Environment Programme
UDSM	:	University of Dar es Salaam
UNCED	:	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
VPO	:	Vice President’s Office
VGS	:	Village Game Scouts
WMA	:	Wildlife Management Area
WB	:	World Bank
WSSD	:	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WD	:	Wildlife Division
VECs	:	Village Environmental Committees

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introducing the Research and Methodology

This research is aimed at solving the intellectual puzzle of improving policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. The study has five objectives which have been used to construct the analytical framework of the study. The research objectives are to examine the way:

i. Change in foreign policy provisions has affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

ii. Change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs has affected the effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

iii. Change in local communities' involvement in managerial process has affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

iv. Change in Government policy to decentralisation has affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

v. Change in bureaucratic paradigm has affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania.

Therefore, the current chapter is divided into the background of the study, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, significance of the study, scope

and limitation of the study, position of researcher in the study, definition of some common terminologies and a review of the entire organisation of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

For a very long time Tanzania has been having issues with public assets management. These issues have affected landed properties such as buildings, motor vehicles, plant and machinery and natural resources particularly flora and fauna. The policies formulated to address these problems have focused more on landed properties to the detriment of natural resources. For example, the existing policies on forest and wildlife resources conservation have been observed to have serious disconnections between policy objectives and actual results, thus leading to negative policy outcomes such as increased human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs), wildlife trafficking, poaching, deforestation, forest degradation and an ever-decreasing livelihood outcomes for the people (Lokina and Robinson 2008 p.3).

These negative policy outcomes have been observed to have been caused by various factors, one of which is lack of policy connection (i.e. harmonisation), particularly those policies affecting forest and wildlife management. For example, a country's foreign policy plays a pivotal role in connecting all policies of strategic importance. It is the foreign policy which shows a country's priorities when relating with other countries on a global scale.

For decades, forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania has been supported by donors' community, particularly Scandinavian Europe. For example, in forest and

wildlife conservation, Tanzania has been receiving financial and technical support from SIDA, DANIDA, FINNIDA, NORAD and World Bank (IDA). These donor agencies have been at the forefront in financing programs and projects such as Participatory Forest Management i.e. PFM (Blomley and Ramadhani 2005). Thus, bilateral donors have been particularly important in helping Tanzania to conserve its forest and wildlife resources (Bigsten et al 1999).

In that case, Tanzania had to change its foreign policy objectives and provisions following changes in its international political diplomacy to economic diplomacy (MFAIC 2015). It is therefore important to understand how the change in international diplomacy has affected donors' financial and technical support in forest and wildlife management. The Tanzania foreign policy has the following objectives: to project, promote and protect the country's political, economic, social and cultural interests through active and sustainable economic diplomacy; to ensure that the country's relation with other nations and international entities are in line with economic interests of the state; and to create the necessary conditions which shall enable the state to participate effectively in regional and international negotiations (*ibid*).

Cooper (1972) describes a country's foreign policy as being a higher foreign policy, while sectorial policies such as forest policy, wildlife policy and other domestic policies of strategic significance as being lower foreign policies. A country's foreign policy is usually considered to look after its topmost priority issues. Such issues encompass international trade, climate change, national security, survival etc. and they are

interwoven with other issues in key domestic policies that are more specific to a particular sector such as forest, wildlife, minerals etc.

On the other hand, lack of adequate technical skills and financial resources in Sub-Saharan African research institutions and poor quality or non-existent statistical data needed for any serious policy making process are key factors which contribute to underdevelopment (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have been characterised as having weak research institutions, which could have assisted in conducting impactful research. The findings from such institutions if they had existed could have unveiled the actual needs of the society before policies are formulated about these needs (Dollar and Svensoon 2000). It could therefore be asserted that problems that exist in forest and wildlife management are the consequence of lack of quality research input which is essential to feed into the policy making process and produce positive policy outcomes.

Likewise, Tanzania has been under socialist regime for over twenty years of its political independence from Great Britain during which time centralism was used in managing the country's resources. However, upon various reforms in public sector, Tanzania decided to adopt decentralism as an alternative to centralism, and started to formulate policies which place emphasis on decentralising power and authority to the lower tiers of the Government. The country also formulated policies that encouraged private sector participation in public assets management. Forest and wildlife conservation policies were among the policies which were affected by the changes earlier described.

The subject of people's livelihood in relation to forest and wildlife management has also been examined as all the problems that occur in managing forest and wildlife resources have direct effect on the livelihood of surrounding households. The involvement of local communities (i.e. households) is critical to forest and wildlife management as such households should be involved in defining development priorities and they should also be able to influence the institutions and policies involved as well as the processes that affect their lives.

The present study also examines the changes resulting from the Tanzanian Government's decision to change from its old bureaucratic paradigm of Classical Public Administration (CPA) to New Public Management (NPM). CPA was characterised by strict adherence to laws and regulations, while NPM is more liberal and encourages cooperation among the actors involved in forest and wildlife management. Thus, the change from the old bureaucratic paradigm which was giving more preference to laws, politics, citizen and values to the new approach of customer-oriented managerialism (i.e. new public management) has to be examined, in order to explain its effects in forest and wildlife management.

1.2. Problem Statement

The study focuses on examining ways of improving policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. According to Lokisa and Robinson (2008 p.3), the prevailing policies in forest and wildlife management have proven to be unsuccessful in reducing the problems of human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs), poaching,

wildlife trafficking, animal disappearance (extinction), deforestation, forest degradation and the ever-decreasing living standard of the people. Against this backdrop, immediate actions must be taken to reduce these problems i.e. policy gaps (or in other words, to improve policy outcomes).

There have been theoretical postulations on ways of reducing policy gaps. For example, Professor Robert E. Goodin (1982 p.7) argues that most of the policies are being formulated without conducting prior research studies on the problems which have led to their formulations. Thus, sound policies must be based on an analysis of the situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible (ibid p.7). In this regard, lack of prior research could be cited as the reason for the existence of the policy gaps, which are the disconnections between policy objectives and actual results achieved. As such, the best way of reducing these gaps, is to ensure that there is prior policy research. The policy formulation processes of both the Forest Policy 1998 and the Wildlife Policy 1998 with its respective revision of the existing Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) can provide examples which support Goodin's argument that there are continued poor policy outcomes such as increased deforestation, forest degradation, human-wildlife conflicts, poaching etc.

Moreover, during the 1980s and 1990s, several countries in Africa, including Tanzania, implemented the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) before conducting thorough research studies into their actual social, economic and political needs. The lack of prior research resulted in a failure to bring about the expected

positive policy outcomes of these programs (Self 2011 p.174). Ayuk and Marouani (2007 p.277) theoretically postulated that the best way to reduce policy gap or disconnection between the policy objectives and actual results achieved is to reduce dependency on foreign aid (i.e. investments) in African research studies and instead ensure adequate domestic investment in developing domestic policies. This has the potential to uncover the actual demand or the problems that exist which need to be addressed in African policies.

Furthermore, according to the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) model developed by Elinor Ostrom, local communities can contribute enormously in reducing the policy gaps once they have been entrusted to manage resources without Government intervention. The model challenged the conventional wisdom about the need for Government intervention over management of public resources in order to attain sustainability and benefit sharing (Ostrom 2005 p.219).

This study therefore selects some dependent and independent variables and examines how they correlate and contribute to solve the intellectual puzzle of improving policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. Hence, the researcher has chosen to formulate research questions which could provide answers that contribute to address the central research question which is: how can policy outcomes for forest and wildlife management in Tanzania be improved? Thus, in order to put the study in perspective, the following supporting research questions are asked:

1.3. Research Questions

The overarching research question of the study is how can policy outcomes for forest and wildlife management in Tanzania be improved? It has been divided into five different sub-questions. Each of the five research questions has two policy variables, in order to facilitate the process of examining the relationship between them. The research questions are as follows:

i. How has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
ii. How has change in the quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
iii. How has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
iv. How has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
v. How has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania?

1.4. Significance of the Study

The rationale behind this study is to provide a philosophical perspective into the whole process of policy making from its initiation stage, formulation, implementation and impact assessment. The study is also significant in its contribution to the body of existing knowledge on the subject matter by providing suggestions on how to improve policy outcomes. According to Wolff (2011 p.230), in order to make useful contribution to policy discussions, researchers and philosophers have to carefully study both the scientific and socio-political backgrounds of different policies.

1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was primarily conducted by examining lower and higher sectorial policies of forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. The former is under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) while the latter is the country's foreign policy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, East Africa, Regional and International Co-operation (MFAEARIC). In addition, the Vice President's Office, ESRF, REPOA, private sector and local communities in seven regions across the country were also involved.

However, financial and other logistical support to conduct a more detailed investigation on the subject matter was limited. Eventually, only few actors were selected and involved in the research. The situation prevented an extensive participation of many actors on a wide geographical scale. In addition, the time allocated for data collection was also limited.

1.6. The Position of the Researcher in the Study

The researcher is a public servant, working as a principal official in a Government division charged with the responsibility of managing public assets under the Ministry of Finance and Planning (MoFP) in Tanzania. The researcher hereby affirms that the entire research process has been independent; it has not been affected by the researcher's previous knowledge on the subject matter under investigation. Rather, the researcher has relied solely on the empirical information obtained from the respondents. The researcher's experience and relationship with respondents encountered during the course of research also did not influence the study. Overall, the researcher was reflexive throughout the research process, devoid of subjectivity and bias as the data was systematically gathered, empirically analysed and interpreted.

Reflexivity in research is a self-revealing process of the identity of a researcher which reveals one's research interest, personal agenda, biography and/or belief and socio-economic position (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009). Although these four elements constitute what is described as "conceptual baggage" and usually tend to influence the research, they must not (ibid).

According to the reflexivity theory, although it is impossible for any researcher to completely disassociate from the research being carried out, previous experiences and knowledge about the subject matter must not influence one's judgement during the research (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009). Reflexivity as a qualitative methodological research tool is commonly used in qualitative research and is

accepted as a method for qualitative researchers to validate their research practices (Cutcliffe and McKenna 2002; Pillow 2003; Kingdon 2005).

It is perceived as an integral process in qualitative research whereby researchers continuously reflect on their own actions, values and perceptions and make sure they do not affect the research setting, collection of data and its analysis (Gerrish and Lacey 2006). Moreover, apart from interviews conducted, document analysis was used to triangulate data (i.e. results) gathered from respondents. Data triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena, in order to facilitate validation of data through cross verification from two or more sources (Patton, 1999).

1.7. Some Common Terminologies

Throughout the study, certain concepts and words are used to explain the theoretical framework and the context which forms the basis of this study. Seven of the recurrent words are neo-patrimonialism, clientelism, centralism, decentralism, livelihood, bureaucratic paradigm and actor-centred constructivism.

1.7.1. Neo-patrimonialism

Neo-patrimonialism is an administrative system of rules where an office of power is used for personal uses and gains (Von Soest 2006 p.7). Neo-patrimonial practices tend to benefit few individuals at the top, usually the patrons, who control the resources, as compared to the general population. Neo-patrimonialism can take various forms and usually affects policy making, especially developmental projects.

It is also responsible for the misuse of aid and state budgets (Van de Walle 2007 p.1).

Neo-patrimonialism originated in post-colonial era in most of the developing countries and is used to ensure political stability of authoritarian regimes and undermines political, social, and economic participation and competition (Van de Walle 2007 p.1). Despite the domestic and international pressures of the 1980's and 1990's which made many African regimes to allow political transition from an authoritarian rule (i.e. minority rule) to democratic rule (i.e. majority rule), the political transition until today has not been successful mainly due to dispute over rules of political game and widespread civil unrest (Bratton and Van de Walle 1994 p.454).

1.7.2. Clientelism

Clientelism is a social order which depends on relations of patronage. It involves the exchange of goods and services for political support. It is a political or social system based on the relation of a client (or clientele), i.e. the voter giving political support to the patron in form of votes in exchange for some special privilege or benefit. (Stokes 2007 p.605)

Clientelism is a universal feature of modern politics and is unlikely to disappear soon, although its nature varies according to the type of political regime in place (Van De Walle 2007 p.1). Clientelism is divided into three parts: *presidentialism* whereby formal and informal rules place one man, usually the president, above the law and not subject to any system of checks and balance which other public officials face; *systematic clientelism* usually by the president and immediate subordinates working

to maintain the status quo and thirdly; *neo-patrimonial systems* used to distribute public resources by adhering or following a clientelistic logic (ibid p. 2).

1.7.3. Centralism

Centralism is the control of disparate activities and organisations under a single authority (Stevenson and Waite 2011 p. 282). It is a theory of leadership in which power and control to decide involves having one central group of people. It is a concentration of authority at the top level of the administrative system (Marume and Jubenkanda 2016 p.106). It is a principal – agent type of relationship whereby the Central Government is the principal and local organisations are the agents (Boko 2002 p.3)

In modern African states, centralism has been embedded within decentralism as most of the actions taken to decentralise such as political decentralisation, is more of de-concentration of functions to the lower tiers of the Government and not actual powers and authority to make decisions (Boko 2002 p.5). Moreover, even economic (or market) decentralisation which involves shifting the responsibility of provision of goods and delivery of services from the Central Government to the private sector has not succeeded, and can only succeed if the legal constraints on the private sector participation in service provision and goods delivery are removed, and in turn re-establish a well-designed and successful decentralisation system which could contain elements of all the four types of decentralisation, namely: political decentralisation, administrative decentralisation, fiscal decentralisation and lastly economic decentralisation (ibid p.5).

1.7.4. Decentralism

There is disagreement among scholars concerning the meaning of decentralisation. To most of them the act of transferring power and resources to lower levels of Governments is not decentralisation. Many of them however share the assumption that decentralisation is the transfer of power and resources away from the Central Government (Schneider 2003 p.33). There are four types of decentralisation: fiscal decentralisation, administrative decentralisation, political decentralisation and market decentralisation (Boko 2002 p.5).

Fiscal decentralisation refers to how much the Central Government cedes fiscal impact to Non-Central Government entities. Administrative decentralisation refers to how much autonomy Non-Central Government entities possess relative to central control (Schneider 2003 p.33). Political decentralisation refers to the degree to which the Central Government allows Non-Central Government entities to undertake the political functions of governance, such as representation. Market decentralisation is the shifting of responsibility to the private sector through the provision of goods and delivery of services from the Central Government (Boko 2002 p.5).

1.7.5. Livelihood

Livelihood is the quality of human living condition and its surrounding environment which involves the quality of soil, air and water; the climatic and geographic condition; the availability of fauna and flora; and the way humans access and make use of these resources (IRP and UNDP-India 2010 p.3)

There are a number of livelihood frameworks developed to help in improving the livelihood of different households across the world. The livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households reduce poverty through the use of livelihood assets. There are various models used to examine livelihood of a particular household or community. Some of the livelihood models in use are: the DFID model, the CARE model, the Oxfam model, the UNDP model, the PGIEP (Policy Guidelines for Integrating Environmental Planning) model etc.

1.7.6. Bureaucratic Paradigm

Bureaucratic paradigm is either a classical public administration manifested by ingrained and narrowly-focused pattern of thought which involves misrepresentation and at worst, a demonstrable distortion of traditional thought that displays far more respect for law, politics, citizen and values or the newly customer-oriented managerialism and its variants (Lynn Jr 2001 p.144).

Thus, bureaucratic paradigm is divided into either Classical Public Administration (CPA) or New Public Management (NPM) which was developed in 1980s. In NPM, focus is placed on public service institutions to be part of the effort to make the public service more efficient by using private sector management models (Polidano 1999 p.2). According to Gruening (2001 p.7) NPM is basically a paradigm which shifts emphasis from elites to the masses (i.e. the people). This is how the phrase, "public management" was derived.

1.7.7. Actor-Centred Constructivism

It focuses on explaining power relations and the strategic behaviour of policy actors involved, and the way actors make use of their ideas, norms, interests and beliefs in public policy process (Saurugger 2013 p.898).

According to Saurugger (2013 p. 898), the actor-centred constructivist theory focuses more on the power relations and the strategic behaviours of policy actors involved and the way actors make use of their ideas, norms, interests and beliefs in public policy process. Normally, economically rationalist thinking is brought into the analysis and linked to the use that actors make of those ideas, interests and beliefs (ibid p.898).

The actor-centred constructivist theory introduces the socio-logical methods, concentrating on the study of individual actors or groups of actors, which help in understanding the power games (the power struggles for control of agendas and resources) that take place between actors in public policy (Saurugger p.898). The actor-centred constructivist theory particularly deals with two issues: the complexity of policy-making processes and legitimation issues (ibid p.898).

1.8 Explaining the Methodology

This chapter also provides a detailed account and justification of the research methods and data sources that were used in the study. Research methodology is basically defined as a way of systematically solving a research problem. Normally,

researchers tend to select particular methods after considering the logic behind them (Sivasubramaniyan 2012).

1.8.1 Research setting

The research is aimed at solving the intellectual puzzle of improving policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. Public policy is regarded as an attempt by the Government to address particular public issues by instituting laws, regulations, decisions, or actions pertinent to the problem at hand (Nweke and Chukwugozie 2013). In Tanzania, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) takes the lead role of managing policies for forest and wildlife resources. Thus, in order to ascertain the implication of such policies on forest and wildlife management, actors such as local communities, political party appointees (i.e. political actors), technocrats and other stakeholders are usually involved in the process of investigating the policy. Therefore, the study was largely focused on a holistic review of policies used in forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

It is stated that when multiple actors are involved in formulating ideas, multiple realisations and perspectives are achieved and so does some element of epistemologies and paradigms. A policy study entails an examination of existing policy on the basis of whether it matches the needs or solves the problem for which it was developed. In this regard, this research setting provides justification that a qualitative approach was more appropriate for this case study on examination of policy implications in managing forest and wildlife resources. Critically important, was

the choice of a paradigm based on the multiplicity of actors and perspectives within the ministry responsible and elsewhere.

The preference given to qualitative approach over quantitative in this study was due to the fact that, quantification of policy effects in Tanzania has been difficult because of lack of reliable, consistent and comprehensive data in almost all sources of statistics (UNEP 2002). Furthermore, qualitative inquiry seems to be more appropriate as it provides a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Normally, qualitative researchers tend to uncover enormous amount of information from their studies (King et al. 1996). In this research, there was a large number of stakeholders (actors) involved with different views and interests. Such complexity cannot be easily conveyed through statistics, whereas a qualitative approach is better adapted to understand such complex situations.

1.8.2 Research paradigm

In this study, interpretivism was chosen as the research philosophy. Interpretivism proposes that there are multiple realities, not single realities of phenomena, and that these realities can differ across time and place (Neill 2006). The reason for selecting this research philosophy was due to the fact that, it enabled the researcher to interpret elements of the study and integrate human interest into the study. "Interpretive researchers assume that access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions like language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments" (Myers 2008).

1.8.3 Research design

Research design is the logic that links empirical data and conclusions to be drawn, to the initial questions of a study. Thus, research design ensures coherence (Rowley 2002). In this study, a flexible research design was adopted and an interpretive case study was employed. An interpretive case study is a descriptive type of case study in which a single case is selected for analysis because of interest in the case rather than interest in the formulation of general theory (Lijphart 1971 p. 692).

The use of interpretive case study enabled the researcher to understand how to improve the policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management by throwing light on the case. An interpretive case study helps in providing detailed explanation by way of using theory to interpret the empirical information before drawing a particular conclusion (Lijphart 1971). Basically, any case study is defined as an empirical inquiry that examines a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 2003).

According to Van Evera (1997), the good thing about the use of case study is that, most of the time, case study analysis tends to offer a backdrop or an environment of fairly uniform case conditions, and also many cases allow a number of observations of values on the independent variable (IV) and dependent variable (DV). The variable can be referred to as a concept, condition, dimension, factor, indicator, measure, metric or uni-dimensional description and so forth (Gerring 2012).

The use of variables in social science helps in sub-dividing a particular topic of interest in order to have a proper understanding of each constituent element as well as describe their interconnections (Gerring 2012). For this reason, the use of variables in this case study was mainly focused on explaining the relationship that exists between variables (i.e. correlation), rather than indicating causality. In that case, the research study continued to maintain its identity as being qualitative and not quantitative.

1.8.4 Data collection methods

Since the study was qualitative, semi-structured interviews and interactions were conducted. Respondents for the interviews were drawn from local communities which were located near the productive and protective forests, game reserves and national parks. Political actors, bureaucrats and technocrats were also interviewed.

According to Harrell and Bradley (2009), semi-structured interactive interviews are often used in policy research. In semi-structured interviews, a guide is usually used to delineate the questions and topics to be covered during the course of the interview. The researcher then collects detailed information from the respondents in a style that is somewhat conversational. The types of questions asked in a semi-structured interview are open-ended. Open ended questions were opted for in the study because they allow respondents to explain and narrate freely without being restricted to a particular framework of questions. Respondents also find it easier and quicker to answer open ended questions and the answers of different respondents can be easily compared, coded and subsequently analysed.

Besides semi-structured interviews, the researcher adopted document analysis. Document analysis involves a detailed examination and review of existing policies and other related documents. The use of this second method was aimed at enabling triangulation of data gathered. The benefits of triangulation include "increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings and providing a clearer understanding of the problem" (Thurmond 2001).

Document analysis as a second research method used in collecting data is reckoned to be more useful than others, as it involves collecting information from documents about the phenomenon in a more cost-effective manner compared to other methods (Mogalakwe 2006).

1.8.5 Respondents and sampling technique

The population of the study was largely made up of local communities while a smaller portion of the population comprised political actors, bureaucrats and technocrats who were involved in forest and wildlife management. The researcher used Forests Division (FD) directory and Wildlife Division (WD) statistical bulletin as sampling frames for choosing the sites where the respondents were located. Normally, these documents provide number and other related information about forests, game reserves and national parks in Tanzania.

The FD directory indicated that Tanzania had a total of 860 forests, both productive and protective forests in 2000. While the WD statistical bulletin indicated that there were 28 game reserves and 16 national parks in 2013.

Thus, considering time limitation and scarcity of financial resources for this study, the researcher ranked the forests, game reserves and national parks on the basis of those with higher ecological values and production levels. Eventually, six forest sites namely Mtunda-Kigoma, Ngindo-Morogoro, Rungwa-Singida, Nyahua-Tabora, Karolo-Mbeya and Ruiga-Bukoba and another six wildlife sites namely Ugalla-Tabora, Muhesi-Singida, Piti-Mbeya, Gombe-Kigoma, Mikumi-Morogoro and Ruaha-Iringa were identified. At each of these sites, two respondents from the nearby local communities were interviewed, thus bringing the total number of local communities' respondents to 24. **In addition, these respondents were members of Village Governments.**

However, in order to avoid sampling frame error, the researcher requested that the two ministerial divisions verify the list of selected sites (selected sample) due to the fact that, there was a potential threat of sampling frame error which could be caused by obsolescence of data, as the research study was conducted in 2016 while some of the data contained in FD directory and WD statistical bulletin went back to the year 2000.

Hence, the researcher went on deciding the type of sampling method to be used. Non-probability sampling technique was chosen. The technique used was purposive

(or judgmental) technique, with the sample size of 40 respondents, whereby 24 respondents as explained came from local communities (two respondents from each local community), while the remaining 16 respondents were drawn from political actors, bureaucrats, technocrats and policy researchers involved in forest and wildlife management.

Non-probability sampling technique is a sampling technique where not all members of the population have a chance of participating in the study. Purposive (or judgmental) technique is a non-probability sampling technique where a sample is selected based on the researcher's own judgment depending on characteristics of a population and objective of the study. It usually entails a conscious selection by the researcher to include certain people in a study. The selected respondents usually have particular characteristics that are of interest to the researcher.

Table 1: Sample distribution and sizes

S.N	Cluster of respondent	No. of sample	No. of respondents per sample	Total no. of resp.	Anonymous identity for each chosen respondent per cluster
1.	Representatives of Local communities	12	2	24	1RESP
2.	Political actors	2	1	2	2RESP
3.	Forest experts	1	2	2	3RESP
4.	Wildlife experts	1	2	2	4RESP
5.	Policy experts	1	4	4	5RESP
6.	Researchers	2	1	2	6RESP
7.	Environmental experts	1	2	2	7RESP
8.	Representatives of NGOs	2	1	2	8RESP
Total sample size				**40**	

Source: Researcher 2016

The reason for selecting more respondents (24) from the local communities out of a total sample size of 40 respondents, was due to the fact that, as stated by Lokina and Robinson (2008), success or failure of policies that govern natural resources depends largely on the involvement of local communities. To a large extent therefore, local communities are of utmost importance when sourcing for significant input to solve the puzzle of how to improve the policy outcomes.

The reason for choosing purposive or judgmental sampling was due to the fact that respondents were supposed to be chosen on the basis of their ability to respond to the questions asked. The respondents chosen were only those privy to information relevant to the researcher's interest.

According to Latham (2007), in purposive or judgemental sampling, the researcher uses personal judgement to select from the population, respondents who will provide verifiably accurate information. In other words, selection of sample is supposed to reflect the purpose or objective of the investigation as well as the respondents' background expertise. Most importantly, in using this sampling technique, sound judgement by a researcher always leads to a representative sample; meanwhile, it also saves time and money (Black 2010). For example, during initial interviews sessions and even after completing them, those respondents who responded proficiently to preliminary questions and seemed to be conversant with the subject matter under investigation were chosen and their responses were highly considered.

1.8.6 Data transcription

Data transcription was carried out by transcribers (colleagues working with FUN-LUGHA Language Services) in Dar es salaam after the data gathering phase of the study was completed. Data transcription is simply the conversion of audio or video data into text, thus making it easy to code and analyse. Primarily, the data for the study was gathered using a tape recorder during interview sessions with the respondents. The transcription of the recorded interviews aided the transcriber to reconstruct a complete and accurate written record of the interview.

The data transcription involved 40 respondents from whom data were gathered. After receiving and reading all transcripts, the researcher discovered that 22 of the transcripts had gone into saturation and the remaining 18 transcripts were chosen for further coding and analysis. Data saturation occurs when information obtained from respondents is repetitive (O′ Reilly and Parker 2012; Walker 2012), when additional interviews are not yielding new information from a set of respondents (Guest et al. 2006), and when further coding is no longer feasible (Guest et al. 2006). Hence, the final sample size was 18 respondents whose responses were analysed and interpreted.

Thus, out of 24 respondents from local communities, data went into saturation and yielded 10 respondents, from 2 political actors it ended up with 1 respondent, from 10 bureaucrats (i.e. foresters, wildlife and environmental experts) only 5 respondents were selected and from the 4 technocrats 2 respondents were chosen. Therefore, out of 40 respondents only the transcripts of 18 respondents were selected for translation

into English as they were originally in Swahili. However, those transcripts which were not translated were not left out of consideration and were a part of the data considered in the overall findings of the study.

1.8.7 Data translation

Data translation is an activity that aims at conveying meaning or meanings of a particular set of data of a given linguistic discourse from one language to another (Malmkjaer 2011). Data translation from Swahili language to English was carried out by translators (colleagues working with Tanzania Standard Newspapers i.e. TSN Ltd.) in Dar es salaam. Data translation commenced after the data transcribing phase of the study was completed, as most respondents provided their feedback in local Swahili language during the interview.

1.8.8 Data processing and analysis

Since, the focus of this study was to examine policy implications of public assets management for forest and wildlife conservation, data gathered from interviews, after being recorded, transcribed and translated were subsequently entered into NVivo software where they were auto-coded and analysed until themes were identified. After these themes were identified, each theme was further analysed by using analytical methods as indicated in **Table 2**: **The Analytical framework of the study** (see pp. 28–29).

NVivo is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package produced by QSR International. It has been designed for qualitative researchers working with very

rich text-based and/or multimedia information, where deep levels of analysis on small or large volumes of data is required.

Table 2: The analytical framework of this study is shown below as follows:

Sn	Research objective	Level of Measurement	Analytical technique
1.	To examine the way change in foreign policy provisions has affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve the forest and wildlife management in Tanzania	Nominal scale	Content analysis and Narrative analysis
2.	To examine the way change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs has affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania	Nominal scale	Content analysis and Narrative analysis
3.	To examine the way change in local communities' involvement in managerial process has affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to	Nominal scale	Content analysis and Narrative analysis

	improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania		
4.	To examine the way change in Government policy to decentralisation has affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania	Nominal scale	Content analysis and Narrative analysis
5.	To examine the way change in bureaucratic paradigm has affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania	Nominal scale	Content analysis and Narrative analysis

Source: Researcher 2016

1.8.8.1 Content Analysis

Content Analysis is sometimes referred to as quantitative analysis of qualitative data (Morgan 1993). In content analysis, text data is coded into explicit categories and then described using statistics (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Text data might be in verbal, print or electronic format and might have been obtained from narrative responses, open ended questions, interviews, focus groups, observations or print media such as articles, books or manuals (Kondracki and Wellman 2002).

Qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examine language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1990). These categories can represent either explicit response (i.e. exact responses or statements of respondents said or written) or inferred response (i.e. only the interpretation of those responses or statements). The goal of content analysis is to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study (Downe-Wamboldt 1992).

In short, qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). In qualitative content analysis, the researcher decided to use conventional content analysis, as it seemed to be the most suitable of the three types of approaches for qualitative content analysis, namely, conventional, directed and summative. The conventional content analysis was more appropriate for this study as it is often used with a study design which is aimed at describing a phenomenon.

When using conventional content analysis, the researcher analysed the data by reading them repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole (Tesch 1990) as one would read a novel. Then, the researcher read the data word for word to derive codes (Miles and Huberman 1994; Morgan 1993; Morse and Field 1995) by first highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts. Next, the researcher approached the text by taking note of key

impressions, thoughts, and initial analysis. As this process continued, labels for codes emerged which were reflective of more than one key thought.

Codes were then sorted into categories (i.e. themes) based on how different codes were related and linked. These emergent categories (themes) are normally used to organise and group codes into meaningful clusters (Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Patton 2002). Ideally, the numbers of clusters should be between 10 and 15 to keep clusters broad enough to sort a large number of codes (Morse and Field 1995).

A word cloud diagram was developed (see the following chapter of results and the codes developed in the appendices) to help in organising these categories (themes) into a hierarchical structure (Morse and Field 1995). Next, the researcher defined each category (theme) and sub-category (sub-theme) where variables were coded. In preparation for reporting of the findings, variables for each code and category (theme) were identified from the data. Then, the researcher identified the relationship between categories (themes) and sub-categories (sub-themes) based on their concurrence, antecedents or consequences (Morse and Field 1995).

With a conventional approach to content analysis, relevant theories/models and other research findings will be addressed in chapter seven which deals with critical evaluation and interpretation of the empirical findings. In chapter seven, the researcher compares the study's findings to relevant theories/models of the study. Chapter eight contains the conclusions reached at the end of the study, as well as a

summary of how the findings from the study contribute to knowledge in the area of interest and suggestions for practice, teaching, and future research.

1.8.8.2 Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis emerged as a method from the broader field of qualitative research in the early 20th century. Narrative analysis uses what is known as "narrative means" similar to autobiographies, journals, field notes, letters, conversations, interviews, family stories, photos (and other artefacts), and life experience, as the units of analysis in order to understand the way people create meaning in their lives through narratives (Østern 2009).

Narrative analysis is the right methodological strategy to handle the complexity of empirical data especially when such data concern the lives of research respondents. As such, this analytical tool fits well since the researcher used semi-structured interviews and interactions to collect data from key actors involved in forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. Their stories and experience were used as a basis for knowledge creation (Robert and Shenhav 2014).

In addition, there is an understanding that stories emanate from our personal and social lives, and normally human beings have a natural impulse to narrate (White 1980). This fact is being acknowledged by a growing number of scholars, and it is the main reason that motivated the researcher of this particular study to use narrative analysis, as it is through the lives of the people and the stories they narrate,

that a proper investigation can be carried out to understand the policy implications of public assets management for forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania.

When using narrative analysis, the following steps were involved (Richmond 2002):

i. The researcher ensured that the research questions were actually being directed at determining the WHY and HOW of the research topic. In other words, the researcher had to ensure that the research questions were crafted to ask probing questions about the topic.

ii. The researcher recorded the interviews and later transcribed them in order to get raw data which were later been processed, analysed and interpreted.

iii. The researcher employed "narrative smoothing" which refers to the organisation of data according to research questions/objectives by removing or separating irrelevant or redundant information before proceeding with data analysis. In narrative analysis while organising transcribed data, there are various approaches used depending on a particular research question and the aim of the project. The chosen approach was synchronic organisation also known as thematic organisation or Labov's method. The reason for selecting Labov's method is due to the fact that it is usually used in research questions which seek to examine certain aspects of the current state of affairs. The research questions of this study examine the current state of forest and wildlife conservation policy affairs in Tanzania.

iv. Finally, after the analysis of data, the researcher started interpreting the data. The Researcher was guided by research paradigm, research theories and models as a basis for interpretation of data, as indicated in **Table 3: Data interpretation framework** (see pp. 34-35).

Table 3: Data interpretation framework

Paradigm, Theory & Model	**Nature of paradigm, theory & model**	**Bases of interpretation**
Constructivist paradigm	Fundamental	Philosophical
Goodin theory	Critical	Political, social & economical
Ayuk & Mauroani theory	Critical	Political, social & economical
Ostrom model	Applicable	Political, social & economical
Boko centralist theory	Critical	Political, social & economical
Bratton & Van de Walle neo-patrimonial theory	Critical	Political, social & economical
Van de Walle clientelist theory	Critical	Political, social & economical

Saurugger theory	Critical	Political, social & economical
DFID model	Applicable	Political, social & economical

Source: Researcher 2016

The logic behind data interpretation in narrative analysis is to translate the stories of respondent's experiences into a narrative form (which obviously provides an interpretive meaning or conclusion). Narrative form is said to be produced, once a coherent story from data (stories) has been constructed in relation to previously defined or crafted research questions. In short, through the use of narrative analysis, the researcher collected data, analysed and eventually translated or interpreted the findings then put it into a "new story" in a relevant chapter of this study. Thus, the new story is an interpreted story or interpreted narrative which has a different meaning or message, embedded with unbiased personal opinion of the reflexive narrator (i.e. researcher of this study) when being constructed (Segel and Heer 2010).

Therefore, the findings from both content analysis and those from narrative analysis are presented and discussed in the relevant chapters. Hence, the researcher used the findings of the two techniques to complement each other and produce a good synergy.

1.8.9 The Reflexivity method and Position of the Researcher

Theory of reflexivity places an emphasis on depicting the position of a researcher in the course of conducting a particular study. Reflexivity or simply "reflection" focuses on how a researcher fits into a particular research project by exposing one's previous connection, experience and knowledge of a subject matter under study; and how the same must not influence the researcher's judgement during which empirical data is collected, processed, analysed, interpreted and written (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009).

According to the theory, a researcher cannot disassociate from the research but any previous connection, experience and knowledge of a subject matter under study must not influence the researcher's judgement during which the empirical data is collected, processed, analysed, interpreted and written. Reflexivity in research is a self-revealing process of identity of the researcher by explaining one's research interest, personal agenda, biography and/or belief and socio-economic position. These four elements constitute what is described as "conceptual baggage" as they normally tend to influence the research, and according to the theory they must not.

The researcher of this particular study has revealed his identity and provided a brief statement explaining his commitment to uphold independence of this research study from "conceptual baggage" at the very outset in the first chapter. The importance of reflexivity method to this study was to ensure and show the level of credence of the research study itself and credibility of the researcher.

Reflexivity as a methodological research tool, is commonly used in qualitative research and is accepted as a method for validating research practices (Cutcliffe and McKenna 2002; Pillow 2003; Kingdon 2005). It is perceived as an integral process in qualitative research whereby researchers continuously reflect on their own actions, values and perceptions and make sure they do not affect the research setting, collection of data and its analysis (Gerrish and Lacey 2006).

It is important for a researcher to carry out continuous self-reflection by observing own values, perceptions and behaviours and ensure they do not affect the research, data collection and process of analysis (Parahoo 2006). Thus, reflexivity is a self-examining or self-searching process which a researcher undertakes to ensure that there is limited chance of subjectivity and bias in the study. The process of reflexivity, therefore, underlies various attempts to understand and take necessary intervention especially when human relationships are involved and it is a fundamentally human quality of being reflective (Holland 1999).

In the course of the interview process, theory of reflexivity describes how the researcher should relate with the project by delimiting any conceptual baggage which existed with the respondents during data collection. The use of theory of reflexivity in this study was aimed at eliminating subjectivity and biases in formation or construction of opinion at various stages of the research on one hand, and on the other, ensuring comfort to respondents and subsequently providing quality feedback. In this way, it indicates that during the course of the interview, ethical standards were upheld.

1.8.10 Ethical Consideration and Approach

Ethics in research can be defined as norms for conduct that distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Ethical norms are so pervasive that one might be tempted to regard them as simple common-sense. However, if morality were nothing more than common-sense, then why are there so many ethical disputes and issues in our society? One plausible explanation is that most people recognise some common ethical norms but interpret, apply, and balance them in different ways in light of their own values and life experiences (Resnik 2015).

Consequently, each organisation has a set of ethical norms to be adhered to, and the University of Nottingham follows a set of ethical norms particularly in area of research. Therefore, the researcher was required to apply for ethical clearance from the university by filling the ethics clearance form. On the other hand, being a public servant in Tanzania, the researcher ensured compliance to public service regulations as prescribed in Public Service Act 2007 (RE). Thus, in order to ensure a better environment for professional audit of perspectives of actors involved in forest and wildlife management, the major ethical norms such as anonymity and confidentiality had to be adhered to with no exception.

1.8.11 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Confidentiality and anonymity are related but distinct concepts. The concise oxford dictionary defined confidentiality as: 'spoken or written in confidence; charged with secrets' while anonymity is defined as: 'of unknown name, of unknown authorship' (Wiles et al. 2006). In the ethics literature, confidentiality is commonly viewed as

similar to the principle of privacy (Oliver 2003; Gregory 2003). This principle is integral to our societal beliefs that individuals matter and those individuals have the right for their affairs to be private, although as Bulmer (2001) explains that in our information-led society, upholding this right is far from straightforward.

To assure someone of confidentiality means that, what has been discussed will not be repeated, or at least, not without permission. Therefore, the idea of confidentiality (and anonymity) was raised and discussed with research respondents prior to their participation in the research as suggested by (Wiles et al. 2006). However, in the research context, confidentiality (as it is commonly understood) makes little sense, due to the fact that at the end of the research, the findings have to be disclosed. Therefore, because of such significance of disclosure of the findings, the researcher had to ensure that prior consent of respondents was obtained before the actual interview started.

Therefore, it must be understood that confidential research cannot be conducted at all, because researchers have a duty to report on the findings of their research and they cannot do so if the data collected is considered to be confidential (i.e. cannot be revealed). What researchers can do, is ensure that they do not disclose identifiable information about respondents and protect their identity through various processes designed to anonymise them.

Thus, the extent to which anonymisation is successful varies according to the research context. Researchers can provide assurance to respondents that their

identity would be concealed, but they should not promise on the confidentiality of the findings. As, van den Hoonard explains (2002 p. 8), 'promises of confidentiality are easier to make than to keep', as there is no such thing as confidential research. Therefore, findings have to be published but with prior consent of respondents (Wiles et al. 2006).

1.8.12 Ethical Approach

A letter of introduction (i.e. project information sheet) and consent form were used to show the researcher's commitment to anonymity and intention to disclose the findings. Moreover, an application form (i.e. ethics clearance form) was duly filled by the researcher and subsequently submitted for approval to Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the University of Nottingham.

The data collection instrument (i.e. a guiding list of questions asked to respondents), consent form and introduction letter were finally administered to research respondents during data collection stage, after approval of the University of Nottingham research ethics committee was obtained. The consent form and letter of introduction had the following basic contents: research title, brief introduction of the research study, purpose for collecting the data, and lastly assurance of anonymity and request for respondent's permission to publish the findings for academic purposes only.

1.9 Conclusion

Hence, this thesis has been structured into seven chapters. The first chapter outlines the background of the study, research problem, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, position of researcher in the study, definition of some common terminologies as well as the methodology employed in collecting, analysing and interpreting the data.

Furthermore, the first chapter offers a detailed account of each research method and the data sources that were used in the study and their justification. It explains why the use of the aforementioned methods was necessary in order to provide detailed and conclusive opinion on the subject matter under investigation. There are other qualitative methods which could have been employed in this study but those described seemed to be more suitable. Most importantly, the ability of the researcher to choose the right method for sampling, data gathering, analysis and interpretation made the project feasible to be implemented.

The second chapter defines policy overview with its philosophy and the experience of Tanzania and other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The third chapter describes the history of public assets management with particular focus on policies for forest and wildlife conservation. The fourth chapter captures the theoretical framework of the study.

Likewise, the fifth chapter presents the empirical findings of the study, and the sixth chapter provides a detailed critical evaluation and interpretation of the findings of the study and theories/models used. Lastly, the seventh chapter describes the contributions of the study to knowledge, together with the study's implications and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Public Policy, Philosophy and Tanzania Experience

2.1. Introduction

Chapter two provides an insight into the public policy management. The chapter is divided into, introduction to public policy, its genesis, classification of public policies, understanding of policy as a distinctive science, philosophy of public policy and theoretical significance of conducting a policy research. It also describes the state of affairs of public policy making in Tanzania and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Relevance of Literature Survey to the Study

This literature survey is conducted in order to demonstrate a thorough understanding of the topic and evaluate related studies that have been carried out on public policy management. It contextualises the study within the wider body of literature especially amongst similar works that have been done on public policy in Tanzania and Sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, it offers a comprehensive overview of Tanzania's social, political and economic public policy history both locally and internationally.

2.1.1. Introduction to Public Policy

Public policy is defined as a framework that allows the state to outline the proximate reasons for devoting attention to an issue and how the issue evolves from relative obscurity to something that needs to be discussed as a serious contender for legislation (Page 2005).

2.1.1.1. Genesis of Public Policy

Public policy originated as a product of the capitalist system in Germany during the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society as a response to emerging socialism (Moore 1967). It was a strategy aimed at solving discontentment in the working-class (Page 2005).

2.1.1.2. Classification of Public Policy:

Policy can be conceptualised as either an action or intention. Based on this definition, we classify policy into two; policy intention and policy action.

According to Page (2005), policy intentions are mostly written principles which provide a general overview about how a particular public affair should be arranged or conducted. At a much higher level, it refers to a set of discrete principles known as ideology (*ibid*).

Therefore, ideology is also a policy, but from a political viewpoint, an ideology like socialism can generate sub-ideologies (under the term principles) which will be specific to a certain area like public ownership of assets, the role of a party in running state affairs including businesses, workers' rights and so on (Page 2005). Ideologies also encompass individual ideas such as Thatcherism, Reagonomics, New Public Management (NPM) and "The third way" (*ibid*).

Freeden (2006) explains the relationship between ideology and policy. As for the former, it involves a view of the world, the problems surrounding it, a vision of how those problems can be solved and how a better future can be created (*ibid*).

Meanwhile, the later involves the practical steps taken to achieve a particular ideological vision (Freeden 2006). It would involve the passage of new laws, executive orders and so on depending on what the ideology seeks to achieve (*ibid*).

On the other hand, policy actions can be manifested by the practices of officials (Page 2005). The way officials behave serves to interpret the decisions made and followed (*ibid*).

Moreover, there are measures in place such as legal instruments which can be considered as policies (Page 2005). Hence, practices are products of measures that seek to give effect to a policy (*ibid*).

2.1.1.3. Understanding of policy as a distinctive science

Policy is considered as a science, and this type of science is termed as policy science which is defined as a social science dealing with the making of high-level policy for the Government or business (Eneanya 2010). Policy science seeks to understand and solve problems (*ibid*).

Whether the problems are local, regional, international or planetary, policy science provides an integrated and comprehensive set of procedures for addressing them in

ways that help to clarify and secure the common interest of actors involved (Lynch 2013). Helping people make better decisions is the central objective of policy science, and the fundamental goal is to foster a common wealth of human dignity for all (*ibid*).

The underlying principles of policy science are:

- Policy science has to be supported by empirical validation of theoretical models with practical payoffs, rather than on display of sheer technical virtuosity (Leontief 1971).

- Policy studies are supposed to bring values back into the disciplines from which they originate (Heclo 1972).

For instance, a particular policy should add meaning or contribute to the discipline from which it originates, and that would mean there has to be a connection between the two (Goodin 1982). Unfortunately, most policies that have been developed are not entirely connected to their respective disciplines (*ibid*).

According to Goodin (1982), amongst the causal factors for the existence of such gap (between a particular policy and its related discipline) is the lack of policy analysis before its development. Hogwood (1995) suggests that, in doing policy analysis, any of the following methods can either be applied depending on a particular situation that exists; content method, which involves the study of policy contents; process method, which is concerned with the study of policy process; output method, which focuses on policy output; evaluation method, helps to indicate areas for improvement; information method, helps in providing information which can be used

for future policy making; process advocacy method, concerns improving the policy process; policy advocacy method, concerns improving the policy itself and finally analysis of analysis method, which is concerned with a critical appraisal of assumptions, methodology and validity of a policy.

In studying policy as a science, the central theoretical assumption of policy study is incrementalism (Goodin, 1982). Incrementalism is a doctrine which, in its broadest term, maintains that a theoretical understanding of the social system is unnecessary and probably even undesirable for policy making, and it usually tends to resist radical change as being more risky than gradual reforms in policy making, and for this reason empirical values are best discovered by trial and error (*ibid*).

However, Goodin (1982) argues against incrementalism by stating that, incrementalism is an unwise strategy for ascertaining empirical truths. Goodin claims instead that a theoretical understanding of the social system is necessary and desirable for policy making and empirical values must not be determined by trial and error approach (*ibid*).

Therefore, according to Goodin (1982), in a theoretical sense, policy analysis requires informed analyses of particular policy problems but information is not enough, it has to be supplemented by a critical reflection on all sort of excuses brought forward by politicians defending the inadequacy of their policies. Furthermore, policy analysis at the end must be based on understanding of underlying principles of policy analysis

which are considered as foundations of policy study as well as nature of the institutions which host these policies (*ibid*).

According to Goodin (1982), while making a policy, there is one major guiding principle; a sound policy must be based on an analysis of the situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible. In other words, a policy must be preceded by research so as to foster an in-depth understanding of issues involved before being developed (*ibid*).

2.1.1.4. Relationship between science and policy

According to Suppes (1985), in comparison, science and policy are similar, so policy is a science. Therefore, even mathematical and quantitative methods can be used to solve real policy problems (*ibid*).

This philosophical position requires us to examine the evolution of policy itself (Suppes 1985). In the past, policy was often made in such an intuitive and personalised way which made systematic methodological discussions seem impossible (*ibid*).

However, at present, due to evolution of policy which has gone simultaneously with that of science, every policy making organisation is required not only to make use of modern technology but also to have a philosopher as in-house sceptic and critic (Suppes 1985). For example, advancement in technology has led to the development of policy management software which drives the policy management lifecycle

throughout its entire four stages of initiation, formulation, implementation and impact assessment (Navexglobal 2015).

2.1.2. Philosophy of Public policy

2.1.2.1. Constructivism in public policy

Constructivism refers to the assumption that social norms and frameworks on which reality is based are constructed and redefined through permanent interaction (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Actors' interests cannot be understood as deduced from a solely material structure, as rational choice approaches would argue (Elster 1989; Mueller 2003). Rational choice derives preferences exogenously by specifying properties (position, resources, etc.) across actors and how different values of properties imply different preferences (*ibid*).

On the contrary, constructivists assume that social, political and economic contexts structure these interests; thus, actors and structures are co-constituted - one of the central terms in constructivist research (Page 2005). In other words, the way we think about the world makes the world as we perceive it (*ibid*).

Thus, constructivists have a very different understanding of how interests change (Page 2005). They assume that interests change as agents alter their understanding of their changing world and recalculate their priorities (Be´land and Cox 2011). For materialists on the other hand, actors' interests evolve as changes in their environment alter their situation (Page 2005).

According to Saurugger (2013), the importance of this co-constitution of agents and structures is reflected in the opposition of two logics: logic of appropriateness and logic of consequentialism. The logic of appropriateness is a perspective that sees human action as being driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behaviour, organised into institutions; and logic of consequentialism is a perspective that the moral value of human action is to be judged on its consequences rather than the action itself (in particular March and Olsen 1998; for a less constructivist and more sociological perspective, see March and Olsen 1984; 1989). Whereas the logic of consequentialism treats agents and structures as two distinct features that explain political processes (the goal of action is to maximise one's own interests and preferences), the logic of appropriateness allows for the conceptualising of this co-constitution of actors and structures (Saurugger 2013).

Rules are followed because they are seen as natural, rightful, expected, and legitimate (Saurugger 2013). Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions (March and Olsen 2004). Thus, acting according to logic of appropriateness is more a question of behaving correctly in policy-making processes, in line with the criteria established by a society or a group, than maximising one's preferences (Ostrom 1999).

The logic of appropriateness refers to ideas (Be´land 2009), or, in other words to the 'collective understandings of social facts', as the primary source of political behaviour. These 'claims about descriptions of the world, causal relationships, or the normative

legitimacy of certain actions' (Parsons 2002 p.48), influence policy development in three ways (Be´land 2009 p.702).

First, they help to construct the problems and issues that enter the policy agenda; second, they frame the basic assumptions that influence the content of reform proposals; finally, ideas can act as discursive tools that shape reform imperatives (Saurugger 2013). To what extent does this help us to better understand, on one hand, the issue of complexity, and on the other, the ambiguity of public policy making? Not paying attention to the embeddedness of actors in cognitive frames may obfuscate major aspects of policy-making (*ibid*).

Not only is it important that policy decisions and policy reforms have been taken, but also why the agents of policy processes sometimes do not react as expected (Saurugger 2013). Their rationality is embedded in specific cognitive frames that must be understood in order to make sense of, sometimes, ambiguous behaviour (*ibid*).

2.1.3. Theoretical significance of conducting policy research

According to Marshall (1998), policy research is a social scientific research which aims to solve an identified problem by applying the results of a particular research. The term 'applied sociology' is also used to describe such exercises. Policy research may take the form of being descriptive, analytical, or deal with causal processes and explanations (*ibid*).

It may also be used to evaluate a new or existing policy program, describe examples of best practice, measure social change, develop projections on the basis of large-scale modelling exercises, or consist of large-scale experimental research in real-life settings running for years and even decades (Marshall 1998). Thus, most policy research studies adopt a multi-disciplinary approach (*ibid*).

As a result of this, it is sometimes difficult to describe them as pure sociological, even if sociology contributes more than any other discipline to the theoretical foundations, design, and methodology of a study (Marshall 1998). In principle, policy research focuses on actionable or malleable social factors to a greater extent than theoretical research (*ibid*).

2.2. The Situation of Policy Making:

2.2.1. In Africa

Policy making in developing countries particularly Sub-Saharan Africa has faced various challenges. The lack of interactive policy making process whereby researchers and bureaucrats work together interactively in the policy making process is among the contributing factors for increased policy gap in developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ajakaiye 2007 p.20).

Most Governments in Sub-Saharan Africa tend to formulate policies without involving researchers in the process, bureaucrats are not ready to accept different views during the policy making process (Ajakaiye 2007 p.20). Eventually, most policies do not succeed and there is a massive suppression of new and different perspectives and

opinions which differ with those of bureaucrats in the policy making process (*ibid p.25*).

Ajakaiye (2007 p.29) further suggests that the involvement of other non-state actors is vital to the policy formulation process. Basically, policy results are expected to affect the whole society, in that case, during policy research efforts should be made to create a participatory environment for other actors to provide input which would improve research results and recommendations (*ibid*).

For instance, in Madagascar the Government has decided to introduce public debates each time a public policy is developed in order to ensure participation of actors involved which seems to be a good strategy for a policy to succeed (Razafindrakoto and Rouband 2007 pp.56-57). However, those debates have minimal contribution because the public is not provided with adequate and reliable findings from researchers (*ibid*).

Moreover, participation of masses in general is affected by involvement of the Media (Razafindrakoto and Rouband 2007 p.52). The Media has a key role to play in policy formulation process as it bridges the communication gap that exists between researchers and bureaucrats on one hand and society on the other (*ibid*).

In other words, the role of the media is necessary, to ensure research findings and recommendations are made public so that they can be debated and their quality can be validated (Razafindrakoto and Rouband 2007 p.54). Thus, through the media,

public debate is made possible and becomes an ideal platform where research findings and recommendations are subjected to critical assessment and determination of value attached to the findings and recommendations (*ibid*).

In Ivory Coast, Quattara et al (2007) suggest that, globalisation demands increasing complex and multi-disciplinary research, which most of the research institutes in Sub-Saharan Africa are not set up to handle. Hence, research institutes should design a new structure which will enable them to broaden their research programs in order to successfully feed into a wide range of policies (*ibid*).

In Kenya, Young (2007), suggests that in policy making processes there are many complex and multi-dimensional variables involved. Hence, it is imperative to promote the use of research to understand those complex and multi-dimensional variables, to ensure successful formulation and implementation of policies (*ibid*).

Thus, there is a need for policies to receive input from research and also to strengthen the capacity of research institutes while ensuring that both researchers and bureaucrats have good interactions (Young 2007). For example, in East Africa during the implementation of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s and 1990s, university research departments and other research institutes maintained a distant relationship with bureaucrats (Kibua and Oyugi 2007). During implementation of those structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in Kenya, bureaucrats did not recognise the need to interact with researchers who could share insights on various policy issues (*ibid*).

Ajakaiye (2007 p.33) explains that apart from other non-state actors in policy management process, bureaucrats and researchers should interact harmoniously and become more tolerant of alternative viewpoints. A good interaction between these two parties is necessary in order to achieve the set objectives, as policy management is a scientific process which depends on best inputs from the research community (*ibid*).

Ajakaiye (2007 p.27) also argues that, it is equally important to conduct another policy research to assess the impact of a particular policy after the policy has been implemented. This post-implementation research will be aimed at assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of the policy. Currently, in Africa both pre-and post-research studies for many policies are not conducted which explains why the policy gaps continue to increase (*ibid*).

According to Ajakaiye (2007 p.31), in order to reduce policy gap in developing countries particularly those located in Sub-Saharan Africa, bureaucrats should make use of research to analyse the prospective and potential impact of those policies. The elements of a good policy research are the ones which are prospective, evaluative, prognostic and also the one which provide ways of monitoring the policy results, that is, policy results- surveillance (*ibid p.32*).

In addition, policy researchers in Sub-Saharan Africa should provide a set of policy options rather than policy recommendations to bureaucrats (Ayuk and Marouani

2007). There is a distinction between policy options and policy recommendations (*ibid*).

Normally, policy options indicate to the bureaucrats the various options available and the implications of each (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). On the other hand, policy recommendations do not provide the bureaucrats with all the information they may need, or with solutions that are viable given their existing constraints (Ayuk and Marouani 2007).

Thus, when bureaucrats are provided with various policy options, they will use these to weigh their relative importance and generally take wise decisions (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Usually, policy options are more flexible and thus more practical and more likely to influence policy than policy recommendations (*ibid*).

From a technical viewpoint, Ayuk and Marouani (2007) look at the entire policy management process as being driven by scientific research. They see the need for research institutions and individuals to ensure quality in their work and develop a communication strategy that make them attentive and responsive to the needs of bureaucrats (*ibid*).

The underlying reason for ensuring or maintaining quality as well as remaining attentive and responsive is due to the fact that, the link between their work (i.e. policy research) and policy making is non-linear (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Researchers must therefore be flexible and responsive in timing their interventions,

at the same time provide relevant and reliable research findings which address the needs of the bureaucrats (*ibid*).

Hence, the foregoing has necessitated the research question; how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

To sum up, Ayuk and Jones (2007) conclude that, many reform policies do not succeed in Africa due to the poor policy research environment (i.e. the absence of research institutions which could either support, develop or implement effective policies). Thus, in order to improve policy research environment, developmental support should shift from investment financing to policy reforms, largely because of the growing recognition that a pre-condition of economic growth is a better policy environment (*ibid*).

Therefore, a better policy environment is one which promotes the existence of strong research institutions which will be provided with working facilities and adequate staff who have the required knowledge and skills to ensure successful policy management (Ayuk and Jones 2007). The lack of a skilled and knowledgeable workforce as well as insufficient working facilities has sometimes led to development funds being returned to donors (*ibid*).

Sadly, it has been noted that since independence till date, most Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries still have systemic problems such as; data scarcity, unreliability of data and social segregation of policy researchers by bureaucrats (Hansohm and Naimhwaka 2007). Moreover, there is inadequate dissemination of information to the general public on the matters concerning policy initiation, formulation, implementation and evaluation by bureaucrats which eventually prevents researchers' findings and recommendations from feeding into policy making processes (*ibid*).

In the same way, it has been noted by Goldsmith (2001) and Wohlmuth (1998) that local researchers do not network with international researchers to enable skills transfer; and policy decisions are made based on limited information available. Nevertheless, the interest to understand the impact caused by the link between policy research and policymaking is increasing (Phillips and Seck 2004)

2.2.2. In Tanzania

Policy making in Tanzania has been centrally managed by bureaucrats since the country's independence (Tordoff 1972). During the first decade of its political independence, policy making was controlled by few bureaucrats who had chosen a closed style of policy making which ensured that policy decisions were made in small and private cycles of elites and this practice later metamorphosed into an institutionalised political system (*ibid*)

The style of public policy making in Tanzania can also be described as a "short cut" style as the focus is on doing things here and now, otherwise known as "we-must-run-while-others-walk" style of policy making (Hyden 1975). The implementation of this particular style of policy making started after the country was caught in a desperate position on the periphery of the world capitalist system, and the regime wanted to break away from that system by taking a "short cut" to a more advanced stage of development (*ibid*)

In Tanzania, most of the Government's policies are perceived as being formulated in the interest of the general public (Mattee 2007). This therefore makes it difficult to challenge them, as doing so would be interpreted as working against the public interest (*ibid*).

In reality however, many of such policies arise from a centralised system which always puts poor citizens as agents of the Government and not as beneficiaries of the policy (Mattee 2007). Often times, the policies serve more to legitimise what is taking place, than to direct what might take place (*ibid*)

Policy making process is supposed to involve not only bureaucrats, but a range of actors (i.e. stakeholders), each of whom must lobby to advance their interests within the policy (Mattee, 2007). Consequently, the policy outcome is likely to be unsuccessful because it does not recognise the power relationship that exists among the actors (*ibid*).

Local communities are among the key actors in policy making process (Tordoff 1994). Unfortunately, there is no decentralisation policy in a strict sense of the word, which would ensure various programs and projects are successfully implemented after receiving local support (*ibid*).

The centralisation policy and over-tight controls have proven to be inefficient, especially in local conditions where communication and transportation facilities are poor and levels of poverty and illiteracy are high (Tordoff 1994). As we shall see, there is evidence of ongoing influence of these tendencies since the Government introduced decentralisation policy in the 1980s (*ibid*).

However, decentralisation experiments in Tanzania and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa has led to a situation where many bureaucracies have reinforced central control of power and authority rather than enhance local autonomy (Tordoff 1994**).** Thus, the only type of decentralisation that has been largely successful in Tanzania is the political decentralisation i.e. political pluralism (*ibid*).

Furthermore, the Government has attempted to implement administrative decentralisation by decentralising powers to local councils after providing them with a separate legal identity, their own budget and the authority to allocate resources and to carry out some of the administrative functions (Tordoff 1994). Thus, administrative decentralisation has been aimed at deconcentrating the administrative authority though it has only been partly successful (*ibid*).

Policy making in Tanzania, is faced with another challenge of having a weak policy research environment (ESRF 2004). Effective research as well as dissemination and utilisation of research findings and recommendations are among the constraints encountered by policy research institutes in Tanzania (*ibid*).

Despite the policy reforms introduced in 1990s, Schlimmer and Provini (2015) argue that the policy making process in Tanzania is still shaped by President Nyerere's ideas on socialism. Although President Nyerere stepped down from office in 1984 and died in October 1999, his social idealism continues to be a factor in Tanzania politics (*ibid*). Ujamaa or Nyerere socialism provides a counter – culture to the market system that currently prevails (Lofchie 2014)

Babeiya (2011) argues that although donors' influence in the new policy environment has continued to increase, there is no significant improvement in addressing policy issues. Most of the policies continue to be made without adequate information, and past mistakes do not seem to be used in revising the policies, as a result, bureaucrats continue to be driven by the desire to do everything at the same time, which in turn increases the burden on policy implementers (*ibid*).

In addition, policy making in Tanzania is affected by significant presence of donors in the policy management system (Schlimmer and Provini 2015). The situation has led to a dependency on donors' requirements also known as imposed conditions and recommendations (*ibid*). Ndumbaro (1994) describes the country's adoption of

liberalisation policies from the old central policy-making as the era of power shift in policy making from the state to donors.

According to Shivji (1986), failure of most public policies to address major developmental issues despite taking policy actions such as collective ownership of resources, has been attributed to external forces beyond Tanzania's control. In other words, Tanzania public policies are being formulated in response to the needs of donors and not domestic needs (*ibid*).

Moreover, Tanzania like many African countries is extensively dependent on donors' support (Hyden 2006). Such dependence tends to limit the interest of political leaders to think and develop policies which meet the domestic needs of their citizens (*ibid*). However, donors' support is significant and critical especially in managing forest and wildlife resources (Igoe and Croucher 2007).

According to Igoe and Croucher (2007), forest and wildlife management is a transnational conservation activity which involves many actors from within and outside the boundaries of a particular country such as Foreign Governments, International development agencies, Multinational corporations, UN organisations etc. These actors usually participate in forest and wildlife management as parties to a particular agreement (*ibid*).

For example, in African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) symposium held in Washington DC in 2003, wildlife conservation was described as a good business which over the past 6 years has significantly contributed to the annual Gross Domestic Product (Igoe and Croucher 2007). In 2001, Tanzania received USD 725 million from wildlife tourism, with an annual compound growth rate of 29 per cent (*ibid*).

Thus, in order to promote economic growth particularly in forest and wildlife conservation, the modern Tanzania foreign policy is focusing on promoting deeper economic cooperation with donors' community (MFAIC 2015). The Tanzania foreign Policy has the specific objective of ensuring that the country's relation with other nations and international entities are in line with economic interests of the state (*ibid*).

In addition to this, the policy seeks to advocate for necessary conditions which will enable the state to participate effectively in the regional and international negotiations etc. (MFAIC 2015). Historically, Tanzania foreign policy has its roots in the famous Arusha declaration which committed Tanzania to socialism and self-reliance, and still continues to have an impact on the country's foreign policy particularly on its principle of self-reliance (Edwards 2012). This history started with the ideas and evolution of donors' support to Tanzania which basically was aimed at financing the various initiatives of Arusha declaration (*ibid*)

The ideas and the evolution of donors' support to Tanzania

In order to fully comprehend the evolution of Tanzania's economic policies since independence in 1961, it is necessary to place them in the proper historical context. In particular, it is important to understand that during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s there were competing views on economic development at the international level (Edwards 2012). On one hand, there was a large group of economists who didn't trust the market, and they believed that in poor countries a central planning approach had to guide resource allocation and that the state should have control over all kinds of assets including natural resources (*ibid*).

On the other hand, there was another group of economists who believed in "market perspective". Thinkers such as Hungarian-born Peter Bauer and T.W. Schultz believed that market forces and competition provided the best institutional arrangement for developing countries (Edwards 2012). While the "central planning approach" is determined by a directive plan of production which specifies output requirements i.e. directive or indicative planning, the "market approach" is advocating for individual liberty by unleashing the creative energy of free men and women (*ibid*).

Julius Nyerere the founding father of Tanzania was educated in the United Kingdom, and he was highly influenced by Fabian Socialist ideas (Edwards 2012). He attended the University of Edinburgh, together with Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah, all of them, and to different degrees, believed in the "central planning approach" (*ibid*).

However, not all Fabian Socialists in Africa were exactly alike in each country, as different policies were implemented at different times (Edwards 2012). For instance,

in Kenya and Zambia central planning was light, and at least until late 1970s, market signals were allowed to operate in most sectors of their economies (*ibid*).

In contrast, Tanzania, Mozambique and Ethiopia, decided to follow from early on, a more intense form of central planning, where markets were suppressed significantly and the state played a role in the production, investment and distribution spheres (Edwards 2012). In these countries, public assets were nationalised (*ibid*).

The Arusha declaration and the economic consequences of African socialism

President Julius Nyerere is reckoned to have drafted the Arusha declaration by himself (with little help from senior advisors) as a document that was to guide Tanzania's foreign policy and its state of affairs for at least two decades (Edwards 2012). The declaration was presented to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the official political party TANU on 3rd February, 1967, and it was approved without much discussion, and later President Nyerere broadcast it officially on 5th February 1967 during the closing ceremony of the NEC meeting (*ibid*).

Since the Arusha declaration was passed by the TANU till date, it continues to be a captivating document, and one can almost sense the excitement with which it was received by Tanzanians, and citizens of other African nations, especially those interested in economic development (Edwards 2012). Of course, some observers who favoured the "market-based" approach reacted with concern, but at that time they were a clear minority (*ibid*).

The Arusha declaration is partly a manifesto, partly a vision statement, and partly a policy blueprint (Edwards 2012). It is a short document divided into five parts (ibid).

It is interesting that it vowed to "actively assist in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organisations" yet in 1976, less than ten years after the Declaration was launched, agriculture cooperatives were prohibited (Edwards 2012). Part Two of the Declaration deals with "*The Policy of Socialism,*" and asserts that a requirement for building a socialist society is that "means of production" should be owned by the state (*ibid*).

It then provides a long list of those means of production which included land, forest and wildlife resources, minerals, water, oil, electricity, news media, communications, banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade, large plantations, and "any big factory… which provides essential components to other industries" (Edwards 2012). Part three is the lengthiest and deals with "*The Policy of Self-Reliance*" (*ibid*)

According to Edwards (2012), part three opens with a long and highly pedagogical explanation of how "money" restricts development options. Then it points out that relying on foreign aid is not the solution, the declaration says:

> "It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign assistance rather than through our own financial resources."

It then argues at length that relying on gifts and loans endangers the country's independence and its ability to choose its own policies (*ibid*).

Despite this policy denial on foreign aid dependence, Tanzania continued to be among the leading recipient of donors' support in Sub-Saharan Africa (Edwards 2012). What makes Tanzania's story even more fascinating is that, donors' support has been at the centre of the country's economic failures and successes (Wangwe 1997). Soon after independence in 1961, the country became one of the "darlings" of the international aid community (*ibid*).

Between 1962 and 1983 Tanzania was one of the highest recipients of foreign aid in the world and a high proportion of this aid was bilateral and came from European nations – especially from the Nordic countries (Wangwe 1997). Multilateral institutions and the World Bank also contributed significant volumes of funds to the country's early development efforts (*ibid*).

However, massive foreign aid was largely used to finance President Julius Nyerere vision of *African Socialism* (Wangwe 1997). In particular, international donors helped fund the programmes contained in the Arusha declaration (*ibid*).

The Arusha Declaration was implemented through programmes such as villagisation. The Villagisation programme was aimed at establishing the Ujamaa villages (Cliffe and Saul 1972a; 1972b; Cliffe et al, 1975). The most immediate legacy of villagisation is the current structure of village institutions whereby villages have

become part of the Government structure (Greco 2016). The distinctive feature of village institutions is that they are operating on a fundamental principle of democracy through village assemblies (ibid).

The decision making within the village assembly must be people's own responsibility (Cliffe et al. 1975). The assembly is constituted by all the adult village residents and its meetings are scheduled every quarter, offering to residents a public space to discuss the conduct and the decisions of the village leadership (Greco 2016). The village leadership is constituted by a village council (a board of a maximum of 25 representatives); a village chairman; and a sub-village (hamlet) chairmen and all of them are elected through village political elections (ibid)

A settlement composed of a minimum of 250 households can be registered as a new village (Greco 2016). Following registration, the Ministry for Local Governments posts a trained and paid administrator: the village executive officer, and this civil servant, often coming from another district or region, manages the village budget and the funds from the ministry through a bank account and is in charge of disclosing the quarterly village budget and its audit (ibid)

Nominally, s/he is in charge of ensuring that the Central Government's directives are observed and the administrative procedures are complied with (Greco 2016). Village administrations receive a village registration number from the Ministry of Local

Government (URT 1982); and a Village Land Certificate, which includes a description of the village boundaries.

In establishing new villages, forced and voluntary resettlement of rural population is far from being a thing of the past (Greco 2016). In present-day Tanzania, resettlement (as it was in the villagisation programme) is still considered as a viable development strategy, for example for purposes of environmental conservation (ibid). Usually, when a protected area is expanded, rural residents are forcibly evicted through the compulsory de-registration and resettlement of whole villages (Brockington 2002; Neumann 1998; 2001; Tenga et al. 2008). The resettlement is carried out so quickly that it is not possible to make much notice of its impact on livelihood – which lead to less agricultural production and is one cause of migration to the cities (Coulson 1982)

Beyond the need to improve conservation of forest and wildlife resources, the Central Government's power to de-register villages leaves space for arbitrary, top-down decisions (Greco 2016). Evidence from Mbeya region (Mbarali district) showed that resettlement of villages through "de-registration" which consists in revoking the Village Registration Certificate is used whenever village land politics oppose the decisions of the Central Government (ibid).

The challenges which emerge in village land politics (such as demand for more autonomy over land use and the use of other CPRs) were expected to be resolved after introducing the twin land legislations (Greco 2016). However, the 1999 land legislations displayed the contradictions (Village Land Act 1999 and Land Act 1999) as one legislation acknowledging significant role of village administrations in land matters and another legislation reaffirming the supremacy of the Ministry of Land over land matters, by establishing the figure of the Land Commissioner, leaving ample space for discretionary action from above (Shivji 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c).

Hence, the Ujamaa Village Programme (i.e. Villagisation) was a Tanzania's bold attempt to tackle rural development challenges (Hyden 1975). The Villagisation was implemented in the period 1967 to 1973 and affected approximately 15% of Tanzania's population at the time. The implementation of villagisation and other programs of Arusha Declaration took the net Official Development Assistance per capita (ODA) to Tanzania to almost 18% higher than net foreign aid received on average, by Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries (Wangwe 1997). By 1975, net per capita ODA to Tanzania had surpassed the SSA average by 75%, and by 1981 it was almost twice as much as the average for SSA (*ibid*).

Despite the foregoing, the objective of the Arusha declaration to make Tanzania self-reliant was not realised (Wangwe 1997). Failure to achieve the goal of self-reliance was largely attributed to the fact that the implementation of Arusha declaration was not accompanied by explicit economic policies which would have steered the economy in the desired direction (*ibid*).

Yet, Tanzania continued to receive donors' support in various forms such as project assistance, program aid and budget support (Wangwe 1997). For example, in forest management, Tanzania has been receiving assistance from SIDA, DANIDA, FINNIDA, NORAD and World Bank (IDA), and these donor agencies have been at the forefront in financing programs such as participatory forest management i.e. PFM (Blomley and Ramadhani 2005). In line with the increasing emphasis that both Government and donors' community place on poverty reduction, Participatory Forest Management (PFM) has been identified as an important area for funding within the forest sector (*ibid*).

Therefore, bilateral donors have been particularly important in Tanzania (Bigsten et al. 1999). The leading bilateral aid donors have been Scandinavian countries which contribute roughly 30% of the entire economic assistance that the country receives (Blomley and Ramadhani 2005).

Sweden has been a leading donor, followed by Germany and Netherlands (Wangwe 1997). In the past, much of the development assistance was directed at large investment projects but many of them were white elephant industrial projects such as those established under the Arusha Declaration (Blomley and Ramadhani 2005). However, starting from the late 1990s, an increasing proportion of assistance has been allocated to natural resources programs and projects such as Participatory Forest Management (*ibid*).

In early 1991, following changes in world politics, the ruling party of Julius Nyerere, the *Chama cha mapinduzi* (CCM) decided to adopt market oriented perspective (Chachage and Mbunda 2009). It passed the so called "Zanzibar resolution" also known as "Zanzibar declaration" which eased the strict restrictions imposed on market economics (*ibid*). The move was a reaction to political developments in the developed nations, and in particular political changes in administrations such as those in Sweden (Edwards 2014).

These political changes in administrations affected the viewpoint about economic and social development and it subsequently affected donors' perspectives on foreign assistance (Edwards 2014). However, in many developed countries these changes in perspectives over foreign assistance took time to be accepted as many aid agencies were dominated by individuals who were inclined towards the "central planning approach" and believed that some form of socialism was the best way for poor countries to defeat poverty (McCandless and Karbo 2011).

For example, these political changes in administrations affected Sweden, the Social Democrats were defeated, and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson was replaced by Carl Bildt from the Moderate Party (Edwards 2014). During the following four years, many of Sweden's traditional welfare-state policies were altered, and the country's foreign aid policy was thoroughly analysed (*ibid*).

The New Government stated that from that point onwards one of the goals of its development assistance program to the Third World was to help the recipient nation

adopt a market economy system (Edwards 2014). Therefore, in 1993 the Swedish Government appointed a high-level committee, the Secretariat for Analysis of Swedish Development Assistance, to analyse the results and effectiveness of their aid program to Tanzania and the report reached a number of conclusions and made a series of suggestions (*ibid*).

The Committee recommended that the Recipient Government must contribute to the aid effort received with counterpart funds (Edwards 2014). Another important conclusion reached was that poor governance was obviously a severe problem in Tanzania, due to the poor quality of management and administration in public institutions which have contributed to economic stagnation (Jerve and Ofstad 2000).

Edwards (2012) explains that, in 1997 under the guise of migrating to a market economy system, the Government finalised a broad strategic document titled "Tanzania National Development Vision 2025". In its introduction, three principal objectives of Vision 2025 are stated as follows: to achieve quality and good life for all; to ensure good governance and the rule of law; and to build a strong and resilient economy that can effectively withstand global competition (Assey et al. 2007; Edwards 2012). The distinctive feature of Tanzania National Development Vision 2025 (TDV 2025) is that, it explicitly criticised the policies of the Arusha declaration as it clearly explains, that the strategy of the Arusha declaration did not sufficiently address the complexity and dynamic character of policies and incentive structures which were necessary to effectively drive the development process (Mrutu 2007; Edwards 2012).

Therefore, under Tanzania National Development Vision 2025, other policy actions such as National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), or *MKUKUTA in Swahili,* were launched from 2005 onwards (Edwards 2012). MKUKUTA is a comprehensive five-year program prepared after putting together different views of donors' community and, to some extent, the civil society (*ibid*).

The first MKUKUTA covered from 2005 to 2010, and was organised around three major themes namely (a) Growth and poverty reduction (b) Improvement of quality of life and social well-being and (c) Governance and accountability (Edwards 2012). MKUKUTA II was launched in mid 2010, and it considered the same three clusters (*ibid*).

From a growth perspective, this strategy which started in 2010 and continued till 2015 called for an annual GDP growth rate between 8% and 10% on average within the five-year period, in which forest and wildlife sectors were among the key sectors involved (Edwards 2012). However, in spite of the implementation of many economic reform programs such as MKUKUTA, the level of Tanzania's dependence on aid has continued to increase over time and this fact raises concern and underscores the need for a new policy on aid management and its strategy that will focus on gradual and smooth reduction of aid as a vital resource in the development agenda (Assey et al. 2007; Edwards 2012). The most realistic policy option would be to plan for better use of aid resources and ultimately phase out aid dependence over time (Wangwe 1997).

Reduction of aid dependence will have at least three policy implications; firstly, more emphasis will be placed on mobilisation of domestic resources; secondly, local natural resources particularly forest and wildlife would be used more efficiently; thirdly, there would be better management of the economy (Wangwe 1997). Sadly, total aid dependence syndrome continues to affect many development programs and projects in Tanzania, and the syndrome is often highlighted in various donors' reports, alongside the recommendation that the Recipient Government should contribute to the aid effort with counterpart funds (Andrews 2009). Unfortunately, such recommendation is hardly being implemented (*ibid*).

This tendency of the Government of Tanzania being unable to honour its commitments in contributing counterpart funds to the donor funded programs and projects, has subsequently led to the erosion of donors' confidence and trust in the Government (Wangwe 1997). Hence, in order to improve aid relations in which mutual trust and confidence are prerequisites, the situation needs to be rectified (*ibid*)

Hence, considering Tanzania foreign policy objectives have changed following a change from international political diplomacy to economic diplomacy (MFAIC 2015), *the researcher is now eager to understand the contribution of foreign aid into forest and wildlife conservation by specifically asking the research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?*

2.4 Conclusion

In principle, the literature survey on policy management overview as well as the philosophy and practical experience both in Sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania in particular has enabled the researcher to identify various gaps that exist and choose relevant theories that would address those gaps. The chosen theories and models as part of a theoretical framework, will form a basis for interpreting the empirical evidence in the forthcoming chapters. This particular section therefore recapitulates some of the significant issues which emerged such as:

i. The literature survey reveals that the key guiding principle in policy making states that, a sound policy must be based on an analysis of the situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible. In other words, a policy must be preceded by research in order to foster an in-depth understanding of issues involved before being developed.

ii. The survey also shows the relationship that exists between ideology and policy. The former involves a view of the world, the problems that are surrounding it, a vision of how those problems can be solved and how a better future can be created. Meanwhile, the latter involves the practical steps enacted to achieve a particular ideological vision. Such steps would involve the passage of new laws, executive orders etc. depending on what the ideology wishes to achieve.

iii. The survey indicates that decentralisation policy has not been successfully implemented in Tanzania due to lack of autonomy in managing development programs and projects by the local population.

iv. The survey shows that lack of good governance typically results in poor resource utilisation. This is particularly true in Tanzania where misuse of foreign aid has impacted negatively on the country's social and economic fortunes. The survey indicates that the level of Tanzania's dependence on aid has continued to increase over time and this raises concern and underscores the need for a new policy on aid management and its implementation strategy.

v. Lastly, the survey reveals that policy making in Sub-Saharan Africa has faced various challenges such as lack of an interactive policy making process whereby researchers and bureaucrats work together to achieve a common goal. Most Governments in Sub-Saharan Africa tend to formulate policies without involving researchers in the process, as bureaucrats are not ready to accept different views during the policy making process.

Eventually, most policies do not succeed, in other words, there is a massive suppression of new and different perspectives and opinions which differ from those of bureaucrats in the policy making process. Thus, there is a need for policies to receive inputs from research and also to strengthen capacity of domestic research institutes while ensuring that both researchers and bureaucrats have good interactions.

Hence, in order to reduce policy gaps in Sub-Saharan Africa, bureaucrats should make use of research to analyse the prospective and potential impact

of those policies. A good policy research is prospective, evaluative, prognostic and also provides ways of monitoring the policy results, that is, policy results-surveillance.

Most importantly, many reform policies do not succeed in Africa because of poor policy research environment. Poor or weak domestic research institutions stifle a country's progress while strong research institutions would ensure that effective policies are being developed and implemented. Thus, in order to improve policy research environment, development support should shift from investment financing to policy reform.

Therefore, next chapter will describe the history of public assets management in Tanzania particularly on forest and wildlife management. The chapter will look at forest and wildlife management from the policy, legal and regulatory settings.

CHAPTER THREE

3. History of Public Assets Management in Tanzania

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the history of public assets management and focuses on the way forest and wildlife resources are being managed from policy, legal and regulatory settings. A literature survey on forest and wildlife management has been conducted in order to identify the knowledge gaps that exist and demand investigation. This chapter is divided into two sections, namely forest and wildlife management.

3.2. Public Assets Management: Historical perspective of forest and wildlife conservation

Public assets management is described as an activity that ensures public assets provide social, economic and environmental benefits to communities and other stakeholders in a manner that is efficient and effective (RICS 2008). Tanzania has various policies and legislations that have been used to manage public assets particularly forest and wildlife resources.

The history of forest and wildlife management started during the German and British colonial eras. The Colonial Governments introduced various policies and laws in order to manage forest and wildlife resources (Nelson et al 2007). Some of the policies and laws include: Tanganyika Fauna Ordinance 1929, Tanganyika National Parks Ordinance CAP (No.) 412 of 1959, Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance CAP

(No.) 413 of 1959, the Forest Ordinance of Tanzania CAP 389 of 1957, the Export of Timber Ordinance CAP 288 of 1953 and Grass Fires Ordinance CAP 135 of 1943 (ibid).

The first Tanzania forest policy was developed in 1953 and revised in 1963 but it was only in 1998 that the Government of Tanzania introduced its first post-colonial forest policy which was later supported by the establishment of Forest Act No. 14 of 2002 and still operates until date (Mgaya 2017). Forest Act No. 14 of 2002 was primarily established in order to provide legal support to the Forest Policy 1998, but before it came into existence; it was preceded by the Forest Ordinance Cap 389 of 1957 which was used to govern forest operations (ibid).

In addition, the existing Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) is a revised edition of Wildlife Policy 1998, which attempted to initiate the devolution of wildlife operations to local communities (MNRT 2007). Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) is legally supported by the current Wildlife Conservation Act No. 5 of 2009 which repealed and replaced the Wildlife Conservation Act No. 12 of 1974 (Laltaika 2014). The Wildlife Conservation Act No. 12 of 1974 started to operate in 1974 and spanned until 2009 when the new Act was established (ibid).

The Wildlife Policy 1998 was initially introduced during the era of Wildlife Conservation Act No. 12 of 1974 (Nelson et al 2007). Its main focus was to devolve wildlife operations to local communities, in order to achieve this, the first wildlife management areas regulations was prepared and issued in 2002, seven years before the establishment of the current Wildlife Conservation Act No. 5 of 2009 (ibid).

Furthermore, forest and wildlife management has been managed by using ministerial circulars and guidelines issued from time to time in order to supplement gaps which seem to exist in the day to day forest and wildlife operations (MNRT 1998c; 2003).

During the colonial era, Germany and Great Britain chose the preservationist approach to forest management, and even today, donors' community continue to use similar preservationist approach in order to increase carbon stocks (Mgaya 2017 p.45). Thus, from colonial period to date, policies and legislations continue to reveal a notable protectionist and reservationist propensity as well as the use of forest products as sources of Government revenue (ibid).

To a large extent, these policies and legislations are to blame for the strife between Colonial and Post-Colonial Governments on one hand and local population on the other who usually demand for free access to the forest resources for their survival (Mgaya 2017). In addition, there has been a demand for increased involvement of local communities in management decisions and processes particularly in wildlife management (Nelson et al 2007). In Tanzania, wildlife management is largely centralised, featuring large state-protected areas and strict control on resource use throughout the colonial and post-independence periods (ibid).

In other respects, Tanzania is highly dependent on natural resources, the most important of which is land and other Common Pool Resources (CPRs) such as forests and those of wildlife which contribute nearly more than half of the GDP (Shivji 2002). However, the creation of protected areas (national parks, forest reserves etc.) has

resulted in in the dispossession of resources from local communities throughout the colonial and post-independence periods (ibid).

Dispossession of CPRs (particularly those of forest and wildlife nature) is certainly perceived to be so because local communities have not been involved in the planning and decision making processes of creating protected areas and have not benefited from them (Shivji 2002). That dispossession has happened in the environment of state policies such as nationalisation (ibid).

Therefore, the next two sections provide detailed accounts on existing forest and wildlife management in order to build an understanding of current issues surrounding forest and wildlife conservation. The accounts focus on the policy, legal and regulatory aspects of forest and wildlife management.

3.2.1. The Forest Management in Tanzania

The Government of Tanzania implemented its first post-independence Forest Act No. 14 of 2002 as a new legislation to replace the colonial legislation known as Forest Ordinance Cap. 389 of 1957. For over forty years, the Forest Ordinance Cap. 389 of 1957 was used to govern forest operations and safeguard forests in Tanzania, however it lacked the proper legal frame as there was widespread invasion of the forests (*ibid*).

The Forest Ordinance Cap. 389 of 1957 only focused on empowering the responsible minister for forest management to collect various revenues in the form of forest fees, penalties and forfeitures, hunting licenses, tour operator services and other related charges (UNEP 2002). Thus, problems in the forest sector in Tanzania increased and required immediate intervention, while at the same time other specific policy issues emerged.

These key policy issues include the control of environmental pollution and marginalisation of local communities in forest management (UNEP 2002). Historically, for the past five decades, local people have been excluded from engaging in processes which could provide mutual benefit for the Government and local communities in Tanzania (*ibid*). This sort of systemic marginalisation is responsible for the continued deterioration, deforestation and degradation of forests and the resources therein. (Lokina and Robinson 2008).

Lokina and Robinson (2008) argue that, the Government of Tanzania is oblivious of the needs and importance of forests to local communities that rely on the forests for fruits, vegetables, fuelwood, medicinal plants, incomes from activities such as beekeeping and butterfly farming and so on. They suggest that, recognising and attending to the needs of villagers would definitely encourage them to participate in managing local forests and subsequently reduce deforestation and forest degradation (*ibid*).

Because of increased deforestation and forest degradation, the Government of Tanzania decided to adopt Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program and started working with local communities to manage forest resources (Lokina and Robinson 2008). In 1998, for the first time in Tanzania's history, the Government introduced the idea of local participation in Forest Policy; this was later incorporated into the subsequent Forest Act No. 14 of 2002 (*ibid*).

The introduction of Forest Policy 1998, was aimed at salvaging Tanzania's forests from abject deterioration (Lokina and Robinson 2008). Meanwhile, participation of local communities was geared towards assisting the Government to manage country's forest land (*ibid*).

Thus, considering that Forest Policy 1998 has brought for the first time the idea of participation of other actors in its implementation, the researcher seeks to examine the change in bureaucratic paradigm in relation to the new changes brought about by the policy. This has prompted the research question, how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest resources in Tanzania?

The PFM was adopted by the Government of Tanzania as an alternative program to provide local communities with sufficient ecosystem services and livelihood

opportunities, thereby guaranteeing the protection of Tanzania's forests and reducing rural poverty (Lokina and Robinson 2008). The PFM objectives are; to advocate private forest conservation and community based forest management (CBFM); and to provide legal basis for Joint Forest Management (JFM) of Government forest reserves with catchments or biodiversity values (*ibid*).

Based on the premise established above another research question is posed; how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest management in Tanzania?

According to Lokina and Robinson (2008), beekeeping and butterfly farming are examples of economic activities which incentivise local communities to engage in managing forests. Now that the Government has started to take serious steps to manage forests, the pertinent challenge will be how to deal with those members of local communities who are involved in illegal activities in the forests (*ibid*).

Under the PFM program, village patrollers in the forests are compensated through external enforcement budgets and revenue generated from fines; as it is mandatory for fines to be imposed on those who practice illegal activities in the forests (Lokina and Robinson 2008). The local communities are only allowed to collect NTFPs (non-

timber forest products) such as fruits, vegetable, medicinal plants and fuelwood in the forests (*ibid*).

According to Lokina and Robinson (2008), local communities have been relying on forest products for home use and income generating activities for a very long time; on the other hand, it is important to know that Tanzania's forests provide key ecosystem services that are valuable at local, national, and international levels. Therefore, in implementing PFM, some incentives must be provided to local communities in order to guarantee their involvement in the daily management of forests (*ibid*).

Lokina and Robinson (2008), further suggest that the formulation of enforcement institutions such as Village Environmental Committees (VECs) to protect PFM forests can be used to empower local communities to undertake enforcement activities such as forest patrols. Likewise, there is a need for the Government of Tanzania to establish strong managerial institutions at all levels of sectorial administration to ensure sustainable good practices in managing forests (*ibid*).

Hence, in order to support the efforts of establishing such strong managerial institutions, TFCG and MJUMITA (2011) suggest that when the Government of Tanzania decides to review the Forest Policy 1998, it should ensure that the existence of those managerial institutions be incorporated into a revised policy. The revised policy should improve the entire governance in the forest sector, by clearly stating

the role of managerial institutions such as the Tanzania Forest Services (TFS) Agency (*ibid*).

TFCG and MJUMITA (2011) argue that after dissolving FBD, TFS took over the responsibilities of FBD in managing national forest reserves (natural and plantations). TFS is aimed at ensuring the conservation of biodiversity and encourages interdependence of all actors in forest management through PFM (*ibid*).

Moreover, TFCG and MJUMITA (2011) suggest that, in order to further strengthen the institutional capacity, during policy review process, forest policy needs to have clearer strategies that guarantee not only the establishment of such strong institutions but also ensures that the forest sector contributes to poverty alleviation and national development. The revised policy should also give guidance on sustainable management of forests and recognise that villagers (local communities) own the carbon as well as have rights to sell carbon from forests (*ibid*).

In addition, the revised policy should encourage transparency in ways of doing business such as issuance of licenses for logging business, logging plans, technical and financial reports etc. and support independent forest monitoring practices by local communities (TFCG and MJUMITA 2011). The policy review process should ensure that various issues such as unsustainable hunting which have had huge impact on forests (as recently shown over the last decade) are being addressed (*ibid*).

The revised policy also needs to address the issue of wildlife animals residing within forest reserves (TFCG and MJUMITA 2011). More so, it should also address the issue of removal of local communities to pave way for exotic tree plantations such as biofuel plantations (*ibid*).

The changes of trade policies at the international level such as trade liberalisation, have also affected forest management in Tanzania environmentally, socially and economically (UNEP 2002). The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the Centre for Environmental Economics and Development Research (CEDR) conducted a study which specifically attempted to identify and quantify the environmental effects of trade liberalisation in the forest sector of Tanzania (*ibid*).

According to UNEP (2002), the quantification of such policy effects in forest sector of Tanzania, has been difficult because of the lack of consistent and comprehensive data and the related economic variables in almost all sources of forest statistics. The motivation behind studying the policy impacts by UNEP and CEDR, is due to other projections and empirical studies which revealed that apart from the possible gains from changes in trade policies, there are adverse effects which, if uncontrolled, may jeopardise not only the country's trade position as far as forest sector is concerned but also pose a threat to the sustainability of forests both at national level and in some cases international level (*ibid*).

UNEP (2002) asserts that the forest sector has a very important role to play in Tanzania's economy. Although in absolute terms, its contribution to the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is low. The contribution of forest sector has increased by about 35 percent in the past 10 years, which is equivalent to a mean average of 3.5 percent of GDP annually (*ibid*).

The forest land covers 37.8 per cent of the total landmass, which is about 33.5 million hectares. The country's forests contain such high level of biologically diverse resources which make Tanzania one of the richest countries in the world in terms of biodiversity and one of the 12 most diverse countries in the world (UNEP 2002). Tanzania has Africa's largest number of mammals, second largest number of plants (10,000 species), third largest number of birds (1,035 species), fourth largest number of amphibians (123 species) and fourth largest number of reptiles (245 species), all within the country's forests (*ibid*).

These forests provide over 92 percent of the energy resources, and support development of other important sectors (such as agriculture and tourism) through provision of water resources and catchments, maintaining hydrological balance and soil protection, recycling atmospheric gases, providing construction materials amongst others (UNEP 2002). The forest sector also provides employment opportunities to more than half of country's population, there is a saying that the forest is the heart of Tanzania's economy, because all major sectors of the economy: agriculture, tourism and human resources depend on the forests (*ibid*).

According to UNEP (2002), employment is provided through forest industries, forest plantations, Government forest administration and self-employment in forest-related activities. Trade in forest products has recently increased, and the sector's contribution to total trade has doubled. Like all economic sectors of Tanzania, the forest sector has been influenced by trade liberalisation policies introduced in 1987 (*ibid*).

Due encouragement has been provided to the private sector to participate in various forest activities, increased export of forest products to boost the country's overall export growth has been permitted through policy incentives (UNEP 2002). Some of the measures implemented in the course of trade liberalisation have included: removal of trade distortions in the production and marketing of forest products to ensure effective market-determined prices, removal of fiscal and non-fiscal barriers in forest trade and promotion of forest-related sectors (*ibid*).

From the time when trade liberalisation and other policy measures were introduced in the Tanzania forest sector, the following has been observed: growth in trade of forest products (both domestic and foreign trade) has been rapid, characterised by an increase in share of total trade (UNEP 2002). Also, there has been an increase in the production, distribution and marketing of forest products (*ibid*).

Despite these achievements in forest sector, there has been a challenge of fuelwood extraction (UNEP 2002). In terms of usage, various estimates have indicated that fuelwood extraction represents the largest use of forest products; it is estimated to reach an average of over 60 percent *(ibid)*.

Therefore, there is a need to assess the positive and negative environmental impacts of fuelwood trade in the Tanzanian forest sector, while taking into account the social and economic benefits (UNEP 2002). However, the decision of the Government of Tanzania to introduce and implement Forest Policy 1998 and Forest Act 2002 has contributed to a decrease in illegal harvesting of forest resources, encroachment, fire incidences and unregulated activities such as charcoal burning and timber harvesting (Hamza and Kimwer 2007).

Thus, several reforms have taken place aimed at improving the forest sector. Yet, these reforms which include introduction and implementation of Forest Policy 1998, have not improved the livelihood outcomes of local communities living near the forests (Hamza and Kimwer 2007). Forest Policy 1998 has improved biodiversity in terms of increased stocking and number of species both flora and fauna (*ibid*).

In addition, the implementation of Forest Policy 1998 and Forest Act 2002 has increased the area of forest reserves by 2,047,824 hectares (Hamza and Kimwer 2007). More importantly, there is an increase in the awareness of PFM, which helps

to create a positive attitude of local communities towards joint forest management (*ibid*).

Nevertheless, during the implementation of Forest Policy 1998 and Forest Act 2002, some problems were encountered such as local communities being unable to prepare management plans, lack of enough forest management experts to assist members of local communities to implement PFM (Hamza and Kimwer 2007). Moreover, there was lack of enough equipment and weak integration of PFM with District and Village Governments' plans to ensure its sustainability (*ibid*).

The weak village governance is largely due to the historical domination of the Central Government in managing forest resources under the socialist economy governed by the Arusha declaration in which everything was controlled centrally at the top (Maganga 1993). Yet, currently a large portion of forest land is still managed centrally by MNRT (*ibid*).

Forest operations have been centrally managed and characterised by extensive state control with minimal involvement of local communities (Maganga 1993). They have been conducted by MNRT with too much interference on the lives of local communities whose traditional institutions have been undermined and prevented from playing their role in regulating resource use (*ibid*).

Hence, the researcher seeks to enquire; how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest management in Tanzania?

Historically, during the socialist period in Tanzania, the main problem of centrally managing forest operations was that, it discouraged mobilisation and utilisation of resources which made the entire management of the forests to be difficult (MNRT 1998a; Wily and Dewees 2001). It also encouraged degradation and deforestation precipitated by illegal activities (*ibid*).

Since then until date, deforestation alone has resulted in a decrease forest land cover (Luoga et al. 2000). For example, before independence the forest cover was more than 50%, it gradually decreased to 45% in the late 1970s, to about 41% in the mid 1990s and to about 36% in the late 1990s (*ibid*).

Currently, following the structural changes introduced by Forest Policy 1998, forest sector in Tanzania administratively operates under three parallel structures, namely; Forest and Beekeeping Division (FBD) under MNRT, Regional secretariats which oversee all of the natural resources in the region, and Local Government Authorities which predominantly own and manage the Local Government Forest Reserves (MNRT 1998a). Thus, these structural changes are aimed at encouraging devolution in managing forest operations (*ibid*).

Through Forest Policy of 1998, the Government of Tanzania is in pursuit of dual objectives of arresting forest degradation and furthering development (MNRT 1998a). The Government intends to achieve this by officially supporting devolution of ownership and management responsibilities of forest resources to local communities by using models of PFM i.e. CBFM and JFM (MNRT 1998a; Wily and Dewees 2001).

Forest degradation which has been among the major problems in forest management, can be described as impoverishment of standing woody material mainly caused by human activities such as over-grazing, over-exploitation (for fuelwood in particular), repeated fires, or due to attacks by insects, diseases, plant parasites or other natural causes such as cyclones (Milledge and Kaale 2003). Very often degradation does not show up so much in decrease of woody vegetation but rather as a gradual reduction in biomass, changes in species composition and soil degradation (*ibid*).

In addition, Tanzania also faces a problem of deforestation, as the country is among those in the world experiencing high deforestation rates ranging from 130,000 hectares (ha) to 500,000 ha per annum (MNRT 2001). The high deforestation rate is ascribed to both direct and underlying or indirect factors (*ibid*). The direct agents of deforestation are: settlement and agricultural expansion, commercial charcoal and fuelwood production, overgrazing, uncontrolled fires, shifting cultivation and illegal logging (Kaoneka 1990; MNRT 2001).

The indirect or underlying causes of deforestation are rapid and uncontrolled population growth, poverty, market failures, absence of proper definition of property rights and security of tenure and general policy failures (Kaoneka 1990). Hence, the major problematic areas in forest management in Tanzania include; uncontrolled deforestation, weak concession and revenue collection systems, lack of clear cost and benefit sharing system, inadequate involvement of local communities, lack of sufficient staff and information on forest resources, inefficient utilisation of resources and a preference for a narrow range of forest plant species in terms of utilisation (*ibid*).

The Extent of Deforestation in Sub-Saharan Africa

For decades, amongst the chief drivers of deforestation in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is human population growth and shifting cultivation (Rudel 2013). The rate of deforestation has increased due to change in demand for more human settlements and energy (ibid). Tanzania, Madagascar and Uganda have experienced deforestation above the continental average, despite large foreign donors' support for forest conservation (Horning 2018).

In several SSA countries, rate of deforestation exceeds the global annual average of 0.8 percent (Agyei 1998). While deforestation in other parts of the world is mainly caused by commercial logging or cattle ranching, the leading causes in SSA (or Africa at large) are associated with human activities (ibid). Population pressure is a major driver of deforestation, as Africa's population growth is proceeding at the rate of 3%

per annum, which is higher than any other continent (Yirdaw 1996). The growing concentration of people in urban areas encourage people to make increasing use of charcoal for cooking (Rudel 2013). The most densely populated regions in SSA contain the fewest remaining forests (ibid).

Another driver of deforestation in SSA is the extractive sectors (particularly oil and mineral) of the economies which continue to expand (Rudel 2013). The large extractive industries adversely affect the forest cover in SSA (ibid). In addition, deforestation persists in SSA because conservation policies and programs, which are largely supported by foreign donors, consistently ignore the fact that conservation is possible only when there is a concurrent alignment of key actors' interests at local and national levels of decision making (Horning 2018).

When actors' interests diverge, for example, the Central Government opts for improving conservation while local communities opt exploitation for consumptive purposes (i.e. clearing for agriculture, food, medicine extraction etc.) or non-consumptive ones (such as worship, sheltering for cattle, recreation etc.), continued deforestation is likely regardless of whatever rules are devised (Horning 2018). Thus, the interests of actors at the national and local levels must align for the deforestation to retard or halt (ibid)

For example, many developing countries continue to rely heavily on woodfuel, the major energy source for cooking and heating (Agyei 1998). In SSA, fuelwood and charcoal supply approximately more than 52 percent of all energy sources (ibid).

In addition, land clearing by farmers contribute as much as charcoal and fuelwood in increasing deforestation (Agyei 1998). Hence, the best solution for reducing deforestation in SSA is to address the human challenges that promote deforestation (ibid). Deforestation has resulted in land degradation, and this has led to agricultural stagnation and even a lowering of productivity, which in turn has promoted further deforestation and thus completes the vicious cycle (Yirdaw 1996). Therefore, deforestation is a local problem with global consequences (Agyei 1998).

3.2.1.1. The PFM and REDD+ in Tanzania

According to Blomley and Ball (2010), Tanzania's land, Local Government and forest laws empower local communities with well-defined rights to own, manage and benefit from forest and woodland resources within their local areas through the establishment of village forests. This model, known by practitioners as Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) leads to legal establishment of village land forest reserves, while the second model known as Joint Forest Management (JFM) is used in Government forest reserves, where managerial responsibilities are shared between local communities and the Central Government while the later retain ownership (*ibid*).

Blomley and Ball (2010) assert that in 2008, the Government of Tanzania prepared

systems and structures for REDD+ (Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation). Since its genesis in Tanzania in the early 1990s, a significant body of experience has emerged demonstrating optimal conditions for Participatory Forest Management (PFM) models to be successful, as well as some of the underlying constraints to scaling it up (*ibid*).

Thus, experiences gained over the past 15 years in developing, implementing and scaling up of participatory forest management offers a range of useful insights to REDD+ policy and practice in Tanzania (Blomley and Ball 2010). Transferring secure and unambiguous forest tenure and carbon rights to community level managers, is the best approach to restore degraded forests (*ibid*).

According to Blomley and Ball (2010), Tanzania is currently promoting two different models of PFM whereby the first model ensures that forest management rights and responsibilities are transferred from Central or Local Government (LGA) to Village Government in a legally enforceable manner (CBFM). The second model ensures that managerial responsibilities are shared between the state and village actors (JFM) and where carbon rights are largely unclear (*ibid*).

Of the two models being promoted in Tanzania, CBFM model appears to be more effective in improving forest condition and managing carbon (Blomley and Ball 2010). Therefore, CBFM model helps in verifiable emission reductions and through its

application, reduced deforestation and forest degradation are more likely to be realised (*ibid*).

The REDD+ generally involves tree farming which is aimed at carbon reduction. In order to successfully introduce REDD+ projects into PFM, the involvement of local communities is critical and more importantly the availability of land must be assured (Blomley and Ball 2010). In establishing the REDD+ project, the Jane Goodall Institute (JGI) has established a REDD+ demonstration pilot project in Western Tanzania, the project site encompasses the vast Masito-Ugalla Ecosystem i.e. MUE (*ibid*).

The MUE is a forested landscape of approximately 10,827 km2, composed mostly of native *miombo* woodlands and includes 13 villages (Blomley and Ball 2010). MUE is made up of approximately 470 km2 of woodlands actively managed by the 13 villages (*ibid*).

Therefore, the successful implementation of REDD+ projects largely depend on the introduction of specific mitigation strategies and safeguards, as there is a high risk that the benefits of local forest management will be captured by more affluent, literate and socially mobile members of the community, at the expense of poorer and more marginalised households (Blomley and Ball 2010). Much of the debate surrounding the issue of benefit sharing in REDD+ projects concern how future

REDD+ payments will be shared between actors (i.e. stakeholders) at the national level and those operating at the lower level of local communities involved directly in managing forests (*ibid*).

3.2.2 The Wildlife Management in Tanzania

The Government of Tanzania first introduced its wildlife policy in 1998 and later adopted the revised wildlife policy in 2007, which was intended to better address the problems and obstacles that have plagued wildlife management in Tanzania (Shauri 1999). However, the Wildlife Policy 1998 continues to maintain state ownership and control of wildlife resources (*ibid*).

The continued state ownership and control of wildlife resources shows the patron-client relationships that have made the Central Government (i.e. MNRT) the sole owner of wildlife resources; which sometimes makes Government and local community relations difficult (Shauri 1999). The rural or local communities are in fact dispossessed of their customary land and other resources on which they depend on for their livelihood and from which they could generate income at their local level (*ibid*).

Wildlife, land and other resources are very important to small-holder agriculture, animal husbandry, subsistence hunting and fishing and other economic activities of local communities (Shauri 1999). Hence, state trusteeship is indeed a fundamental

cause of land and natural resource conflicts that have intensified in recent years within and around protected areas in Tanzania (Neumann 1992; Homewood and Rodgers 1991; Potkanski 1997).

The conflicts between the Central Government and local communities are primarily caused by the existing legal framework (Shauri 1999). For decades, the Government of Tanzania has been the principal legal guardian of the country's wildlife population, undoubtedly one of its most valuable assets (*ibid*).

This type of "trusteeship" in managing wildlife and other protected resources, which comprise of about 25 percent of Tanzania's land, has only succeeded partially in conserving Tanzania's biological resources and use of land (Shauri 1999). Somehow the number of some species has increased, but certain keystone and other species continue to decline in numbers while others are threatened by extinction (*ibid*).

In 1995, the former Ministry of Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment (MTNRE) revealed that in protected areas the black rhino was almost extinct and two-thirds of the elephants and increasing numbers of buffaloes had been lost to illegal hunting (MTNRE 1995a pp.14-16). Today, the number of black rhino's in Tanzania's protected areas has decreased to the extent that the Government and Conservation Agencies decided to 'import' some black rhinos from zoos in Germany and private

game reserves in South Africa to reintroduce them into areas where they were once plentiful and to boost their declining population (TWPF 1998).

In addition, commercial poaching and inadequately regulated foreign and resident trophy hunting sanctioned by the Wildlife Division (WD) in MNRT have adversely affected wildlife populations inside and outside Tanzania's national parks to a greater extent than subsistence hunting (Newmann 1992). Internal Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) reports, including those of Arusha National Park, allege that some game wardens are also involved in illegal poaching of black rhinos (*ibid*).

However, Wildlife Policy 1998 has introduced some positive concepts such as: a call for better management of the protected estate, sustainable use of wildlife resources, devolution of wildlife user rights to local communities and sharing of benefits derived from wildlife use and resources (MNRT 1998b). Moreover, Wildlife Policy 1998 suggests that better management of protected areas will only be achieved by recognising the importance of conservation of biological diversity to the livelihood of people (*ibid*).

Thus, MNRT will continue to retain the overall ownership of wildlife resources, while providing access user rights to various stakeholders and clear policy guidelines, to stimulate public and private sector investment in the wildlife industry and support to investors (MNRT 1998b). The Wildlife Policy 1998 recognised for the first time, the

need to empower local communities by giving them wildlife user rights and management opportunities and responsibilities (Shauri 1999).

Moreover, to effectively capitalise on opportunities and successfully implement assigned responsibilities, local communities need normative authority and access rights to both wildlife and the benefits derived from their use (Shauri 1999). The policy recognises that wildlife conservation and management can no longer disregard interests of local communities, especially those residing adjacent to protected areas (*ibid*).

In that case, the researcher is eager to understand how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve wildlife management in Tanzania?

There is also a realisation that local communities must obtain benefit if they continue to bear significant costs of living with wildlife and managing them well (Shauri 1999). In the early 1990s, TANAPA established a modest 'Parks as Neighbours' Program (*Ujirani Mwema*) also known as the Community Conservation Service (CCS) under which social services were provided to local communities living near national parks (*ibid*).

The CCS program is primarily focused on establishing a friendly environment with local communities and minimising conflicts with TANAPA (Shauri 1999). Meanwhile, the ministerial wildlife division (WD), for its part, has spearheaded the introduction of a number of community-based natural resource management models which enable local communities to obtain tangible benefits from wildlife, primarily through hunting (*ibid*).

These models such as Wildlife Management Area (i.e. WMA model), have been established with the assistance of international conservation NGOs and donor agencies, but have been confined to game reserves only away from national parks which fall under the jurisdiction of TANAPA (Shauri 1999). TANAPA has resisted such models to be applied in national parks (*ibid*).

The Wildlife Policy 1998 calls for the establishment of wildlife management areas (WMAs) which give local communities some control over wildlife resources on their lands and enables them to benefit directly from these resources (Shauri 1999). Local communities are allowed to establish WMAs, defined in the policy as "an area declared by the minister to be so and set aside by Village Governments for the purpose of biological natural resource conservation" (MNRT 1998b p.34). In turn, local communities may lease trophy hunting or game viewing concessions to tourist outfitters or even engage in hunting for food themselves (Shauri 1999).

However, the Wildlife Policy 1998 is not clear on procedures and processes for establishing WMA (Shauri 1999). In a few pilot projects, the ministerial wildlife division (WD) adopted an eight-step administrative procedure; first, village assemblies meet and make a resolution to form a WMA; the resolution is then sent to the district council for ratification; the land survey of the WMA area is then carried out; then a village Land-Use Plan is prepared and sent to the district council; the latter forwards the land survey and Land-Use Plan to regional authorities; and to the minister responsible for natural resources; the minister responsible seeks approval from the commissioner for land to establish the village WMA by submitting the Land-Use Plan; and finally, after getting approval of the Land-Use Plan, the minister responsible makes a declaration which must be published in the Government gazette to establish the village WMA (Metcalfe et al. 1998; Hitchcock and Shauri 1999).

The procedures to establish a particular WMA or obtain licenses and easements are lengthy and will lead to unnecessary delays and bureaucratic red tape (Shauri 1999). Indeed, the very idea of WMA model and devolution of power and authority in managing wildlife resources might be nullified if these lengthy procedures for establishing these local wildlife reserves remain as they are (*ibid*).

Hence, the researcher specifically asks how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving wildlife management in Tanzania?

Moreover, another important feature of Wildlife Policy 1998 is that, the existed management framework has been left intact. The policy stresses that both the legal and institutional status quo shall be maintained (MNRT 1998b p. 25). From a legal perspective, the wildlife sector is governed principally by the following:

i. National Parks Ordinance of 1959, which covers wildlife within national parks and is enforced by TANAPA;
ii. Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance of 1959, which is enforced by the NCAA;

iii. Forest Ordinance of 1957, which covers forest reserves and is enforced by the forest and beekeeping division (FBD) in MNRT;
iv. Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974, which covers wildlife outside national parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and is enforced by the wildlife division (WD) in MNRT;
v. Marine Parks and Reserves Act of 1994 and the various fisheries laws and regulations enforced by the fisheries department.

However, "the ministerial wildlife sector review task force" has criticised this fragmented legal management framework not only for its "top-down" approach to local community participation but also for the threat it poses to the maintenance of the protected area network (MTNRE 1995a; 1995b). Hence, because the newly introduced wildlife policy maintains the status quo, one can expect institutional

fragmentation and rivalry between various conservation agencies to continue as has been the norm in the wildlife management sector (Makaramba 1998).

For example, under the national parks ordinance, TANAPA has no legal mandate, without ministerial consent, to manage wildlife outside national parks (Shauri 1999). Yet TANAPA, often with donors' support, operates in many areas outside national parks, particularly in areas with wildlife corridors and dispersal areas, as though it has legal permission to do so (*ibid*).

Meanwhile, the ministerial wildlife division (WD) has the legal mandate to manage wildlife resources only in game reserves and not national parks (Shauri 1999). In that case, there has been frequent intrusion by TANAPA over areas which it has no jurisdiction and eventually caused conflicts with the WD (*ibid*).

Thus, by maintaining legal and institutional *status quo as* indicated above, Wildlife Policy 1998 has brought very serious and far-reaching consequences for the relationship between the state and local communities (Shauri 1999). State-centred wildlife conservation is usually unsympathetic to the needs and concerns of the local communities (*ibid*).

The state-centred wildlife conservation has led to an essentially militaristic strategy, which heightens the conflict between the state and local communities (Shauri 1999).

It is for this reason that national parks agencies have become armed paramilitary organisations whose main preoccupation and investment, is in law enforcement and public relations (*ibid*).

Likewise, when it comes to the role of civil societies and international NGOs, Wildlife Policy 1998 mistakenly suggests that society exists to serve the Government, rather than vice versa (Shauri 1999). The Wildlife Policy 1998 calls for the public "…to support Government efforts" in the conservation and management of wildlife resources" (MNRT 1998b p. 29). It also states that "the role of local and international NGOs is to support the Government financially and technically at all levels, in the conservation and management of wildlife resources" (ibid).

Indeed, wildlife management in Tanzania has been highly influenced by international NGOs and donor agencies as they have been significantly involved in providing assistance through manpower, technical and financial support (Shauri 1999). Meanwhile, Wildlife Policy 1998 continues to uphold dependence as it wrongly foresees that donors' support will always be available (*ibid*). For many years, these international NGOs and donor agencies have been the sources of financial resources and suppliers of technical equipment, personnel and even providing policy focus (Neumann 1992).

On the other hand, many local NGOs also depend on the same international benefactors (Shauri 1999). For that reason, the Government often considers them as competitors and tries to marginalise their activities and contributions, in spite of the potential contribution of local NGOs and other parts of civil society to wildlife management (*ibid*).

Eventually, this exclusion gives rise to a key question of whether the Government is really committed to better manage wildlife resources (Shauri 1999). Moreover, there is a particular policy provision in the Wildlife Policy 1998 that limits the efforts of local NGOs and even provides instructions to shut them down on the premise that they must provide financial or technical support to Government wildlife agencies (*ibid*).

In that case, the particular policy provision in Wildlife Policy 1998 denies local NGO ability to support community-based conservation, benefit sharing and social equity, policy dialogue and law enforcement (Shauri 1999). It also becomes more difficult for local NGOs to get involved in wildlife management (*ibid*).

Yet, there has been growing number of NGOs entering into wildlife management (Shauri 1999). Moreover, there has been an increasing pressure on bureaucrats to recognise the role of local NGOs and private sector as a whole in managing the wildlife resources (*ibid*).

Therefore, whether the exclusion of local NGOs will endure given their growing numbers, expanding efforts and assertiveness, including advocacy and monitoring of Government decisions and actions, remains to be seen (Shauri 1999). It also depends on the power of the bill of rights in the constitution which guarantees NGOs fundamental and crucial rights, such as the freedom of association and access to information (*ibid*).

Given these constitutional provisions, it is the right and duty of Tanzanians interested in wildlife management to become more actively involved (Shauri 1999). Regardless of whether or not they provide financial or technical assistance to Government wildlife agencies (*ibid*).

3.2.2.1 The implementation of WMA Model in Tanzania

According to Igoe and Croucher (2007), considering the rhetoric of WMAs as participatory vehicles of conservation and poverty alleviation, it would be reasonable to expect that the laws and regulations supporting the creation of WMAs have been designed to give local communities maximum control and decision-making power over natural resources in their community. Rodgers (2006), describes that, the Tanzania Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 is quite clear that Village Governments have jurisdiction of land use in these areas. Villagers can decide to cultivate or not cultivate, to lease land to outsiders or not lease such land (*ibid*).

In support of Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999, the WMA Regulations 2002 do in fact emphasise the role of the local communities in independently deciding to create a WMA and in having the capacity and the legal authority to manage it (URT 2005). However, local communities including Village Government officials, claim that they have been brought into the WMA without their knowledge or consent (Igoe and Croucher 2007).

This apparent discrepancy is inherent in the way that WMAs are linked to Village Land Act 1999 (Igoe and Croucher 2007). According to the Village Land Act 1999, when establishing a particular WMA, the land remains village property and therefore land management in WMAs is subject to Tanzanian land tenure laws and theoretically under the legal control of the village or villages involved (*ibid*).

Officially, local communities retain the right to determine exactly how the land will be used, and by whom (Igoe and Croucher 2007). However, in Tanzania the WMAs are not designed in ways that allow the villagers to make informed decisions about this process (Goldman 2003).

The process of establishing a WMA involves a series of bureaucratic procedures that require local communities to understand the potential value that a WMA would have for them, and then to reorganise themselves and their land in very specific and difficult ways (Igoe and Croucher 2007). In the words of Goldman (2001), local

communities must become eco-rational subjects.

The process supposedly begins when a village assembly officially requests the responsible minister of MNRT to allow them to establish WMA (Igoe and Croucher 2007). Next, the village, usually in cooperation with other villages, must register a Community-Based Organisation (CBO) to manage the WMA (*ibid*).

The next phase involves preparation of a Land Use Plan (LUP) and a General Management Plan (GMP), which require data and the completion of forms that are quite technical and assume training of villagers in workshops and seminars that may not have occurred (Igoe and Croucher 2007). Even where this training has occurred, villagers still require professional advice from, and in collaboration with, external experts, who do not always act in their interest (*ibid*).

Furthermore, the establishment and management of a WMA requires significant knowledge of the Tanzanian legal system and relevant legislation (Igoe and Croucher 2007). Unfortunately, such knowledge is limited to a few legal experts (*ibid*).

If and when a WMA is established, the CBO becomes an Authorised Association (AA) and is granted a certificate of authorisation, and the WMA is officially gazetted (Igoe and Croucher 2007). However, granting of user rights (which is the most critical and

debatable subject in managing WMAs), is at the discretion of the director of WD, both in terms of how wildlife resources are allowed to be used and who gets to use them (*ibid*).

Although Wildlife Policy 1998 envisages that WMAs will ensure that local communities will have full mandate of managing and benefiting from their conservation efforts (MNRT 1998b), legal ownership and control of wildlife resources remains with the state (Igoe and Croucher 2007). Once a WMA is gazetted, although the land still officially belongs to the village, authority over that land is in practice controlled and governed by the WD in MNRT (*ibid*).

Thus, from the local communities' perspective, the land has been taken, and their rights to occupy and use that land have been radically reduced (Igoe and Croucher 2007). In addition to these controls by WD, investment possibilities within WMAs are also considerably circumscribed from the perspective of local communities (*ibid*).

The only investment activities allowed are those related to wildlife, most often tourist hunting, this situation reflects the interest of wildlife officials as tourist hunting is directly controlled by the WD (Igoe and Croucher 2007). While WMA model demands involvement of members of a particular local community and informed consent, yet the highly technical and legalistic nature of WMAs makes it possible to create one without their consent (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2006).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a unified history of public assets management with ample focus on policies, laws and regulations of forest and wildlife management in Tanzania from various literature sources related to the problem statement. In addition, it recapitulates some of the significant issues which emerged as follows:

i. The literatures reveal that forest policy 1998 intends to create an awareness of the existence of PFM program and a positive attitude of local communities towards joint forest management. However, from the colonial era till date, every program intervention in forest management has taken a preservationist approach in order to increase carbon stock.

ii. The literatures show that historically, during the socialist period in Tanzania, the main problem of central management of forest operations was that, it discouraged mobilisation and utilisation of resources which made management of the forests quite difficult. It also encouraged degradation and deforestation precipitated by illegal activities.

iii. The literatures also indicate that forest operations have been conducted by MNRT with too much interference on the lives of local communities and even undermines their traditional institutions and prevents them from playing their role in regulating resource use.

iv. In the case of wildlife management, the literatures reveal that wildlife policy 1998 in other ways continues to maintain state ownership and control of wildlife resources in spite of advocating for decentralisation in wildlife operations.

v. The literatures reveal that state-centred wildlife conservation is usually unsympathetic to the needs and concerns of the local communities. Moreover, state-centred wildlife conservation has led to an essentially militaristic strategy, which heightens the conflict between the state and local communities.

vi. The literatures also show that there is a growing pressure on bureaucrats to allow more participation of other actors such as local communities and private sector (including NGOs) in wildlife management.

Thus, the following chapter is going to elucidate the theories and models which form the theoretical framework of the study with their related underlying premises. It defines a theory and respectively breaks down the theories and models involved into pieces of individual assumptions and principles.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Understanding Research Theories and Models

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the entire theoretical framework alongside the related underlying assumptions and principles of each theory and model that constitutes the study. The theoretical framework and its premises shown below are the result of an extensive literature review on the subject of public policy management, political theory and international development.

Theory is defined as a set of principles and assumptions from which research questions, problem statements and variables of interest are derived (Coppola 2008 p.10). The theories used in this study constitute its theoretical framework, which is used to interpret the empirical data and subsequently offer explanation on the correlations that exists between variables for each research question. Usually the theories are being selected in order to explain, predict and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of critical bounding assumptions and principles (ibid 2008 p.11)

The first research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? will be addressed using Goodin empirical theory of policy

making. The empirical data will be subjected to the assumptions and principles of the related theory in order to interpret them and understand and explain the relationship that exists between foreign policy and donors' financial and technical support and the role of foreign policy in improving forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania.

4.2 The Goodin (1982) Empirical Theory of Policy Making

The theoretical framework underpinning this research lies in the guiding empirical theory of policy making propounded by Professor Robert E. Goodin. According to Goodin (1982 p.7), a policy must be formulated after validating the empirical results and recommendations with the prevailing theories. Thus, sound and effective policies must be based on an analysis of the situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible (ibid p.7). In other words, a policy must be preceded by research in order to gain an in-depth understanding of issues involved before developing the policy.

Generally, the underlying principles of policy science are; policy science has to be supported by empirical validation of theoretical models with practical payoffs, rather than on display of sheer technical virtuosity (Leontief 1971); and policy studies are supposed to bring value back into the disciplines from which they originate (Heclo 1972).

A particular policy is said to add meaning or contribute to its discipline (i.e. a branch of knowledge) such as forest and wildlife management when the discipline and the respective policy support each other (Goodin 1982). For example, a policy issue like

developing forest and wildlife management disciplines in colleges and universities, has not been well and clearly stipulated in both forest and wildlife policies.

According to Goodin (1982), a causal factor for the existence of this gap is lack of policy analysis before policy development. Hogwood (1995) suggests that, in doing the policy analysis, any of the following methods can be used; content method, which involves study of policy contents; process method, which concerns study of policy process; output method, which focuses on policy output; evaluation method, helps to indicate areas for improvements; information method, helps in providing information which can be used for future policy making; process advocacy method, concerns the improvement of policy process; policy advocacy method, facilitates the improvement of the policy itself and finally analysis of analysis method, which concerns the critical appraisal of assumptions methodology and validity of policy.

In studying policy as a science, the central theoretical assumption is incrementalism (Goodin, 1982). Incrementalism is a doctrine which, in the broadest sense of the term, maintains that theoretical understanding of the social system is unnecessary and probably even undesirable for policy making, and empirical values are, it claims, best discovered by trial and error (*ibid*).

However, Goodin (1982) argues against incrementalism, stating that, incrementalism is an unwise strategy for ascertaining empirical truths. Thus, in other words, Goodin opines that theoretical understanding of social system is necessary and desirable for

policy making and empirical values must not be determined by trial and error approach (*ibid*).

Therefore, according to Goodin (1982), in theoretical sense, any policy analysis requires informed analyses of particular policy problems (issues) but information is not enough, it has to be supplemented by a critical reflection on all sort of excuses brought about by political actors defending inadequacy of their policies. Furthermore, policy analysis at the end must be based on understanding of the underlying principles of policy analysis which are considered as foundations of policy study as well as nature of the institutions which host these policies (*ibid*).

Goodin (1982) empirical theory of policy making works as follows: in ensuring that sound and effective policies are being formulated, implemented and eventually produce the desired policy outcome, the underlying assumptions are; policies are made after understanding the social system through proper research; public policies are formulated and implemented in order to attain specific objectives of the Government for the ultimate benefit of the masses in general; and public policies can appear in variety of forms such as laws, ordinances, executive orders etc. (Goodin 1982 pp.7-9).

Likewise, in order to ensure sound and effective policies are being formulated, implemented and eventually produce the desired policy outcome, the Goodin (1982) empirical theory of policy making works by following the underlying principles that; policy making must be supported by empirical validation of theories and/or models;

policy making must bring value back into the disciplines from which they originate; and policy making must add meaning or feed into other related policies. In other words, it must have roots or rather connections with others related policies i.e. a sound policy must be broadly coherent with other related policies (Goodin 1982 pp.3-4).

The second research question: how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? will be addressed using both Goodin empirical theory of policy making and Ayuk and Marouani policy making theory. The empirical data will be subjected to the assumptions and principles of the theories involved in order to interpret and subsequently explain the relationship that exists between research quality and effectiveness of policy provisions and then understand the real challenges which exists in relation to policy making and overall forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

4.3 The Ayuk and Marouani (2007) Policy Making Theory

Ayuk and Marouani (2007 p. 277), suggest that the best way of reducing policy gap or disconnection between policy objectives and actual results achieved is to reduce dependence on foreign financial and technical support in African research studies. It is however essential to develop policies and in turn ensure adequate domestic funding into African research studies which could uncover the actual demand or problems that exists and need to be addressed in African policies.

The Ayuk and Marouani (2007) policy making theory works as follows: in order to have effective domestic policies that ensure positive policy outcomes, the underlying assumption is that African researchers and policy experts should be engaged in the policy making process as they have a better understanding of the social, economic and political environment in which they operate (Ayuk and Marouani 2007 p.277). Meanwhile, in order to have effective domestic policies that ensure positive policy outcomes, the theory works by following the underlying principle that African research studies and policy development must be funded by respective African Governments (ibid p.277).

Policy making in developing countries particularly Sub-Saharan Africa is beset with many challenges (Self 2011). In the 1980s and 1990s, several countries in Africa including Tanzania implemented Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) before conducting a thorough research into their actual social, economic and political needs. In other words, due to lack of prior research, the IMF and WB policies were implemented and subsequently failed to bring about the expected positive results (*ibid*).

The IMF and WB have a reputation for imposing and dictating policies to developing countries which suffer from severe development crisis. These policies are collectively referred to as "Washington Consensus", comprising ten specific economic policy practices that must be implemented by a developing country which suffers from

severe development crisis. Some of the ten Washington Consensus policy practices include deregulation (i.e. abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition), liberalisation of inward foreign direct investment (FDI) and privatisation of state enterprises amongst others.

Moreover, during the reformation period of the 1980's until today, most African countries have been characterised as having weak research institutions. Whereas, if such institutions existed, they could have assisted in conducting impactful research to understand the actual needs of their country before formulating a particular policy (Dollar and Svensoon 2000). More often, policy making has been dependent on policy input from foreign consultants who do not have grounded knowledge of the issues involved which need to be addressed by the policy being formulated (*ibid*).

Another major setback of policy making process in Africa is that home-grown policies are rejected by international development partners (donors' community) because they seem to go against their pre-set convictions (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). The home-grown policies could have provided a good link between policy research results and the need for policy making, in other words, home-grown policies in Africa have higher possibilities of success than those developed outside of the continent due to the fact that local policy makers have a better understanding of the social, economic and political environment in which they operate (*ibid*).

However, lack of adequate technical skills and financial resources in Sub-Saharan African policy research institutions has been identified as a key stumbling block which hinders the development of sufficient number of home-grown policies, thus resulting in home-grown policies being replaced by foreign-grown policies developed by external consultants (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Hence, the need to strengthen the capacity of local policy research institutions and individual policy researchers is of paramount importance to effective policy design (*ibid*).

In that case, most of the policy research institutes in Sub-Saharan Africa continue to depend heavily on funds from external donors to conduct their operations (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Thus, in order to ensure sustainability of producing home-grown policies, Sub-Saharan African countries and respective research institutes must develop their own internal funding mechanism which would enable African research input to contribute to African policy making processes. (*ibid*).

Yet, in spite of this weakness of donor-dependency in conducting research for policy making process in Africa, most countries have not taken definitive steps to build the capacity required, as most policies that are still being implemented in many countries have not originated from the continent (Ayuk and Marouani 2007). Thus, it is imperative that African policies are developed by African bureaucrats based on research undertaken in African contexts which take into account African needs (*ibid*).

Therefore, in order to succeed in reducing policy gaps, developing countries, particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa must invest heavily in establishing more

research institutions and build capacity for the existing ones within and outside the Government sector in order to improve the policy making process (Ajakaiye 2007). Institutional development and sustainable funding are the keys to quality research findings and improved policy decisions (*ibid*).

For instance, in Madagascar Razafindrakoto and Rouband (2007) explain that any research, whether it is conducted at national or international level, has to ensure relevance and reliability of the findings on which its analyses are based so as to guarantee quality. They also pointed out that most policies in developing countries do not work due to poor quality or non-existence of statistical data required for any serious policy making process (*ibid*).

Razafindrakoto and Rouband (2007) also argue that due to poor quality of research information, sometimes policy decisions are made without relying or referring to the existing data which results in escalation of the policy gap. Thus, a viable solution to the escalated policy gap is to increase the reliability of statistical data required for developing policy definition and monitoring, after serious corrective steps have been taken to identify and correct the reasons or causes for deficiency of accurate and reliable statistics (*ibid*).

In addition, Young (2007) explains that in Kenya, policy research is needed to feed into the policy making process, but there has been no systematic understanding of what, when, why and how research feeds into the policy. While there are extensive literatures on policy research links in OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation

and Development) countries, and also from other disciplines such as economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, international relations and management, yet there is no systematic understanding of the subject of policy research in relation to policy making process (*ibid*).

In Nigeria, according to Jerome (2007), the policy formulation in the Government sector of this Sub-Saharan African country, is characterised by lack of coordination and overlapping responsibilities among public institutions and there is no sign of research contribution to the policy making process. In addition, Olomola (2007) argues that in Nigeria, many policy decisions are still taken without research input, and many of the research studies are being conducted without considering the policy relevance. Moreover, even the few which are policy-relevant are not being utilised and there is also another problem of conducting similar studies in various places at different times and even during the same time (*ibid*).

In Senegal, Daffe and Diagne (2007) argue that developing countries can reduce the policy gap, by taking policy research at the centre stage and ensuring that it feeds into policies. Eventually fostering greater efficiency and equity in resource allocation in a context of resource scarcity that exists (*ibid*).

In Namibia, Hansohm (2007) explains that, virtually all industrialised countries and newly industrialised countries (NICs) have a research database and analysis in place that feed into the policy making process. However, in Namibia and most of the other

developing countries, particularly those of Sub-Saharan Africa these systems are notably absent (*ibid*).

The third research question: how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? will be addressed by using the DFID model. The empirical data will be subjected to the assumptions and principles of the related model in order to interpret them and explain the relationship that exists between households' participation in managerial process and their livelihood outcomes.

Moreover, effects of implementing various development interventions by donors and the Central Government will be examined and described. Tanzania has ample natural resources capital constituted by the famous Ngorongoro crater, Serengeti national park, Gombe stream national park etc., and donors' community has constantly been involved in forest and wildlife conservation in terms of providing financial and technical support. Thus, DFID livelihoods model will assist in examining the livelihood outcomes of local communities involved in forest and wildlife management.

4.4 DFID Livelihoods Model

The DFID livelihoods model is a development model used by the British Government through its Department for International Development (DFID) in alleviating problems of poverty across the world (Morse and McNamara 2013 p.21). The model states that, a particular livelihood outcome is affected by three variables namely, vulnerability

context (i.e. environmental context), structures (i.e. existing structures) and processes (GLOPP 2008 p.2).

The vulnerability context is basically an environment in which people live (i.e. living environment) which involves three sets of trends, shocks and seasonality (GLOPP p.3). The set of trends includes population, resource, national and international economic, governance and technological; on shocks, it includes human health, natural, economic, conflict and crop/livestock health; and the last set includes seasonality of prices, production, health and employment opportunities (Morse and McNamara 2013 p.35).

Normally, people (i.e. households) require a range of assets (i.e. livelihood assets) to achieve positive livelihood outcomes such as human asset, social asset, natural asset, physical asset and financial asset (GLOPP 2008 p.3). The five categories of assets are known as asset pentagon (Morse and McNamara 2013 p.28). Moreover, livelihood asset is sometimes referred to as livelihood capital (ibid p.28).

The structures are basically institutions and policies that prevail and are used to control or manage the livelihood assets (GLOPP 2008 p.3). The livelihood asset is people's strength needed to produce a desired livelihood outcome (ibid p.3).

The processes are set of activities which are involved in converting or making the livelihood assets produce a particular livelihood outcome (GLOPP 2008 p.3). The livelihood outcome can either be positive or negative (ibid p.4).

The DFID livelihoods model works as follows: in providing the development assistance, the underlying assumptions are; households are at the centre of any development program/project and should be the ones determining development priorities and be able to influence the institutions involved as well as the processes that affect their lives; households should use their asset base to develop a range of livelihood programs/projects which would enable them to achieve their desired livelihood outcomes; households have no control or limited control over vulnerability context (i.e. environmental context) which comprises trends, shocks and seasonality, and those three (i.e. trends, shocks and seasonality) mostly tend to negatively affect households and make them vulnerable to poverty; and donors are mostly interested in such programs which addresses livelihoods and vulnerability issues i.e. the selected intervention must have high impact and improve livelihood and reduce vulnerability to poverty for members of the community involved (GLOPP 2008 p.1).

Meanwhile, in providing the development assistance, the model works by following the underlying principles that; the livelihoods analysis must be holistic in terms of identifying both internal and external factors which have positive or negative impact on livelihoods of particular households and also ensure participation of members of households (community or communities); any kind of intervention i.e.

program/project introduced to a particular local community must recognise/appreciate/respect the presence of differences that exists among the households' members such as overall well-being, gender, age, ethnicity, level of education etc.; the livelihoods analysis when conducted must be based on how people make their living; and constant (time to time) reviews or reflections on practices used to deal with various livelihood and vulnerability issues during implementation of a particular program/project must be conducted on both sides of donor (i.e. development partner) and local community (households) involved, in response to various changes particularly on vulnerability context that usually take place in an effort to avoid unintended consequences (GLOPP 2008 p.1).

The fourth research question: how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? will be addressed by using Boko (2002) Centralist Theory, Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) Neo-patrimonial Theory and Van de Walle (2007) Clientelist Theory. The empirical data will be subjected to the assumptions and principles of each related theory in order to interpret them and explain the relationship that exists between change in Government policy to decentralisation and operational efficiency in forest and wildlife management.

The theories are expected to interpret the empirical information in a way that would assist in construing a new narrative. The new narrative could assist in alleviating

other embedded elements or behaviours which impede successful implementation of decentralisation in forest and wildlife conservation.

4.5 The Boko (2002) Centralist Theory

Amongst the centralist theories of Government in Africa is the Sylvain H. Boko's Centralist Theory which states that centralisation is a principal – agent type of relationship whereby the Central Government is the principal and local organisations are the agents (Boko 2002 p.3)

Centralism is described as the control of disparate activities and organisations under a single authority (Stevenson and Waite 2011 p. 282). It is a theory of leadership in which power and control to decide involves having one central group of people or in other words, is a concentration of authority at the top level of the administrative system (Marume and Jubenkanda 2016 p.106). That is, other actors such as local communities, NGOs, private sector all behave in ways that are as close as possible to the wishes of the Central Government, the principal in that situation (Boko 2002 p.3).

In Africa, many states continue to centrally manage fiscal resources (i.e. funds or financial revenues) and discourage fiscal decentralisation (Boko 2002 p.4). Thus, the role of local communities and other lower tiers of the Government is to collect revenue and remit to the central authority for planning and re-disbursement, and in this way, Central Governments in Africa, see it to be the right strategy to ensure political, economic and social stability (ibid p.5).

In modern African states, centralism has been hidden within decentralism as most actions taken to decentralise, such as political decentralisation is more of de-concentration of functions to lower tiers of the Government and not actual powers and authority to make decisions (Boko 2002 p.5). Moreover, even economic (or market) decentralisation which involves shifting the responsibility of provision of goods and delivery of services from Central Government to private sector has not succeeded (ibid p.5).

Economic decentralisation can only succeed if the legal constraints on private sector participation in service provision and goods delivery are removed, and in turn re-establish a well-designed and successful decentralisation system (Boko 2002 p.5). The complete and well-designed decentralised system has four elements/types namely; political decentralisation, administrative decentralisation, fiscal decentralisation and lastly economic decentralisation (ibid p.5).

The Boko (2002) centralist theory works as follows; in a centralist African state, the underlying assumptions are; local organisations (Village Governments, District Governments, Private sector) are expected to behave in ways that are as close as possible to the Central Government's wishes (i.e. non-financial wishes); and local organisations are expected to raise revenues for the Central Government (Boko 2002 p.3).

Meanwhile, in a centralist African state, Boko's theory works by following the underlying principles that; the Central Government must implement the policies that ensure equal re-distribution of income; and the Central Government must take and/or maintain those responsibilities which cannot be effectively performed by the local organisations (Boko 2002 p.7).

4.6 The Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) Neo-patrimonial Theory

The theory states that the existence of neo-patrimonialism in a particular country as an administrative system of rules allows public resources to be used for personal gain (Bratton and Van de Walle 1994 p.454).

Basically, neo-patrimonialism has its roots in authoritarianism (Bratton and Van de Walle 1994 p.453). Despite domestic and international pressures in the 1980's and 1990's on many of African regimes to allow political transition from authoritarian rule (i.e. minority rule) to democratic rule (i.e. majority rule), political transition until today has not been successful mainly due to dispute over rules of political game and widespread civil unrest (ibid 454).

Many African states have accepted multiparty democracy and held various multiparty elections (Bratton and Van de Walle p.454). However, the political transition from authoritarian rule to democratic rule is said to be impeded by Neo-patrimonialism (ibid 455).

Neo-patrimonialism is described as a formal and informal vertical distribution of resources based on possession of power among actors involved (Von Soest 2006 p.7). Neo-patrimonial practices tend to benefit those few individuals at the top, usually the patrons who control the resources as compared to the general population who are actually the majority. It can take various forms and usually affects policy making especially development projects, and it is responsible for the misuse of aid and state budgets (Van de Walle 2007 p.1). It originated in the post-colonial era in most of the developing countries and was used to ensure political stability of authoritarian regimes and undermine political, social and economic participation and competition (ibid p.1).

Africa has many political leaders and bureaucrats who usually cling to power for long periods of time (Bratton and Van de Walle p.453). Such overstay induces them (i.e. political actors and bureaucrats) to establish neo-patrimonial rules about who may participate in public decisions on resource allocation, distribution and utilisation and even amount or level of participation (ibid p.454).

The Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) Neo-patrimonial theory works as follows: in a neo-patrimonial state, the underlying assumptions are; the existing rules are expected to be flexible in order to respond to new challenges in resource management that would benefit the patrons; and the new rules should only be developed in response to new challenges to the patronage system in resource management (Bratton and Van de Walle 1994 p.454).

Meanwhile, in a neo-patrimonial state, the theory works by following the underlying principles that; the established rules of patrons must indicate who may participate in making public decisions concerning resource management; and the established rules must restrict competition and involvement of other actors in public resource management (Bratton and Van de Walle 1994 p.454).

4.7 The Van de Walle (2007) Clientelist Theory

The theory states that patrons usually decide to exchange benefits-for-votes or take any action or measure including favours, leniency etc. (and these benefits are usually public resources) in order to prevent or avoid political changes (especially changes of political regimes) to occur within a particular society, or in other words to obtain political support, thus politics (i.e. political support) determine the allocation, distribution (actual handing out) and utilisation of public resources (Van de Walle 2007 p.2).

Clientelism is a universal feature of modern politics and is unlikely to disappear soon, but its nature varies according to the type of political regime (Van De Walle 2007 p.1). Clientelism is among three parts constituting Neo-patrimonialism namely Presidentialism (whereby formal and informal rules place one man, usually the president, above the law and protects the individual from being subjected to any system of checks and balance which other public officials face), Systematic Clientelism (usually by the president and immediate subordinates working to maintain the status quo) and thirdly, neo-patrimonial systems (which are being used to distribute public resources by adhering or following a clientelistic logic (ibid p. 2).

In modern African politics, clientelism continues to dominate public resource allocation, distribution and utilisation but it is also described as being incompatible with democratic politics and only democratisation process will alleviate the existing high level of clientelism in Africa (Van De Walle p.2). However, major obstacles to successful transition towards a more democratic environment are poverty and deeply ingrained habits and expectations of political actors (ibid p.3).

The Van de Walle (2007) Clientelist theory works as follows: in a clientelistic state, the underlying assumptions are that; the patrons, at their discretion when distributing the resources (benefits) should know voters' (clients' or clienteles) partisan preferences, if not their votes and target with selective benefits; and the exchange of benefits-for-votes usually should take place during election periods in order for the patrons to gain a vote (Van de Walle 2007 p.3).

Meanwhile, in a clientelistic state, the theory works by following underlying principles that; the resource allocation must be directed towards the most loyal political supporters both as a reward for existing and previous political support and as a down payment for its continuation; and during election period (i.e. electoral clientelism), in those opposition strongholds where there are many votes, the resources allocation and distribution must be increased by the patrons in an effort to induce the voters (Van de Walle 2007 pp.7-9).

The fifth research question: how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania? will be addressed using Saurugger (2013) Actor-Centred Constructivist Theory and Ostrom (2005) model of Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD). The empirical data will be subjected to the assumptions and principles of each theory and model in order to interpret them and explain the relationship that exists between bureaucratic paradigm and cooperation of other actors in forest and wildlife conservation.

The theory and model would facilitate an understanding of the issues which emerged as a result of the existing power game to control agendas and resources that take place between actors in policy making process related to forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. The theory and model help to examine the way actors relate in the power game.

4.8 The Saurugger (2013) Actor-centred Constructivist Theory

According to Saurugger (2013 p. 898), The Actor-Centred Constructivist Theory focuses more on the power relations and the strategic behaviours of policy actors involved and the way actors make use of their ideas, norms, interests and beliefs in public policy process. Normally, economically rationalist thinking is brought into the analysis and linked to the use that actors make of those ideas, interests and beliefs (ibid p.898).

The Actor-Centred Constructivist theory introduces the socio-logical methods, concentrating on the study of individual actors or groups of actors, which help in understanding the power games (i.e. the power struggles for control of agendas and resources) that take place between actors in public policy (Saurugger p.898). The actor-centred constructivist theory deals particularly well with two issues: firstly, the complexity of policy-making processes and secondly legitimation issues (ibid p.898).

The Saurugger (2013) Actor-Centred Constructivist theory works as follows: in order to understand the power relations which exists among actors involved in policy making, the underlying assumptions are; the individual ideas, interests and beliefs of an actor are constructed and very important in defining the policy outcomes; the beliefs of actors usually guide their actions and sometimes perceived beliefs only rationalise strategies that can be chosen for other reasons; and the ideas are weapons or strategic tools which can have political, social and economic influence (Saurugger 2013 pp.896-900).

Meanwhile, in order to understand the power relations which exists among actors involved in policy making, the theory works by following the underlying principles that; the actors must create broad coalitions around common strategies in order to achieve better policy outcomes; the understanding of economic, political and social challenges, their interpretation and their analysis must emanate from cultural and ideal structures in which policy actors operate; and the ideas must serve the interest of the dominant actors by strengthening their position in the game (Saurugger 2013 p.897).

4.9 The Ostrom (2005) model of Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD)

Furthermore, the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) model developed by Elinor Ostrom, suggests that communities can contribute enormously in reducing the policy gap, once they have been entrusted to manage resources without Government intervention. The model challenged the conventional wisdom about the need for Government intervention over management of public resources in order to attain sustainability and benefit sharing (Ostrom 2005 p. 219).

The IAD model was originally conceived in the 1980s by Elinor Ostrom, Nobel Prize winner in economics in 2009, to study management of common resources such as forests and their governance by communities without state intervention. The model has been continually refined by Ostrom and other scholars over the last three decades. The model has been largely used in developing countries.

The IAD model has been applied to a variety of studies on how people collaborate and organise themselves across organisational and state boundaries to manage common resources such as forests, wildlife animals, fisheries etc., which often cross or flow through national boundaries. In a nutshell, the IAD model is applied to common resources such as land and any other resource belonging to or affecting the whole of a community (Hess and Ostrom 2006; Hess 2006).

The Ostrom (2005) model of institutional analysis and development works as follows: in managing common resources, the underlying assumptions are; institutions are being considered as man-made systems within which individual choices are allowed to take place in order to achieve a particular outcome; interaction and mutual trust is necessary in any established social system; actors within a system can choose for themselves what type of outcome they wish to achieve; and the degree of power of an individual in a situation is usually affected by the Government control (i.e. control of the resources) and opportunity (i.e. the chance offered by the situation). Thus, in mathematical language, the power is the function of the two variables of control and opportunity. In other words, power depends on the two (i.e. control and opportunity) and any changes to the two will affect the power of an individual. Hence, the change in degree of control and opportunity should affect the power of an individual in a situation (Ostrom 2005 pp.50-55).

Meanwhile, in managing common resources, the model works by following the underlying principles that; interactions among actors must be guided by a set of rules in order to achieve an outcome i.e. principle of aggregation; there must be rewards or punishments in order to achieve an outcome i.e. pay-off principle; and each actor must be assigned a particular position, in other words, each must have a role to play in order to achieve the outcome i.e. position principle (Ostrom 2005 pp.193-207).

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has presented the theories and models which will be used as tools to interpret the empirical data in chapter seven which deals with critical evaluation and interpretation, and subsequently provides new narratives on the correlations that exists between the variables for each of the five research questions. The next chapter offers a detailed account of the research methods and data sources that were used in gathering and analysing the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Presenting the research

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical results of the study. It draws on the responses obtained from 18 interviewees which were coded and analysed using Nvivo (see appendix III). Subsequently, the empirical data was visualised by using five different word cloud diagrams which represent each of the five research questions of the study.

While reporting the empirical findings, only eight respondents were selected from 18 respondents. One respondent from each of the eight clusters as shown in Table 1 of the previous chapter on research methodology. The most informed and knowledgeable respondent on the subject matter was selected to represent the arguments of a particular cluster on the basis of the quality of the feedback received during the interview (Latham 2007 p.9).

In choosing representative samples, sound judgment by a researcher always leads to a good representative sample as the chosen respondent is expected to provide desired and accurate information (Latham 2007 p.9). Each feedback received from a chosen respondent, was shown to agree with the purpose and objective of the investigation.

The eight respondents selected are: representative of local communities, political actor, forest expert, wildlife expert, policy expert, researcher, environmental expert and representative of Non-Governmental Organisations. The respondents have been anonymised as: 1RESP, 2RESP, 3RESP, 4RESP, 5RESP, 6RESP, 7RESP and 8RESP respectively.

There are five specific research questions asked:

i. How has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
ii. How has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
iii. How has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
iv. How has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?
v. How has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania?

Furthermore, these specific research questions have been crafted to ensure that they contribute to providing an answer to the overarching research question which is: How can policy outcomes for forest and wildlife management in Tanzania be improved? Each research question has empirical information arranged into the following sections: introduction, visual representation of empirical data after data were processed in NVivo software, detailed narration of results and lastly conclusion.

5.1.1 Foreign Policy and Donors' Support in Forest and Wildlife Management

5.1.1.1 Introduction

The first research question is being asked in order to understand the relationship between foreign policy and donors' support both financial and technical in managing forest and wildlife resources. According to 5RESP (17 November 2016), there have been several changes to Tanzania's foreign policy provisions. Currently, there is an on-going review process, however, no prior research studies have been conducted either at the review stage or during the initial policy formulation in order to understand the critical policy issues which are needed to foster donors' support (ibid 2016).

In the meantime, the foreign policy itself has not been linked with other domestic policies such as those of forest and wildlife sectors of the economy (5RESP 17 November 2016). The foreign policy is an extension of domestic policies needed to

ensure their successful implementation, and failure to interconnect with the lower (domestic) policies, also implies failure of the foreign policy itself (ibid 2016).

In addition, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, Tanzania foreign policy has not been connected to other key and strategic domestic policies or even any of the sustainable development goals (see figure 5.1.1). Developing economies such as Tanzania require such a link between macro and micro policies as well as foreign and domestic policies in order to ensure that they address various challenges such as global crisis of climate change (ibid 2016).

During the course of the interview process, changes that have been taking place in formulating foreign policy on one hand and climate change on the other were identified as issues of immense significance. Most of the respondents touched on policy issues surrounding changes in foreign policy provisions and climate change and this is glaring in the word cloud image pictured in figure 5.1.1. Word cloud is an output from NVivo software which shows the frequency of words used by respondents. It clearly indicates that changes in foreign policy provisions and climate change are amongst the most spoken policy items which raised much concerns among respondents who were interviewed.

> *"Climate Change should be among the major policy items articulated in our foreign policy, just as it is articulated in other relevant domestic policies. I*

understand that foreign policy is an extension of key and strategic domestic policies, as such the inclusion of climate change in Tanzania's foreign policy is of paramount importance" (7RESP 21 November 2016).

"However, from the first policy to the second, which is currently under review, no effort was taken to ensure that our foreign policy is connected to other domestic policies" (5RESP 17 November 2016).

Therefore, the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2017) continues to explain that, Tanzania Foreign Policy 2001 stands as an independent document with no affiliation to domestic policies especially those with strategic importance to the economy such as forest and wildlife management. In either case, Forest policy 1998 or Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) do not contribute to the policy provisions outlined in the country's foreign policy.

The following is visual representation of empirical data:



Figure 5.1.1: Word Frequency for Foreign Policy and Donors' Support

The above word cloud diagram shows that there are many significant changes to the revision of Tanzania's foreign policy provisions. These changes constitute part of the major policy reforms that have been taking place in Tanzania since the 1990s.

However, the significant changes in foreign policy provisions and reforms as a whole, have not been able to address critical issues such as climate change management.

Furthermore, the word cloud diagram indicates that, the country's foreign policy lacks connection (i.e. harmonisation) to other key and strategic domestic policies. Moreover, the foreign policy was developed and revised without conducting prior research studies, which could have led to sound policies being formulated on the basis of analysis of a situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible. Meanwhile, the significant role of policy and planning division (PPD) is diminished, not well understood or fully realised.

The word cloud diagram above was generated by NVivo software and works similarly to the way content analysis works. Thus, one can deduce from looking at the word cloud that the more a specific word is spoken by respondents the larger the size of the word or phrase.

In the previous chapter on research methodology, content analysis was chosen to constitute the analytical framework of the study. Content analysis is sometimes referred to as quantitative analysis of qualitative data (Morgan 1993 p.3). In content analysis, text data are being coded into explicit categories and then described using statistics (Hsieh and Shannon 2005 p. 1278), similar to the way NVivo works.

Qualitative content analysis (in this case, the way NVivo operates) goes beyond merely counting words; it also examines language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1990 p.118). Therefore, NVivo is used to facilitate the process of counting words i.e. phrases (content analysis) and later producing the number of words in a diagrammatical form.

Detailed narration of the findings:

According to narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2017), policy reforms in Tanzania started in the 1990s as a condition for debt relief when policies were being developed for the first time. Before policy reforms, the Government used colonial laws, declarations and speeches from national leaders to govern various public operations (ibid 2016).

> *"We only came to start learning and got used to formal policy documents such as the policy itself and the respective implementation strategies when donors' community issued a set of conditions including the introduction of policy reforms in exchange for debt relief" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

In the past, the country used to be guided by declarations and speeches such as; the Arusha declaration which committed Tanzania to Socialism and Self-reliance, the Musoma declaration which instructed all citizens including elders to learn how to read

and write, the Iringa declaration which described agriculture as the country's basic economic activity (5RESP 17 November 2016). However, many challenges emerged at the time of implementing these declarations and speeches issued by national leaders, as there were neither policies nor laws which could support them and eventually there were few significant positive outcomes (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, for more than thirty years, the diplomatic relations between Tanzania and others countries were guided by the Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964, which was used as a policy document. The Presidential Circular was prepared by President Julius Nyerere himself (2RESP 27 November 2016). The presidential circular has continued to affect foreign relations between Tanzania and other countries and most importantly even the policy provisions in the existing foreign policy (5RESP 17 November 2016).

> *"In 1964, our President Julius Nyerere signed the presidential circular which subsequently became an official document used to govern the country's international relations" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

Thus, before year 2001, when the first formal policy document was launched, Tanzania was using presidential circular which provided instructions on how to relate with other countries in the world (2RESP 27 November 2016). The circular stipulated Tanzania's non-alignment position and her involvement in liberation struggles of

other African countries which were still under colonialism (ibid 2016). The narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, it was unfortunate that the presidential circular did not provide any instructions on the economic aspect of international relations. As such, Tanzania's relation with other countries was focused more on political diplomacy than economic buoyancy (2RESP 27 November 2016).

Therefore, Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964 was silent on social and economic issues of critical importance, such as forest and wildlife management (5RESP 17 November 2016). The circular mainly placed emphasis on the use of domestic resources both human and non-human to ensure political liberation of African countries without providing an economic strategy focused on how Tanzania would benefit from engaging in the liberation struggles of other nations (ibid 2016).

From the narrative of (5RESP 17 November 2016), the Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964 was not properly developed as a policy document. Eventually, it could not provide a comprehensive and detailed set of instructions on how to deal with different policy issues of critical importance. That is, even if the country decided to embark on political diplomacy, the document did not describe or pinpoint strategic areas which could have been developed or translated into economic gains apart from placing emphasis on liberation struggles (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that the major difference between a policy and a circular emanates that, when Government wishes to change its policy, a team of experts would usually re-examine various policy issues contained in particular documents and then explore how the changes being proposed might be crucial to the success of the policy. Usually, the re-examination process takes time (ibid 2016).

Thus, the difference between policy and circular lies in the fact that it takes more time and sufficient consultation to formulate a policy while a circular takes less time and can even be prepared by one person without seeking any consultation (6RESP 25 November 2016). 5RESP (17 November 2016) narrates that, despite Government's decision to introduce Foreign Policy 2001, the Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964 is still in place. These two documents have been contradicting each other (ibid 2016). For example, the first (i.e. Foreign Policy 2001) advocates free enterprise while the Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964 continues to recognise Tanzania as a socialist state (6RESP 25 November 2016). However, the Government sees the two documents to be supplementing each other (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to narrate that, effective policy document usually comprises three elements which are; policy issue (problem to be solved), policy statement (proposed solution to the problem) and lastly policy program or strategy (detailed explanation on how the proposed solution is going to be implemented). On the contrary, the Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964 lacks these three critical elements to make it an effective policy document (ibid 2016).

> *"An effective policy document must state the policy problem, and subsequently provide solutions in terms of describing the policy statement and lastly how that particular solution will be implemented through its implementation strategy" (6RESP 25 November 2016)*

5RESP (17 November 2016) narrates that, neither the presidential circular which preceded existing policy nor the prevailing Foreign Policy 2001, have these three key sections which constitute an effective policy document. Moreover, Foreign Policy 2001 actually inherited another shortfall from Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964. They both do not connect with any of the strategic domestic policies such as those of forest and wildlife management (ibid 2016).

In addition, even other key and strategic domestic policies on minerals, agriculture, livestock etc. have not been connected to either the presidential circular no. 2 1964 or foreign policy 2001 (5RESP 17 November 2016). In other respects, the changes in Tanzania's foreign policy are said to have been caused by changes that are taking place in world politics as well as the liberation of many African countries. As a result of the foregoing, Tanzania decided to change its foreign policy provisions and focus more on economic diplomacy than political diplomacy (2RESP 27 November 2016).

The implementation of changes in foreign policy started in 2001, when the Government of Tanzania introduced its first formal foreign policy document (2RESP 27 November 2016). However, there was no prior policy research study conducted before drafting the new foreign policy, in spite of many dynamics or changes taking place at national and international levels (6RESP 25 November 2016). 2RESP (27 November 2016) explains that, it was in 2016, that the Tanzanian Government decided to revise its Foreign Policy 2001. The revision was expected to be completed by June 2017 by engaging internal human resources found within the Policy and Planning Division (PPD) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, East Africa, Regional and International Co-operation i.e. MFAEARIC (ibid 2016).

> *"Initially, Foreign Policy 2001 was developed and finalised internally. We do not envisage any problem with using a similar approach during the revision process" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

According to 5RESP (17 November 2016), the task of revising Foreign Policy 2001 lies with PPD in MFAEARIC. In Tanzania, the entire policy management process of every ministry is undertaken by PPD (2RESP 27 November 2016). In this case, foreign policy management process is also undertaken by PPD which is a division within MFAEARIC (5RESP 17 November 2016).

The PPD as a division is divided into three sections in all ministries. The first section deals with budgeting and planning, the second section deals with policy of the respective ministry and the third section handles monitoring and evaluation (5RESP 17 November 2016). Thus, the policy section of PPD in MFAEARIC is largely involved in managing Tanzania's foreign policy (ibid 2016).

Therefore, the narrative from 5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that, in theory, it becomes difficult to evaluate foreign policy in terms of policy success or failure, because successful implementation of foreign policy depends entirely on successful implementation of related and strategic domestic policies which are supposed to be linked to the foreign policy of the country. Hence, the role of MFAEARIC through its policy section of PPD is to coordinate other strategic domestic policies to ensure the achievement of foreign policy own specified objectives (ibid 2016).

> *"Actually, we have the crucial and critical role of following up on implementation of other key domestic policies in order to record successes of our foreign policy" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

For example, when Tanzanian foreign embassies are queried about the implementation of some issues of strategic importance which were agreed and signed with other international counterparts such as those related to forest and wildlife

management particularly on climate change, the embassies' officials usually correspond with MFAEARIC headquarters and MFAEARIC conveys the information to the relevant ministerial sector (2RESP 27 November 2016).

In coordinating these key sectorial ministries, the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, the main challenge that MFAEARIC usually faces is delay by the relevant ministries in providing feedback on implementation status of various issues of strategic importance. Recently, the Government of Tanzania was asked to provide implementation status on climate change management and unfortunately, it took longer than expected to issue an official response (ibid 2016). Such delays might be conceived or interpreted in a way which can affect the country's relations with others partners in development and subsequently reduce donors' support both technically and financially. In light of the above there is a pressing need for improving inter-ministerial coordination framework (7RESP 21 November 2016).

> *"Lack of coordinative framework has made policy implementation difficult as there is no guiding framework to ensure such delays in communication are being minimised between ministries. The significance of coordination of strategic ministries could have been stipulated in our country's foreign policy" (7RESP 21 November 2016).*

The example given above, actually involves the following ministries: MFAERIC, VPO and MNRT (7RESP 21 November 2016). In Tanzania, climate change management involves these three ministries, whereby the MFAEARIC has a division known as Multilateral Cooperation Division (MCD) which is responsible for co-managing climate change with the VPO and MNRT (ibid 2016). The MCD is said to manage climate change at the international level while the Office of the Vice President (VPO) through its environmental division and Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) manages climate change at the national level (3RESP 10 November 2016).

Hence, learning from the mistake (lack of coordination), the three ministries are expected to work together to develop a coordinative framework which could connect both the foreign policy and the related domestic policies dealing with climate change management (7RESP 21 November 2016). The significance of such coordination among ministries is due to the fact that other new policies and laws which are being developed and implemented are not harmonised and particularly those governing forest and wildlife management and eventually the situation has caused a lot of contradictions and adverse effects (3RESP 10 November 2016).

Furthermore, among the major setbacks in forest and wildlife management is the contradiction that exists between forest and wildlife policies and their respective laws on one hand and the various cross cutting policies and laws on the other hand. This contradiction tends to adversely affect forest and wildlife management (6RESP 25 November 2016). Yet, in spite of this realisation, MFAEARIC has not been fully

involved in the policy review process of Forest Policy 1998 which is underway (3RESP 10 November 2016).

The opposite is also true for on-going policy review process of Foreign Policy 2001 (5RESP 17 November 2016). There has been minimal involvement and feedback from both sides of the ministries of MFAEARIC and MNRT (ibid 2016). Thus, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, Foreign Policy 2001 is not receiving enough input from other domestic policies such as those of forest and wildlife management. Eventually, critical issues in forest and wildlife management will not form part of the country's foreign policy or being translated into diplomatic language needed for communicating with other international counterparties (3RESP 10 November 2016). For example, what is the meaning of participatory forest management in the diplomatic context and language? (ibid 2016).

> *"There is minimal exchange of inputs among the ministries when policies are being developed or revised" (5RESP 17 November 2016).*

Furthermore, in the on-going policy review of Foreign Policy 2001 which started in 2016, MFAEARIC is not using any empirical research findings to iron out issues of strategic importance which need to be included in the revised policy (6RESP 25 November 2016). Rather, narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, MFAEARIC decided to form a small internal task force as started earlier, which is

simply conducting desk reviews on various materials sources as well as using verbal instructions issued by top ministerial officials and national leaders to revise the country's foreign policy.

> *"We are happy that our national leaders have shown interest and support in the work of revising our foreign policy and they actually providing important contributions" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), a similar approach was used when the foreign policy was initially developed in 2001. Unfortunately, it was only in 2006, five years after the new foreign policy was launched, other actors such as donors and parliamentarians started to show their concerns for the quality of Foreign Policy 2001 in terms of content and achievability of objectives stipulated within the policy itself (6RESP 25 November 2016). Even many others argued that some policy issues were obsolete and among the key actors who expressed their dissatisfactions were members of parliament's special committee on foreign affairs (ibid 2016). The narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, even officials within MFAEARIC also displayed their discontentment over the quality of Foreign Policy 2001. The private sector also urged Government to revise the foreign policy in order to have foreign policy which can address modern challenges and envisage future ones (6RESP 25 November 2016).

Moreover, the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that, some major internal dynamics such as discovery of large deposits of oil, gas and uranium in Tanzania apart from other dynamics taking place in forest and wildlife management nationally and internationally, have not been considered in the on-going policy review process of Foreign Policy 2001. Even 6RESP (25 November 2016) argues that, these critical developments are supposed to be extensively researched and understood from a policy perspective and eventually went on to identify key policy issues that need to be included in the revised policy.

Moreover, 6RESP (25 November 2016) reveals that, policy review process is guided by Cabinet Guide to Document Preparation 2010 (CGDP) which was re-issued later in 2014. The document provides the guidelines to be followed when either developing a particular policy or conducting a review within the public sector (ibid 2016). The CGDP 2014 places more emphasis on the involvement of stakeholders during policy development (5RESP 17 November 2016). Moreover, CGDP 2014 provides a list of requirements which must be fulfilled in order to obtain the cabinet's approval of any matter relating to policy making in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) further explains that during on-going policy review of Foreign Policy 2001, the MFAEARIC has prepared an evaluation report after engaging a consultant and also continue to conduct desk review and expect to compile a list of recommendations from stakeholders. The evaluation report is among the major documents that must be submitted to the cabinet secretariat for preliminary

assessment before the policy document is taken up to the full cabinet for approval. There are some other documents which must also be submitted prior to approval, these documents include: a list of stakeholders' comments, policy draft document and policy implementation strategy (ibid 2016).

The subject of climate change management (see Figure 5.1.1), is also explained by 7RESP (21 November 2016) as it actually requires donors' support in terms of providing both financial and technical support to alleviate the impact of changes in weather condition. 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that there is an urgent need for Tanzania to seriously engage in the global war of fighting climate change by using natural methods and strategies such as the use of forest resources that offer ecological solution to the climate change.

In addition, 7RESP (21 November 2016) explains the concerns for the way that climate change as a policy item have been taken into consideration during the on-going policy review of Foreign Policy 2001 (see Figure 5.1.1). According to 6RESP (25 November 2016), extensive research is actually required to understand the underlying issues of climate change which could eventually assist in providing a solid foundation for addressing climate change crisis and constitute an important element of the revised foreign policy.

According to 7RESP (21 November 2016), climate change has affected the country in so many ways such as extinction of some unique wildlife animals which are endemic only to a particular area as a result of changes in weather condition. The efforts to fight climate change have largely been affected by human population growth as they always tend to encroach into forests and wildlife reserves to establish their settlements (ibid 2016). An example of the effect of such encroachment can be seen in the wildlife corridor of Igeta to Ketaketa (4RESP 14 November 2016). This is among the largest wildlife corridors in wildlife management in Tanzania which takes wildlife animals from Selous game reserve to other wildlife reserves (ibid 2016). Over the years, it has been encroached upon by humans thus resulting in the destruction of the forest condition and natural habitats of wildlife animals (3RESP 10 November 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) provides additional narrative that, for decades there have been many international conventions on forest and wildlife management in which Tanzania participated and ratified their final agreements. These conventions usually demanded drastic change to the way Tanzania manages its forest and wildlife resources (ibid 2016).

For example, there was CITES (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora) also known as Washington Convention in 1975, The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 1993 (7RESP 21 November 2016). Later, came the Cartagena Protocol on biosafety (also known as Biosafety protocol) in 2000

and Nagoya protocol which was adopted in 2010 as a protocol or supplementary agreement to the CBD, focusing on access to genetic resources with fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from utilisation of natural resources (ibid 2016).

> *"We have been trying to change our ways of doing business by even introducing specific environmental policy in Tanzania which largely focused on climate change under the Office of Vice President" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

7RESP (21 November 2016) continues to explain that, in Nagoya protocol, the United Nations declared the period between 2011 to 2020 as the UN decade on biodiversity. The famous earth summit in Rio de Janeiro or RIO Convention (also known as United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 was another international engagement for Tanzania. It was later followed by another earth summit held in Johannesburg in 2002. The Johannesburg Convention also known as World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was aimed at assessing the implementation of the agreement signed in Rio de Janeiro ten years back and the Johannesburg convention was then nicknamed as "Rio + 10" (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, Kyoto Protocol (2005) was another international treaty under UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) which was adopted in Kyoto Japan, enforced in 2005 and lasted for ten years until 2015, when the Paris Convention took over (7RESP 21 November 2016). The Paris Convention in 2015 was

another United Nations climate change conference and the conference negotiated a global agreement to reduce climate change and all parties involved in the negotiation ratified the agreement including Tanzania (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) further explains that, these international treaties, demand changes in Tanzania's foreign and domestic policy provisions in order to respect the country's commitments and at the same time recognise its rights to receive both financial and technical support from donors' community. Thus, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, it is imperative for Foreign Policy 2001, Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) to be reviewed and linked in such a way as to accommodate those changes that took place internationally and even envisage others which might occur in the future. In this case, 7RESP (21 November 2016) argues that, these international dynamics in climate change management, makes the role, importance and contribution of foreign policy in managing forest and wildlife resources to be critical.

The impact of climate change on forest and wildlife management can be seen through incidents such as forest degradation and animal disappearance or extinction (3RESP 10 November 2016). However, there are no impactful research studies conducted to understand the magnitude of climate change (6RESP 25 November 2016). Lack of long-term data which could facilitate a thorough assessment of the full extent of climate change is a shortfall which can only be corrected through detailed and extensive research studies (ibid 2016).

Climate change was amongst the most spoken subjects, especially when respondents were asked how change in foreign policy provisions has affected donors' support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. This is evidenced in Figure 5.1.1 which illustrates the frequency of words chosen by the respondents and their interest when speaking about changes which have been taking place in Tanzania's foreign policy provisions.

> *"The full effects of climate change will be known and understood, when we decide to carry out long-term research studies" (6RESP 25 November 2016).*

When it comes to climate change and wildlife management, 6RESP (25 November 2016) asserts that without having supportive long-term data, it is difficult to know what causes human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs). 4RESP (14 November 2016) argues that, changes in weather condition may not be responsible for the increase in human-wildlife conflicts, rather, it is the natural behaviour of animals to migrate from wildlife reserves passing into human settlements to other destinations in search of food and water resources.

4RESP (14 November 2016) argues that without long-term data or in other words, extensive research studies it is going to be difficult to reduce the human-wildlife conflicts which exacerbate poaching incidents. Usually, animal movement is a seasonally natural behaviour guided by their knowledge of resource availability (ibid 2016).

"We have not yet conducted impactful research in order to have an insight on underlying issues of human-wildlife conflicts and how these relate to climate change" (6RESP 25 November 2016).

The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that, at the moment, many of the problems which occur in conservation of forest and wildlife resources, are related to or linked to climate change. However, impactful research studies (long-term research studies) need to be conducted to understand climate change and its effects. Therefore, 6RESP (25 November 2016) insists that, in order to understand the causes of problems that exist in forest and wildlife management as a whole, there should be reliable and long-term data.

On the other hand, the problem or challenge of not having long-term and reliable data is not being faced by Tanzania alone, but rather is a global problem or challenge, according to narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016). The unavailability of long-term and reliable data has caused the United Nations (UN) to make a specific resolution on the importance of ensuring each country establishes its own data bank (ibid 2016). The national data bank will enable various actors to access information such as to what extent the country's forest cover has been affected, or how much of forest land size has been encroached by human population (3RESP 10 November 2016). The national data banks may also assist in understanding the underlying issues behind human-wildlife conflicts (4RESP 14 November 2016).

Moreover, to show recognition of importance of valid and reliable national data bank, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have contained a specific goal on the need for each country to have reliable data banks in order to facilitate decision making (5RESP November 2016). Therefore, countries are encouraged to establish data banks as part of implementation of SDGs and Tanzania has already started the process of establishing its own data bank in compliance with the SDGs' requirements (ibid 2016).

According to 6RESP (25 November 2016), these national data banks are expected to measure achievements of both old Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and implementation of new seventeen SDGs. Currently, UN has not been able to accurately measure the achievements of both MDGs and SDGs (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, when new SDGs were deliberated at national level, other actors such as Economic and Social Research Foundation(ESRF), Research on Poverty Alleviation(REPOA) and University of Dar es salaam(UDSM) were involved in various meetings and workshops before the SDGs were accepted internationally. Following Tanzania's acceptance of SDGs in 2015, ESRF started localising SDGs through various workshops and seminars aimed at explaining the relevance of the seventeen SDGs to the country and enlightening ordinary citizens on how to understand them (ibid 2016). However, the extent in which the on-going policy review process of Foreign Policy 2001 has assimilated these

SDGs, is a subject matter worthy of investigation in other future policy studies (7RESP 21 November 2016).

In addition, the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, deliberate steps have been taken to localise SDGs in Tanzania. Doing so, 6RESP (25 November 2016) argues, is the best way to ensure that SDGs can be implementable. By taking the SDGs down to local people, it ensures that they are being easily and properly understood (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, it is important when the SDGs are being implemented, that Government consults the national goals stipulated in Tanzania Development Vision (TDV 2025). This is because forest and wildlife management is part of the TDV and consulting it would ensure harmonisation with the SDGs. In addition, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, other steps have been taken such as meeting with all Policy and Planning Divisions (PPDs) in Government ministries to explain the new SDGs and what is expected of them as policy think tanks of respective Government ministries. 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, SDGs have been localised by translating them into Swahili. The decision to translate the SDGs is to enable their successful implementation and most importantly social media is used to disseminate them to a much wider population (ibid 2016).

In the new SDGs, climate change is among the key challenges planned to be resolved (7RESP 21 November 2016). 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that climate change is among the major contributing factors for revising Foreign Policy 2001 and Forest Policy 1998 as both are seen to have tremendous contribution in addressing climate change.

Although climate change continues to be on top of the national and international agenda and despite the fact that Tanzania attended various meetings such as the Rio Convention and went on to ratify several agreements, the extent to which climate change has been incorporated in macro policies such as the Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025 and Foreign Policy 2001 is still observed to be minimal (5RESP 17 November 2016). 7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, when TDV 2025 was being developed in 1995 and later launched in 2000, the SDGs were yet to come into existence. In other words, TDV 2025 does not share and address critical issues with SDGs such as climate change management (ibid 2016).

Moreover, the TDV 2025 is being implemented into a five year medium term development plans aimed at facilitating its implementation, it started with Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) from 2000/2001 – 2005/2006, and later National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) also known under the swahili acronym MKUKUTA which commenced from 2005/2006 - 2010/2011, followed by the first Five Year Development Plan (FYDP I) 2011/2012 – 2015/2016, FYDP II 2015/2016 – 2020/2021, and envisaged FYDP III 2020/2021 – 2025/2026 (5RESP 17 November

2016). However, the existing FYDP II of 2015/2016 – 2020/2021 does not offer clear strategies on how to manage climate change, in spite of the fact that TDV 2025 is aiming at transforming Tanzania from being a country that depends on agriculture production to one that would become a semi-industrialised economy (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, SDGs were launched in Rio de Janeiro in 2012. The conference is also known as RIO + 20, as the first Rio Earth Summit was held in 1992 (ibid 2016). The implementation of the SDGs was expected to start in 2015 after ending the Millennium Development Goals i.e. MDGs (7RESP 21 November 2016). The SDGs are said to have twin priorities; one is the protection of planet earth's life support system and the second is poverty reduction (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, as a qualification to obtain more donors' support in terms of financial and technical assistance in forest management, Tanzania decided to develop national climate change strategy and national REDD strategy. The two strategies are aiming at strengthening the country's position that would ensure increased financial and technical support from donors' community in managing the carbon business (ibid 2016). Currently, the terms and conditions of carbon business seems to be unfavourable to Tanzania (as the seller of carbon) and favour the industrialised countries (the buyers) and leading producers of carbon (3RESP 10 November 2016). The subject of carbon business was frequently raised during the course of the interview process as depicted in the Figure 5.1.1. Several respondents provided good and interesting narratives about the carbon business.

Carbon trade is actually a new and complicated phenomenon to Tanzanians (3RESP 10 November 2016). The common assumption is that, all forest trees tend to absorb carbon gas and even grasses (ibid 2016). Therefore, trade agreement between sellers and buyers of carbon is supposed to include both forest trees and grasses (7RESP 21 November 2016). However, terms and conditions presented by buyers i.e. industrialised countries (funders) choose to pay or buy carbon found in planted forests (3RESP 10 November 2016). Moreover, the planted forests that are being allowed into the carbon market, are only those planted after carbon trade agreement was ratified (ibid 2016).

As such, 3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, plantation forests are the only ones being recognised in the carbon business and not natural forests. However, both planted and natural forests absorb carbon (ibid 2016). Moreover, 4RESP (14 November 2016) who has in-depth knowledge on animal feeding ecology explains that, usually normal grasses absorb more quantity of carbon than tress, but unfortunately grasses are not included in the carbon business agreement. This indicates that the carbon business is only restricted to trees and by so doing reduces the cost that buyers (funders/carbon producers/industrialised countries) incur for buying carbon from ecologically wealthy developing countries such as Tanzania (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, carbon buyers (industrialised countries) are supposed to allow grasses to enter into the carbon market. Because of that,

wildlife sector is also supposed to be part of the carbon business due to fact that grasses are daily being consumed by zebras, antelopes, wildebeests and other herbivores, thus resulting in carbon being grazed. Thus, through grazing, carbon is also being reduced (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, in order to ensure donors' financial and technical support improves forest and wildlife management, all related policies should connect to one another and provide policy provisions which gives the country a competitive advantage in negotiating better deals in areas such as carbon business. 7RESP (21 November 2016) further explains that, Government should ensure that forest and wildlife resources are used to offer ecological solution to climate change and subsequently guarantee climate stability.

> *"Until we decide to connect or in a much better term harmonise, our policies, then we should expect to lose donors' support. Government should be able to negotiate and acquire better deals on critical issues such as climate change from our international counterparts" (5RESP 17 November 2016).*

According to 7RESP (21 November 2016), when revising Foreign Policy 2001, Government should consider and reassess its various positions on issues of critical importance such as climate change. The Government must also remember the country's rights and obligations as agreed in international fora such as COPs (ibid 2016). It is important that Government re-examines its financial and technical support, and assess its contribution in managing both forest and wildlife resources

(5RESP 17 November 2016). The significance of re-examining the support relies on the fact that only few of the donors' support directly contribute towards improving the relevant sectors, as shown in programs such as Participatory Forest Management i.e. PFM (3RESP 10 November 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, some important data may be required in order to re-examine donors' support, particularly in areas such as climate change. According to 7RESP (21 November 2016), required data are available within the Multilateral Cooperation Division (MCD) of MFAEARIC. The MCD has a responsibility of managing international meetings, conferences and discussions related to climate change management (5RESP 17 November 2016). Thus, MCD in conjunction with the Office of the Vice President and MNRT can provide critical inputs to the task of re-examining donors' financial and technical support and use the findings as inputs to the on-going Foreign Policy 2001 review process (7RESP 21 November 2016).

Moreover, 7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, MFAEARIC through MCD has been involved in various meetings on climate change as MCD delegation participated in preparation of COP 19, COP 20 and COP 21 which are international protocols governing climate change management globally. Usually each COP has its own agreement to be ratified by participants and some of the famous COPs are Kyoto and Paris (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) continues to explain that, the term COP means Conference of the Parties. Therefore COP 19 refers to the 19th yearly session of Conference of the Parties (COP) to be convened after Rio earth summit was initially held in Brazil in 1992. The first COP which took place in Berlin in 1995 was termed COP1 and was tasked with assessing the implementation of resolutions of Rio earth summit held in 1992; while the famous Kyoto was COP3. COP 21 was the Paris climate conference which was held in 2015 (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), the main objective of the Conference of Parties (COP) is to assess the implementation of UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as well as the various resolutions made on climate change. UNFCCC implementation started in 1994 and currently an estimated 195 parties or countries are involved (ibid 2016). COPs are normally technical meetings attended by experts chosen by respective countries specialised in area of climate change (7RESP 21 November 2016). The establishment of this framework of UNFCCC followed the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit of 1992 in Brazil (5RESP 17 November 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, important decisions to either increase or decrease international support for climate change management for the parties involved are usually made at these COP's. Tanzania has been constantly attending these COPs (ibid 2016).

5.1.1.2 Conclusion

The specific research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has been primarily answered by a narrative that, donors' financial and technical support has not been able to improve the forest and wildlife management as there is a continuance of poor policy outcomes. Failure to improve forest and wildlife management is escalating the problem of climate change and is adversely affecting the weather condition. Improved forests and wildlife resources can definitely offer an ecological solution to the problem of increasing carbon.

According to the narrative of 7RESP (21 November 2016), such failure of donors' support to improve forest and wildlife management is caused by the fact that climate change has not been articulated as a significant policy item in Tanzania's foreign policy. Comparatively, in other related domestic policies of forest and wildlife management as well as environmental policy, climate change management has been articulated. As a result of this, Tanzania should ensure that donors' support contribute to improve forest and wildlife management and assist in reducing the impact of climate change both nationally and globally (ibid 2016).

In order to ensure that donors' support contributes to improved forest and wildlife conservation, foreign policy should articulate climate change as a policy issue in a diplomatic language which can be easily understood within the diplomatic context

(7RESP 21 November 2016). This would guarantee the brokering of better deals (ibid 2016).

> *"If only critical issues such as climate change could be well stipulated within our foreign policy, the outcome would have been very positive for us as a country" (7RESP 21 November 2016).*

Therefore, it is critical to harmonise all related domestic policies from the lower level of domestic policies of forest and wildlife management to the higher level of country's foreign policy (5RESP 17 November 2016). In addition, it is equally important to conduct research studies before taking any decision of either developing or revising a particular policy document, in order to understand the challenges that exist and need to be addressed (ibid 2016).

5.2 Research Quality and Policy Effectiveness in Forest and Wildlife Management

5.2.1 Introduction

The second research question is being asked in order to examine the relationship between quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs and effectiveness of policy provisions designed to improve forest and wildlife management. The inquiry has revealed that stakeholders' recommendations supersede recommendations of researchers. According to narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), stakeholders' recommendations has been highly considered as necessary and reliable input rather than recommendations from researchers during either policy development or policy review.

> *"Normally, the stakeholders are the ones facing day to day challenges during policy implementation, as such their opinions must be highly considered" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that, when Government wishes to prepare a particular policy, stakeholders' workshops are convened. In fact, there is a Cabinet Guide for Document Preparation 2014 (RE) issued by the Government which instructs that, a list of stakeholders' comments be among the key requirements needed before a particular policy is approved by the full cabinet.

"Without submitting a list of stakeholders' recommendations or comments, certainly the policy draft will be rejected by the cabinet" (2RESP 27 November 2016).

Therefore, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, policy management process in Tanzania considers stakeholders' comments to be at the very core (as shown in figure 5.1.2). It is believed that, stakeholders are knowledgeable and understand the critical issues which should be given attention by bureaucrats, such as, continued increase of deforestation, forest degradation, animal disappearance (extinction), animal poaching, human-wildlife conflicts etc. (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, policy research in Tanzania has some challenges, and among the major challenge is the quality of research results and recommendations issued. The quality of existing research results and recommendations need to be improved, given that much of the research studies conducted are short-term in nature, taking six to twelve months to complete and eventually producing short-term solutions to long-term problems (ibid 2016).

In this case, according to 6RESP (25 November 2016), there are no supply-driven research studies which would feed or contribute into policy making process. Instead, the types of research studies undertaken at the moment are demand-driven research studies (ibid 2016). Usually, these demand-driven research studies are not as

impactful because they offer short-term solutions to ingrained problems (5RESP 17 November 2016).

Hence, supply-driven research studies are critical for effective policy provisions (5RESP 17 November 2016). 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, supply-driven research studies usually have terms of references prepared by the researcher and not the client. This type of research tends to produce better research results and recommendations as the project duration is longer and provides a broader scope of the assignment to researcher as compared to demand-driven research studies which is the opposite, i.e. everything is determined by the client from project duration, scope etc. and tend to offer short term solutions (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, poor quality of research results and recommendations is an outcome of the fact that the Government has not invested enough in research studies and this situation is glaring in the budget books of research institutions and public universities. Most of the research funds come from donors' community as such, research results and recommendations produced cannot feed into domestic needs, rather they feed into the needs of donors' community (ibid 2016).

According to narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), the minimal investment in research has been caused by Government's inclination towards stakeholders' recommendations as a direct and major source of policy inputs in policy making process over recommendations of researchers. There are several reasons for

Government's decision to prefer stakeholders' recommendations over those proffered by researchers. One of the reasons is time constraint, because research usually takes a long time to complete compared to soliciting recommendations from stakeholders' recommendations through seminars or workshops, and another reason is lack of funds to finance research activity compared to organising a stakeholders' seminar or workshop (ibid 2016).

However, 6RESP (25 November 2016) argues that, bureaucrats should not use stakeholders' recommendations as reliable policy inputs, because they have not been tested with relevant assumptions and principles of a particular academic theory to establish their validity. In other words, there is no validation of empirical information received from stakeholders (ibid 2016).

The following is visual representation of empirical data:



Figure 5.1.2: Word Frequency for Research Quality and Policy Effectiveness

The above diagram shows the central role of stakeholders in policy making in Tanzania. Their role supersedes the role of researchers due to the minimal

investment put into research studies particularly long-term research studies (i.e. supply-driven research). The quality of research has also reduced significantly and this poses great concern to effectiveness of policy provisions. Moreover, even contribution of demand-driven research studies is minimal, as Government could actually invest more in research studies to ensure that research findings and recommendations feed into the policy making process and subsequently produce effective policy provisions.

Detailed narration of the findings:

5.2.2 Researchers and Policy Making

6RESP (25 November 2016) narrates that, the biggest challenge is when results and recommendations of a particular research differ from the expected results and recommendations of clients. According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), this typically occurs when bureaucrats have pre-conceived ideas or notions about a particular subject matter under investigation. Eventually, bureaucrats decide to react by disregarding the results and recommendations and resort to their own views on how to deal with a particular policy problem (6RESP 25 November 2016). They end up doing this in spite of costs that had been incurred while soliciting the information through consultancy contracts given to researchers to conduct those studies (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) further explains that, such situation tends to demotivate researchers as they are not certain whether the recommendations of their study would be accepted or rejected after submission of the final report. Sometimes, when research recommendations differ from the expectations of the bureaucrats i.e. clients, the particular research recommendations will be received and kept in drawers, or sometimes bureaucrats and political actors may choose to openly resist the issued recommendations (5RESP 17 November 2016).

For example, there have been continued protests from villagers led by local political actors over the decision to expand Ruaha National Park. The decision is based on expert recommendation on the importance of removing people who encroached into the reserve and established settlements and others who reside within wildlife corridors (i.e. natural routes where wildlife animals usually pass) as a way of expanding Ruaha National Park (4RESP 14 November 2016). The local political actors have been at the forefront to prevent the expansion of Ruaha National Park into village areas such as Igomelo, Luhango, Nyeregete and Ikoga Mpya (ibid 2016).

> *"On various occasions, we have been constantly following up on our recommendations, and it seems chances of them being accepted and actually implemented are very slim" (6RESP 25 November 2016)*

Moreover, a particular incident took place back in 2012, when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, East Africa, Regional and International Co-operation (MFAEARIC) decided to sideline research recommendations on how to implement economic diplomacy (6RESP 25 November 2016). Until date, there has been no official response or feedback from the MFAEARIC to researchers who carried out that particular assignment (ibid 2016).

Hence, such a situation implies that political actors and bureaucrats are not ready to accept new input or ideas other than those of their own, or those that come from national leaders (6RESP 25 November 2016). It is evident that the bureaucrats' way of handling recommendations which differ from their own is among the major bottlenecks of policy making in Tanzania, and this eventually undermines the value of policy research (5RESP 17 November 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, nowadays alternative modern techniques have been introduced in an attempt to alleviate the level of resistance to new ideas or inputs during policy making. In alleviating the level of resistance, bureaucrats are usually being involved in each stage of the research process through frequent meetings in order to discuss the direction of the research. Meanwhile, preliminary results would be issued to explain what bureaucrats should expect at the final stage of submission of the report (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) further explains that, the decision to outsource research recommendations as policy inputs from researchers, instead of using internal resources such as personnel from the Policy and Planning Division (PPD) is among the reasons for such resistance to researchers' recommendations. The PPD is a specialised policy management division established in each Government ministry which has the responsibility of managing policy affairs including conducting research studies in each sectorial ministry of Tanzanian Government (ibid 2016).

However, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, these PPDs have not been tasked with carrying out such vital responsibilities, instead they have been saddled with administrative duties of budgeting and allocation of funds to other divisions within particular ministries. Moreover, PPDs are supposed to coordinate other ministerial divisions on policy matters and spearhead the process of managing the entire policy process within a particular ministry (ibid 2016). Instead, some divisions working within the same ministerial setting, chose to operate in silo (i.e. secrecy) when preparing and even at the time of revising their respective policies and keep PPD unaware of what is taking place (5RESP 17 November 2016).

> *"The whole policy making process in the Government is done in secrecy. You will only be informed through the media during launching ceremony" (5RESP 17 November 2016).*

According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), functionally PPDs report to the planning commission which is the highest public authority responsible for all

matters pertaining to policy management in Tanzania. It is the planning commission which issues guidelines on how to develop and revise public policies (ibid 2016).

However, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, PPDs have been encountering challenges such as lack of expertise and staff, eventually it has not been able to assure quality of research recommendations received by Government ministries from other parties outside the Government system. Currently, when a consultant is engaged, user division or department takes the lead role, instead of being supervised by PPD as specialised representatives of the Government (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that, another setback in policy management process is the fact that, for a long period of time the Government has been employing researchers to conduct demand-driven (short-term) research studies which produced no impactful contribution into the policy formulation process (ibid 2016). In this regard, one would expect the Government to invest more in research studies in order to improve their quality (6RESP 25 November 2016). Instead, it is largely donors' community that has been providing funds for long and impactful research studies i.e. supply-driven research studies (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016), it is unfortunate that the Government has not fully realised what research studies could offer towards improving the policy making process. For any research study to contribute effectively

to policy making, three factors need to prevail; firstly, funds must be available to conduct impactful research projects, secondly, the capacity to carry out such impactful research projects in terms of human resource availability and their level of skills and thirdly, the conducive research environment (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) cited Willinsky (2006 p.4) that research studies are public goods, as the access to information (i.e. scientific knowledge) is among the basic human rights. Thus, if research output (i.e. results and recommendations) is for public consumption, it means that whoever provides it, should be financed in order to further improve the quality of research studies being offered to the public (ibid 2016).

Unfortunately, research institutes in Tanzania do not receive enough budget allocation from the Government (6RESP 25 November 2016). Eventually, most research institutes have developed their own business models in order to be able to operate (ibid 2016).

> *"Research and higher learning institutions do not receive adequate funds from the Government to conduct research, which perhaps could improve the research output and eventually add to the knowledge and skills of tutors, students and bureaucrats" (6RESP 25 November 2016).*

According to the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016), renowned research institutes such as ESRF, IFAKARA HEALTH INSTITUTE (IHI), REPOA etc. have developed their own business model of operations in order to finance their research projects due to inadequate funding from the Government. Other research institutes have been compelled to work with the Government on commissioned projects (demand-driven research projects) just to generate some revenue even if the assignment is expected to contribute little to policy making (ibid 2016).

Therefore, many research institutes mostly depend on demand-driven research assignments from Government bodies in order to cover their running costs (6RESP 25 November 2016). However, these demand- driven research projects provide short-term solutions as they tend to address existing policy problems (5RESP 17 November 2017). Due to lack of sufficient funds to finance research operations, research institutes have been constantly producing low quality results and recommendations and subsequently many public policies are being subjected to policy review processes within a short period of time (ibid 2016).

From the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), long-term research studies would definitely offer long-term solutions to various policy issues in Tanzania. Unfortunately, as described earlier on, the Government has not recognised the significant role of research studies in policy making, as a result decided to depend heavily on direct recommendations from stakeholders (ibid 2016).

According to 5RESP (17 November 2016), the decision to introduce Cabinet Guide to Document Preparation (RE) 2014 clearly indicates Government's inclination towards stakeholders' recommendations as opposed to researchers' recommendations into policy making. CGDP (RE) 2014 demands stakeholders' recommendations be submitted as a condition for approval of the draft policy (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, by way of introducing the CGDP (RE) 2014, the role of researchers in policy making is undermined. Moreover, the document provides instructions on periodic policy review to be carried out every ten years (5RESP 17 November 2016). This clearly shows significance of long-term research studies, as stakeholders' recommendations seem to provide short-term solutions to serious policy problems that the country is facing (6RESP 25 November 2016). The long-term research studies could even increase policy review period from ten years to twenty or thirty years, as the long-term research would have explored many issues and envisage others (ibid 2016).

Secondly, apart from funding limitation, 6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, there is a problem of human resource availability and desired level of skills, as many competent researchers have abandoned their research careers due to underfunding of research institutes. Thus, in order to be able to retain competent personnel and even be able to pay salaries to other staffers, many research institutes are compelled to embark into demand-driven assignments so as to cover some basic running expenses (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, many competent researchers prefer to work with donors, as they are assured of timely availability of funds for themselves and their research projects. However, donor funded research projects usually have minimal contribution to Government's policy making process because these donors funded projects have different research objectives compared to those of the Government (5RESP 17 November 2016).

Hence, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, in order for the Government to receive quality input from research studies, it should assist researchers to conduct supply-driven research projects. These are basically research projects embarked upon by researchers themselves after developing a particular interest in a specific problem. These projects usually span a long period of time from commencement to completion and require more funds (ibid 2016).

Therefore, in order to have a sustainable research system and be able to retain competent researchers, Government should provide more funds to research institutes (6RESP 25 November 2016). The Government should also ensure that it is mandatory by law to allocate a certain percentage of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to research, and such funds should be timely released as planned (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) further explains that, effective and sustainable research system would eventually produce effective quality results and recommendations as output. The output thereafter becomes necessary input to policy making process. For example, a particular research institute or even an individual researcher may decide to examine a particular problem by beginning with a phase one mapping and scoping of the phenomenon. After discovering a number of causative factors, the researcher proceeds to the next phase of ranking those causative factors and selecting the ones at the top before going on to conduct a deeper level of analysis and even going back to others, after realising there were issues that needed to be re-examined (ibid 2016).

According to 6RESP (25 November 2016), the steps described above are for typical strategic kind of research or long-term research i.e. supply-driven research, as it assures bureaucrats of better quality results and recommendations. Such longer and deeper processes usually consume more time and funds. On the contrary, one of the reasons for Government constantly preferring commissioned works (short-term research assignments) is due to limited time and funds which in turn impair quality of research results and recommendations (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, a major advantage of conducting long-term research study is that, it enables researcher(s) to be up-to-date on so many critical issues in their area of specialisation. This also applies to research institutions, because, once a research institution ceases to engage

in impactful research projects for a long period of time, it loses touch with reality and subsequently the quality of results and recommendations offered by such institutions diminishes (ibid 2016). Furthermore, the institution would no longer be able to contribute to the policy making process and eventually its policy provisions won't be as effective as expected (5RESP 17 November 2016).

As for the research environment in Tanzania, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the Government should ensure, that it provides various incentives which can attract more individuals to pursue research. In order words, Government being a major beneficiary of the output from research studies should show some commitment towards acquiring a much better quality product (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that it is quite unfortunate that some of the short-term research solutions currently offered to the Government, have been derived through the use of routine data. Routine data also known as administrative data are usually derived from regular reports such as those from various audit authorities (the likes of the National audit office), parliamentary committees, special selected committees or taskforces etc. (ibid 2016). There has been an increasing trend for using such data in many research studies (5RESP 17 November 2016). However, the use of routine data seriously undermines the quality of research results and recommendations (6RESP 25 November 2016).

It is clear from the foregoing that routine data are not empirical as most of them come from secondary sources (6RESP 25 November 2016). Thus, when researchers use routine data to make recommendations, they tend to be inaccurate and even when there is a certain percentage of validity, the recommendations don't last long and subsequently become obsolete (ibid 2016).

As such, bureaucrats must learn to depend on empirical data which has been proven to have a much longer shelf-life and reliability than routine data (6RESP 25 November 2016). Hence, in order for bureaucrats to develop effective policy provisions, they must stop using research results and recommendations which emanate from routine data and start making emphasis on the use of data which come from multiple empirical data sources (ibid 2016).

5.2.3 Stakeholders and Policy Making

Normally, bureaucrats have shown preference for directly using recommendations from stakeholders as input into policy making process (5RESP 17 November 2016). In addition, stakeholders' recommendations have been directly used as policy inputs without subjecting them to validity test (ibid 2016).

However, a systematic validation process could help to double check the quality of issued recommendations (6RESP 25 November 2016). This confirmation test helps

to establish accuracy of a particular recommendation issued by a single or group of stakeholders before using it as a policy input (ibid 2016).

According to 5RESP (17 November 2016), the practice in Tanzania of using stakeholders' recommendations as a direct policy input has contributed to weak policy provisions. The practice has produced weak policy provisions due to lack of validity test of stakeholders' recommendations against any related assumption or principle of a particular academic theory (ibid 2016).

From the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), it is unfortunate that the Government has gone ahead to make stakeholders' recommendations a prerequisite for the approval of draft policy document by the cabinet. This provision therefore means that stakeholders' input alone is sufficient to justify and develop a public policy in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that, the decision to undermine the role of research studies and elevate stakeholders' recommendations consciously or unconsciously in policy making has largely contributed in policy failures or disjunctions. This is particularly prevalent in forest and wildlife management as there has been an increase in deforestation, forest degradation, animal disappearance, animal poaching, human-wildlife conflict etc. (ibid 2016). The involvement of stakeholders' in providing recommendations as stated earlier, is

usually at both pre-formulation stage and post-formulation stage of policy making process (2RESP 27 November 2016). This situation has persisted because bureaucrats have a misconception that stakeholders' recommendations mostly reveal important policy issues needed for developing or reviewing a particular policy (5RESP 17 November 2016).

Moreover, (6RESP 25 November 2016) explains that, the decision to undermine the role of research studies and elevate stakeholders' recommendations is based on the use of CGDP 2014 (RE) i.e. Cabinet Guide to Document Preparation. The CGDP is being used as an excuse by bureaucrats to ignore the role or contributions of research to policy making, on the grounds that, a list of research recommendations in policy formulation has not been defined in the CGDP (ibid 2016). The CGDP 2014 (RE) provides guidelines for the approval of a public policy by the responsible authority, in this case, the cabinet of ministers (5RESP 17 November 2016). An example that illustrates this point was when the bureaucrats involved in the development and revision of foreign policy, forest policy and wildlife policy were asked about the role of research, they responded with a short statement that a list of research recommendations was not in the list of CGDP, which means it is not a prerequisite (ibid 2016).

> *"The experts, in this case researchers, are like eagles, they may look at stakeholders' recommendations with an eagle eye and correct their*

recommendations, rather than just take them at face value" (5RESP 17 November 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, it is true that stakeholders are the ones affected by policy outcomes. However, the issued recommendations which come from stakeholders must be thoroughly scrutinised (ibid 2016).

Thus, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, in spite of the favoured environment which stakeholders seem to enjoy, they are sometimes marginalised in policy making process. This marginalisation occurs when stakeholders are kept in the dark about certain policies and only get to hear about these policies in the media during the launch of the policy by national leaders. Whereas, claims are made that the entire process of policy formulation involved stakeholders but in reality, only the input of bureaucrats' which serve their own personal interest would have been taken into consideration (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) further explains that, very often, stakeholders particularly common citizens tend to prefer engaging in their own social and economic activities rather than attending stakeholders' meetings. Yet, these stakeholders' meetings are considered to be reliable and major sources for recommendations which are later fed into policy making process (ibid 2016). The absence of stakeholders at these meetings hands bureaucrats a rare opportunity to

insert their own personal ideas/interests and present them as having come from stakeholders (6RESP 25 November 2016). An example of such a misrepresentation occurred during policy revision for Forest Policy 1998 (ibid 2016).

Thus, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, the Government should strive to at least improve participation of stakeholders in these meetings in spite of their lack of interest to attend due to preference of satisfying their daily needs. To do this, the Government should make sure that social and economic living conditions of commoners are improved (ibid 2016). This will go a long way towards empowering them to move up in the hierarchy of human needs in accordance with Abraham Maslow Theory (6RESP 25 November 2016). Additionally, the use of modern technology such as mobile phones could also increase their participation, as a list of close-ended questions could be sent to them with "yes" or "no" and/or "agree" and "disagree" options provided (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) cited Saul McLeod (2007) that Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a motivational theory in psychology comprising a five-tier model of human needs, often depicted as hierarchical levels within a pyramid. Maslow (1943;1954) states that:

> "people are motivated to achieve certain needs and that some needs take precedence over others. Our most basic need is for physical survival, and this

will be the first thing that motivates our behaviour. Once that level is fulfilled the next level up is what motivates us, and so on."

3RESP (10 November 2016) and 4RESP (14 November 2016) explain that, when forest and wildlife policies were initially developed in 1998, stakeholders' seminars and workshops were organised but there was minimal involvement and turnout. As a result of the low participation and turnout, the input and ideas of bureaucrats was sought and used to develop the respective policies (8RESP 01 December 2016). 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, a similar approach of convening stakeholders' seminars and workshops was used in 2007 when wildlife policy was revised.

Normally, when Government receives recommendations from stakeholders, it is indexed in a matrix on a Microsoft Word file and subsequently included into a policy draft document (5RESP 17 November 2016). Later, the new policy draft document is taken back to stakeholders in order to verify its contents against the issued recommendations (ibid 2016).

According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), in an on-going policy review of Forest Policy 1998, stakeholders were chosen on the basis of their geographical representation such as northern zone, southern zone, western and eastern zones, central zone, lake zone and southern highland zone. Thus, each zone has a representation at the time of discussing challenges encountered in forest

management and then agrees on what should be incorporated into the revised policy as policy issues (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, in accordance with the existing Government policy management procedures, after the revised draft of Forest Policy 1998 has been verified by stakeholders, it is then presented to the management of MNRT for internal consultation. Later, the revised draft of Forest Policy 1998 is taken up to Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee (IMTC) for further contributions or consultations, before the revised Forest Policy 1998 is submitted to cabinet secretariat for preliminary evaluation and finally presented to the cabinet for approval and becomes a formal Government policy (ibid 2016).

5.2.4 Research in Forest Management

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), the Tanzania Forestry Research Institute (TAFORI) is a public organisation established by Act No. 5 of 1980. It operates under MNRT with the responsibility to conduct, coordinate, regulate and disseminate forestry research and related scientific information and technology in Tanzania. However, TAFORI has been bedevilled with problems of inadequate funding which hinder the organisation's ability to accomplish its objectives (ibid 2016).

The problem of limited funding which TAFORI faces is also shared by the Forest Division (FD) in MNRT (3RESP 10 November 2016). The FD has been using other researchers to conduct short-term research through consultancy assignments,

especially at the time of soliciting comments or recommendations from researchers (ibid 2016).

In many cases, these researchers conduct desk research and hold some meetings and workshops with stakeholders to gather their opinions on various issues which might be of importance to forest management at the time (3RESP 10 November 2016). The meetings and workshops held with stakeholders are considered to bring together key actors involved in forest management to obtain their views (6RESP 25 November 2016). However, stakeholders seem unmotivated to attend these meetings as they are not informed about the significance of such meetings (ibid 2016). They do not see the direct effect of these meetings and workshops on their livelihood, as such, they would rather choose to engage in personal, social or economic activities (1RESP 03 October 2017).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, considering the short time allocated to complete a research study, some researchers tend to simply record that stakeholder meetings were held without describing the number of participants and quality of feedback received. For example, 3RESP (10 November 2016) recounts that, during one of the stakeholders' meetings held when revising the Forest Policy 1998, stakeholders issued their recommendations on critical issues of climate change, private sector participation as well as the contribution of forest management towards accomplishing the national goals of Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (TDV 2025). However, the quality of feedback received is questionable, considering the brevity of

the meeting and the small number of stakeholders who attended it, compared to the criticality of the subjects discussed.

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, in addition to the feedback or recommendations from stakeholders, FD usually looks at what is described as the Forest Management Sector Outlook, which attempts to analyse and anticipate how forest management sector would look like in the next ten to twenty years in Tanzania. The FD has a tendency of hiring researchers to conduct research studies on specific assignments. For example, the MNRT contracted the University of Dar es salaam (UDSM) to carry out a study to understand, to what extent forest policy addressed the critical environmental issues in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

Similarly, the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) and other prominent researchers were contracted to investigate various issues of critical importance in forest management (3RESP 10 November 2016). Currently, when conducting policy review, these reports from short term research studies are being used as input for revising the Forest Policy 1998 (ibid 2016).

According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), those research reports are being synthesised and examined in totality in order to identify policy issues and subsequently formulate their respective policy statements. In that way, FD considers the applied approach of engaging consultants to research for a period of six to twelve months, to be enough for revising Forest Policy 1998 (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, in revising Forest Policy 1998, FD works together with Policy and Planning Division (PPD). According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), the chairperson of the taskforce assigned to implement this particular task is the Director of Policy and Planning Division (DPP). The responsibility of conducting research on matters related to the functions of any Government ministry in Tanzania lies with PPD (6RESP 25 November 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, PPD are people who were supposed to be the think tanks of each ministry. However, the role of PPD has been diminished, and in turn they have been focusing more on planning and budgeting instead of managing policy processes (ibid 2016). The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, PPD requires proper staff composition, knowledge and skills in order to successfully manage policy processes within Government ministries in Tanzania.

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, staff composition is among the major challenges that hinder PPD from assuming its leading role as a think tanks for the ministries and Government as a whole. The composition of PPD staff is supposed to have representation of experts such as foresters, wildlife animal experts and bee keeping specialists from key ministerial divisions. Instead, PPD has an overwhelming number of economists, and a similar situation of staff composition can be found in almost all Government ministries in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

5.2.5 Research in Wildlife Management

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) is a public organisation originally named Serengeti Wildlife Research Institute (SWRI) by Act of Parliament No. 4 of 1980. It operates under the MNRT with the responsibility of conducting and coordinating wildlife research in Tanzania. TAWIRI is headquartered at Njiro Hill in Arusha. The name change from SWRI to TAWIRI, took place in 1999 (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, local research institutes like TAWIRI are beset with financial challenges due to limited funds from the Government. They usually have to depend on funds from donors' community to finance their operations and in many cases the funds usually come with specific research aims. For example, donors may release special funds for conducting research on understanding the behaviour of chimpanzees. However, such a study might not be the priority of the Government at that particular time (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), the involvement of TAWIRI as a Government research institute in wildlife management as well as the history of wildlife research as a whole in Tanzania started as far back as the 1950s. Long-term research flourished between 1960 and 1970 when many research studies were conducted by foreign researchers such as Jane Goodall and others (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) corroborates the claim above by stating that, for a long period of time research in wildlife management has been dominated by foreign researchers and even after the establishment of SWRI in 1980 and TAWIRI in 1999, foreigners continue to dominate wildlife research in Tanzania. Moreover, many studies conducted by TAWIRI continue to depend on funds from donors' community (ibid 2016).

However, since the year 2000 the number of local researchers has been on the rise compared to the 1990s when local researchers were few and mostly tutors from local universities (6RESP 25 November 2016). There has also been a considerable increase in the number of researchers pursuing doctoral studies compared to the past (ibid 2016). Yet, despite this increase, the amount of financial investment by the Government into research studies has remained minimal (4RESP 14 November 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, in the past ten years, there has been no impactful wildlife management research project funded by the Government. Instead, TAWIRI has been receiving funds to conduct short-term research studies targeted at solving short-term problems that exists in wildlife management (ibid 2016).

In most cases, the funds allocated to TAWIRI are meant to investigate a specific wildlife phenomenon. Once the investigation is complete, the findings and recommendations are sent to a higher authority, in most cases the minister responsible for managing wildlife resources. This is thereafter archived for future

reference as the Government's response to questions that might arise from lawmakers in parliament (4RESP 14 November 2016). In this case, TAWIRI has no independent research plan, and even if it did, the implementation of such a research plan would be affected by the fact that, TAWIRI does not have its own funds to support its research operations (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that, the failure of TAWIRI to conduct long-term research studies has resulted into a situation whereby the Government is unable to fully understand what is happening in wildlife reserves and wildlife management as a whole in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the importance of conducting long-term research in wildlife management, is to be able to answer fundamental questions like how change in socio-economic development, or change in human population growth has affected wildlife management. These kinds of questions cannot be answered by short-term research studies (6RESP 25 November 2016). Long-term research approach would enable MNRT to know the policy issues that affect conservation efforts and observe the trend of policy issues at local as well as global scale before developing a proper management plan (4RESP 14 November 2016).

For example, MNRT usually conducts annual surveys on wildlife management in Tanzania, but in recent times annual surveys have not been conducted due to non-availability of funds (4RESP 14 November 2016). The importance of such surveys is

to show the trend or direction of the entire conservation efforts, in terms of its achievements and challenges (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, these surveys are similar to an audit exercise carried out on the entire system of wildlife management to show areas that require attention and improvement. Failure to conduct such an exercise has resulted in a situation whereby many experts in wildlife management have been making unsubstantiated claims about critical issues such as climate change and to what extent climate change affects wildlife management, while failing to provide reliable and verifiable data in support of their arguments (ibid 2016).

Hence, because of lack of funds to conduct long-term research projects, local researchers in wildlife management have devised a new technique for soliciting funds from donors to help the Government to conduct some of her long-term research projects (4RESP 14 November 2016). They would apply for competitive research grants by preparing long-term research proposals to be executed as per the research theme advertised by the donors. In many cases, they usually succeed in securing the research grant and used it to conduct long-term research projects (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), once the research grant is secured, the researchers start the research project immediately. Thereafter they add some new research objectives to the project which could benefit the Government. Upon project completion, the results and recommendations provide dual contribution to both funders (donors) and the Government (ibid 2016).

For example, there was a long-term research study to understand what chimpanzees eat (4RESP 14 November 2016). The research required researchers to work on the project for a long period of time and move with chimpanzees as they migrated from one place to another in search of food and water resources (ibid 2016).

During migration, researchers moved with chimpanzees, camped with them and observed their eating patterns (4RESP 14 November 2016). The research project required a tremendous amount of resources and the findings and recommendations were finally used to formulate the human-wildlife conflict management plan (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that, there are many benefits of conducting such long-term research studies. For example, many other experts have been talking about the effects of climate change on wildlife conservation, but it is critical to understand what climate change means in the context of wildlife management (ibid 2016). Thus, in order to have a meaningful debate on the subject of climate change, there should be reliable and accurate narrative on issues such as high mortality rate of wildlife animals versus climate change (7RESP 21 November 2016). These two variables could only be thoroughly explained when there is long-term data which comes from a long-term research study (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) further argues that, in the absence of long-term data, to claim that the current high mortality rate of wildlife animals is caused by climate

change is inaccurate. In essence, it is difficult to reach any conclusion without a thorough study on the subject matter of climate change (ibid 2016). 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, it is necessary to understand the behaviour of wildlife animals for at least the past ten years. Without such long-term data, it is extremely difficult to provide a response to difficult questions about climate change and even others (7RESP 21 November 2016).

Hence, in order to understand the underlying factors causing high mortality rate of our wildlife animals, long-term research is needed (7RESP 21 November 2016). Meanwhile, the narrative of 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, the high mortality rate of wildlife animals might be caused by change in the quality of food and/or water resources consumed by animals. It might also be that climate change has affected the trees and grasses eaten by wildlife animals, thus making them poisonous or unfit for consumption (ibid 2016).

In any case, the answer to the problem of high mortality rate of wildlife animals can only be obtained after understanding the underlying factors behind wildlife animal mortality (7RESP 21 November 2016). Moreover, such long-term research studies can assist in understanding other issues of importance to the relevant experts in wildlife management such as the causes of change in animal physiological growth and behaviour (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), TAWIRI was reportedly supposed to conduct a good number of research studies. However, these studies are

short-term research projects some of which were requested by the minister responsible at MNRT (ibid 2016).

These short-term research studies have been providing short-term solutions for problems which need to be addressed by long-term studies (6RESP 25 November 2016). 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that many of the previous and even current research results and recommendations offered by TAWIRI in wildlife management are short-term in nature, and this particular state of affair is not desirable as the problems in wildlife management continue to increase such as human-wildlife conflict (HWC), animal extinction, animal poaching etc.

4RESP (14 November 2016) further explains that, TAWIRI is supposed to conduct research projects that would produce results and recommendations that could last for at least twenty to thirty years. Such viable results can then be used to develop a research database for TAWIRI to facilitate future studies and set the tone for another twenty to thirty years of research. That is exactly the kind of continuity in research that is needed in TAWIRI in order to enhance wildlife management (ibid 2016).

Moreover, the problem of animals entering into human settlements, also known as human-wildlife conflict (HWC), can be resolved after conducting long-term research study (4RESP 14 November 2016). Research study on human-wildlife conflicts involves issues such as human behaviour, animal behaviour, availability of food and water resources etc. (ibid 2016).

For example, population growth of every animal community depends entirely on the availability of food and water because wildlife animals can only reproduce in great numbers if there is enough food and water (4RESP 14 November 2016). Any community of animals which lacks food and water resources cannot reproduce, and eventually becomes extinct (ibid 2016).

In that case, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, access to food and water is the reason why animals tend to move from one place to another. Even when animals are seen to remain in one location rather than move around (i.e. territorial defence), they do so to safeguard their source of food, water or mating partners (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, between the 1990s and 2000s, the Government realised some of the prevalent challenges in wildlife management. In order to address these challenges, they increased the number of local researchers involved in wildlife management. It is estimated that only four local researchers were engaged in wildlife management before the Government's intervention. Consequently, the Government has entered into collaborative research projects with donors' community through their international research institutions in order to alleviate the shortage of local researchers (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that the overall objective of the Government is to increase the research capacity in the research industry and wildlife management in particular. To achieved this objective, the Government has also

mandated all foreign research organisations conducting research in Tanzania, to train local researchers specialised in wildlife research to doctoral level (ibid 2016).

The decision would help to significantly increase the number of local researchers working in wildlife management (4RESP 14 November 2016). Moreover, the Government of Tanzania has decided to introduce research cadre in public sector scheme of service, as another step geared towards improving the research profession (ibid 2016).

The introduction of research cadre and its own salary scale described as Public Research Scale (PRS) is a major step towards improving the research profession (6RESP 25 November 2016). In the past, PhD holders used to move to universities in order to get better salaries as tutors (ibid 2016).

This explains why many researchers at the time were tutors (6RESP 25 November 2016). However, there were some researchers who were unable to handle both teaching responsibilities and research tasks, due to limitation of time, funds and other factors (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016), the introduction of specific salary scale for researchers in public service, has stopped the exodus of researchers from research industry to academia. Currently, many researchers prefer to stay in the research industry (ibid 2016).

In addition, this situation of having many PhD graduates in the industry has increased competition in the academia (4RESP 14 November 2016). In the past, when universities wanted to fill up a particular vacant post, they would simply promote a researcher from within (ibid 2016). Nowadays however, vacant positions are usually advertised, thus increasing the chances of employing an individual with the requisite qualification and vast experience (6RESP 25 November 2016). Moreover, the presence of many qualified researchers from the research industry has also affected the succession plans in universities (ibid 2016). The practice of promoting individuals from tutorial assistant positions to the top, has given way to merit and experience based promotions (4RESP 14 November 2016).

Currently, even in wildlife management, vacancies for the position of researcher are properly advertised to increase the chances of employing a competent individual (4RESP 14 November 2016). Hence, the introduction of PRS in public sector has significantly contributed to increase in the number of researchers as well as research projects in wildlife management (ibid 2016).

5.2.6 Conclusion

The specific research question: how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management? has been predominantly answered by the narrative that, in Tanzania, stakeholders' recommendations supersedes recommendations of researchers and as a result, the Government does not see the need to invest in research studies in order to improve

its quality. 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains the need to have research studies which can feed into policy making process more effectively as compared to stakeholders' recommendations.

> *"In other countries such as the United Kingdom, they allocate a certain share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to finance research studies yearly" (6RESP 25 November 2016).*

According to the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016), decisions to invest in research studies should focus more on increasing the number of supply-driven research studies (see Figure 5.1.2). Supply-driven research studies are long-term research studies which originate from a researchers' own interest to pursue a particular social phenomenon in search of a long-term solution. While demand-driven research studies are short term in nature, laced with terms of reference of the client and tend to produce short term solutions (ibid 2016).

5.3 Local Communities and their Livelihood Outcomes

5.3.1 Introduction

The third research question is being asked in order to understand the relationship between local communities' involvement in managerial process and their livelihood outcomes in managing forest and wildlife resources. It has been revealed that, there is no mutual trust between bureaucrats and local communities in forest and wildlife management (1RESP 03 October 2016). Bureaucrats see local communities as the source of problems that exists, while local communities complain that, they are being denied of their right to make use of forest and wildlife resources in order to improve their livelihood (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Moreover, the benefit sharing in WMAs lacks transparency during disbursement of revenues back to WMAs as required by Twelfth Schedule in the WMAs Regulation 2012 (8RESP 01 December 2016). There is also strife over who should make the decision to allocate hunting blocks in the hunting business within WMAs (ibid 2016). This decision is currently being made by the director of WD in MNRT (4RESP 14 November 2016). Hunting blocks are the main sources of revenue in WMAs managed by local communities through their CBOs (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, the Government has shown reluctance in handing over ownership of forest and wildlife resources through the use of models such as JFM and modified WMA (see Figure 5.1.3) by putting up structures which inhibit local communities from fully participating in forest and wildlife

management. Moreover, it is only few villages that have been using Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) model and WMA model in forest and wildlife management respectively (4RESP 14 November 2016).

> *"Local communities do not possess knowledge and skills necessary for them to be entrusted with managing these resources" (3RESP 10 November 2016).*

In addition, bureaucrats look at local communities as entities which lack necessary knowledge and skills in forest and wildlife management (5RESP 17 November 2016). However, in terms of involvement of local communities in forest and wildlife management, Tanzania has made great strides compared to other African countries (2RESP 27 November 2016). The effort to ensure that local communities are involved in forest and wildlife management started in the late 1990's (ibid 2016).

During the course of the interview, many respondents frequently discussed the way Government involves local communities in forest and wildlife management by using Wildlife Management Area (WMA) and Joint Forest Management (JFM) models (see Figure 5.1.3) and how these models have been altered and carefully selected to prevent local communities from engaging in the managerial process of forest and wildlife resources (8RESP 01 December 2016). In theory, the objective of introducing WMA and JFM models show Government's willingness to involve local communities in forest and wildlife management, but in practice the process of implementing the respective models and the actual results differ from the set objectives (ibid 2016).

Thus, the use of JFM model has discouraged active participation of local communities in forest management; and it has adversely affected forest conditions and livelihood of local population which largely depend on fuelwood and charcoal as major sources of income apart from regular farming activities (3RESP 10 November 2016). Currently, local communities utilise large number of forest trees for charcoal production (ibid 2016). The introduction of modern and alternative charcoal production methods can significantly contribute towards improving the livelihood of local communities and significantly help to save forests from deforestation (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The following is visual representation of empirical data:



Figure 5.1.3: Word Frequency for Community Involvement and Livelihood Outcomes

The above diagram shows that there has been more use of Joint Forest Management (JFM) model and Wildlife Management Area (WMA) model in forest and wildlife

management. Moreover, Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) model has been applied in very few areas of the country, yet, all three models have not been able to improve households' livelihood outcomes.

Detailed narration of the findings:

5.3.2 The participation of Local Communities in Forest Management

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that traditionally, local communities countrywide have been using forests and wildlife resources to support their livelihood. The local communities depend on forests for energy which comes from fuelwood (and sometimes charcoal), for building their houses using wooden poles, for pasturing their cattle on the grass, for concocting traditional medicines from wild herbs and for worshiping nature and idols (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), during the design of the forest policy in 1998, emphasis was placed on the involvement of local communities through the use of various models such as JFM Model and CBFM model of Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program. The CBFM model stipulates that forest ownership must be under local communities via their Village Governments and must be managed by CBOs, while the JFM model attributes ownership to either the Central Government or District Councils (Local Authorities).

The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, when the Village Government uses CBFM model, then members of local communities are allowed to

conduct all kinds of economic activities within the particular forest. On the contrary, the use of JFM model prevents any economic activity from taking place within the particular forest reserve (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, there has been an increase in forest degradation and deforestation in forest reserves which use the JFM model. A case in point is the Monduli forest reserve that has undergone bouts of degradation due to the adoption of the JFM model. Forest degradation and deforestation usually reduces the capacity of forest cover as a carbon sinker for absorbing the vast amount of carbon emitted by industries which use fossil fuel as their source of energy (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that other geographical locations which use the JFM model are Handeni Hill, Gologolo and Kipumbwi forest reserves located in Tanga as well as Udzungwa forest reserve in Iringa region. Moreover, some of the donor-funded projects in forest management that use JFM model are: The East Usambara Conservation and Management Project (EUCAMP), which is located in Tanga region and funded by the Government of Finland through FINNIDA, it worked and was closed in 2003 (8RESP 01 December 2016). The *Hifadhi Mazingira* (HIMA) project worked and was closed in 2001 and it is located in Iringa Region and funded by DANIDA (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) continue to explain that, other JFM-based donor-funded projects are: The *Matumizi Endelevu ya Misitu ya Asili* (MEMA) project worked and was closed in 2004 located in Iringa Region and also funded by the Government of Denmark through DANIDA. Finally, the on-going forest project at Nou forest reserve in Babati and Mbulu districts in Arusha, funded by an international NGO known as Farm Africa which has been in operation since 2001 and surrounded by eighteen villages with local population of approximately 200,000 people whose livelihoods are directly being affected by the project (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that the major focus of JFM model is mostly to improve forest condition (i.e. reduce forest degradation and deforestation) rather than improve the livelihood of households. Many programs and projects in forest management are aimed at improving the forest condition not livelihood of local communities (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, agricultural and animal farming activities are among the causes of forest degradation and deforestation as most local communities use traditional farming methods such as shifting cultivation. The farmers who practice shifting cultivation encroach on forest land because it is virgin land which is considered to be very fertile and suitable for pastoralism (1RESP 03 October 2016). Hence, in order to reduce incidents of deforestation and encroachment, modern farming methods such as the use of fertilisers and quality seeds could assist in preventing farmers from practice shifting cultivation (3RESP 10

November 2016). In this way, they could be encouraged to remain on their original land areas, guided by agriculture extension officers on how to maximise their crop production while using the same limited land space (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that in some of the areas, households have been using the same forest land to cultivate their crops using agroforestry technique. The technique involves planting trees within crops or crops within trees, provided that both plant species are compatible with each other (ibid 2016). It is used to improve livelihood outcomes of households and reduce overdependence on the forest's products such as charcoal, timber and fuelwood, eventually reducing incidents of encroachment and deforestation of forest reserves (8RESP 01 December 2016).

In addition, 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, the trees or crops to be planted should be those which bring nutrients into the land rather than those which ingest nutrients. Crops such as legumes, *moringa oleifera (drumstick tree)* and *leucaena leucocephala (subabul tree*) are known as fodder trees and even their leaves can be used to feed cattle (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, agroforestry can contribute towards improving forest conservation and also improving the

livelihood of local communities. Most importantly, it can be used to alleviate effects of climate change (ibid 2016).

It is therefore necessary to revise other cross-cutting policies like agriculture policy so as to incorporate significant policy issues such as agroforestry (5RESP 17 November 2016). This could serve as a necessary step towards harmonising various related policies (ibid 2016). Cocoa farming can also be considered as part of agroforestry since it leads to the cultivation of cocoa crops which after harvest can be used as timber or fuelwood (3RESP 10 November 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, fuelwood is the main source of energy in rural areas, while charcoal is mostly used in urban areas. 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, in order to improve livelihood, local communities can be encouraged to participate into forest management through the use of programs such as Development by Devolution (D by D).

The D by D involvement process usually starts from bottom and moves to the top. It requires local communities to point out issues of immediate concern rather than bureaucrats formulating policy statements from top to bottom (8RESP 01 December 2016). The current policies do not cater to the needs of local communities, instead they are focused on meeting the priorities of bureaucrats and donors rather than improving the livelihood of local communities (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 8RESP (01 December 2016) describes another program which encourages local communities' participation known as Opportunities and Obstacles to Development (O&OD). O&OD is a participatory community planning programme which empowers local communities based on a bottom up approach (ibid 2016).

According to 8RESP (01 December 2016), the O&OD program is funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and it recognises the significant role of local communities and allows them to discover opportunities within their immediate surrounding. The discovered opportunities will subsequently be developed into projects that would be implemented by the local communities (1RESP 03 October 2016). The implementation of the project is usually carried out by project managers who are conversant with the available opportunities, to avoid bringing new projects into local communities and expect them to be implemented without having adequate knowledge about the project (8RESP 01 December 2016).

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), when local communities do not understand the benefits of a particular project, which perhaps was brought in by the Central Government or donors' Community, then that particular project is bound to fail after the Central Government or donor country withdraws from the project. In O&OD, the project idea emanates from local communities contrary to other programs such as Participatory Forest Management (PFM) in which the project idea is adopted and scheduled for implementation in local communities' environment by the Central Government in conjunction with donors. In other words, PFM would

likely collapse once the Central Government or donors withdraw from the program (8RESP 01 December 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) continues to explain that, O&OD helps to avoid conflicting objectives. For example, when implementing programs such as PFM particularly when JFM model is used, donors and the Central Government on one hand would introduce the model to local communities with a specific objective such as better forest conservation in order to improve the forest's ability to absorb more carbon (and become a reliable carbon sinker), while local communities may have their own objective of improving livelihood (ibid 2016).

In that case, O&OD is considered to have a better implementation strategy as it places emphasis on introducing a program in which ideas originate from local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016). O&OD has been introduced in various parts of the country such as Monduli in Arusha Region, Bagamoyo in Coast Region, Pangani in Tanga Region, Ulanga and Kilombero in Morogoro Region, Tunduma in Ruvuma Region, Nzega and Igunga in Tabora Region, Chunya in Mbeya Region etc. (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, it is important for the Central Government and donors' community to make sure that local communities are involved in forest management and reap the benefits of improved livelihood. The advantages of ensuring improved livelihood when local communities are involved in

forest conservation can been see in projects such as Kilombero and Lower Rufiji Wetlands Ecosystem Management Project (KILORWEMP) located in district of Rufiji (ibid 2016).

The KILORWEMP is a joint project between the Government of Tanzania and Belgium which aims at sustainably managing the wetlands ecosystem of Kilombero Valley and Lower Rufiji so that its ecological balance is conserved, local communities' livelihood is improved and economic development is sustained (3RESP 10 November 2016). Thus, the project has three objectives one of which is aimed at improving livelihood (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, when forest resource assessment was conducted in KILORWEMP, it was discovered that the project could generate an estimated income of more than hundred million Tanzanian shillings (equivalent to more than USD 45,455) annually. Eventually, local communities receive more money and it is distributed to the development budgets of the respective Village Governments involved in a project (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 1RESP (03 October 2016), usually local communities used to receive funds through local taxes and other sources in the range of four to five million shillings annually. Hence, the amount of revenue which local communities now receive from KILORWEMP enables them to carry out various development

activities such as drilling of boreholes and even establishing women development projects (ibid 2016). Thus, such project immensely contributes to improve the livelihood of local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016). In that case, local communities see the benefits of their involvement in forest conservation (ibid 2016).

On the other hand, 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that the involvement of local communities in forest management usually differs from one project to another. In PFM, there has been a challenge during implementation of the program (ibid 2016). The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, usually the primary challenge is the amount of time taken to finalise the decisions reached between the Government and local communities. Whenever the Government decides to involve local communities, formal agreements are prepared and signed between the two parties (1RESP 03 October 2016). However, the time taken to finalise and implement the agreement is so long that sometimes the local communities even forget there was such an arrangement which involved them in the managerial process (ibid 2016)

Moreover, the Government may decide to change its decision on the extent of involvement to be granted to local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016). Usually, when Government agrees to jointly manage forests with local communities, it prefers to use JFM model and not CBFM model (ibid 2016).

The CBFM model gives local communities complete ownership of the forests while in the JFM model, the Government retains ownership of the forest and gives local communities only the daily managerial responsibility (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Normally, MNRT considers local communities to be the source of problems in forest management because of the constant intrusion by villagers into forest reserves in search of resources to cater for their daily needs such as charcoal production and establishing their settlements (ibid 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) corroborates this by stating that encroachment into forests is primarily for the pursuit of daily human needs and establishment of settlements as nowadays habitable land space is limited. Thus, bureaucrats see the implementation of JFM model to be the right tool for alleviating problems in forest management as local communities themselves will only be involved in daily managerial responsibilities, whereas ownership of the forest reserve remains with the Government (3RESP 10 November 2016). On the contrary, giving management responsibilities to local communities without looking after their livelihood is useless (8RESP 01 December 2016).

> *"Sometimes we are hesitant to entrust ownership of a particular forest to local communities on the basis of mistrusting them as they have been responsible for the destruction of the surrounding forests" (3RESP 01 November 2016).*

The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that, forest reserves in Tanzania have been divided into four categories, but the most popular are three: Central Government forest reserves, local authority forest reserves also known as district councils forest reserves and thirdly village forest reserves. The fourth category is private forest reserves (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, when PFM was introduced in the three categories of forest reserves, there were two main objectives. Firstly, to improve forest condition; and secondly to improve livelihood. The implementation of PFM has neither succeeded in improving forests condition nor livelihood of local population (ibid 2016).

Comparatively, PFM program has neither been able to improve livelihood of local communities nor forest condition (8RESP 01 December 2016). Thus, PFM has not been able to achieve its intended objectives (ibid 2016).

According to narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), the fact that PFM has not been able to contribute to the improvement of forest condition and livelihood of local communities, indeed poses grave concern to all actors involved in forest management particularly bureaucrats. The failure of PFM to improve livelihood is mostly seen in areas where JFM model is used and not in other areas that use the CBFM model (ibid 2016).

For example, Monduli forest reserve is a joint forest reserve which uses the JFM model to specifically preserve and protect sources of water in Monduli district area (8RESP 01 December 2016). In other words, Monduli forest reserve is a catchment forest reserve located in Monduli district whereby productive activities such as logging are prohibited (ibid 2016).

The Monduli forest reserve is also surrounded by wildlife reserves which harbour many animals that tend to migrate into the forest reserve in search of food and water (8RESP 01 December 2016). Therefore, by having many animals residing in the reserve, residents in local communities are inclined to hunt animals and also to fetch water for their domestic use (ibid 2016).

Moreover, Monduli forest reserve has a unique tree known as "*Junipera Spocera*" used by the Maasai tribe (native tribe) for building houses (8RESP 01 December 2016). Hence, under such circumstances, the Government's decision to use the JFM model in Monduli forest reserve instead of the CBFM model, has made that particular forest reserve vulnerable to encroachment and other activities which negatively affect Monduli forest reserve, due to the fact that local communities heavily depend on that forest reserve to improve their livelihood (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) continues to explain that, since Monduli forest has many sources of water and trees, it is extremely difficult to prevent local communities from encroaching the forest to fell trees, hunt animals or attend to other human needs. Hence, the Government's decision to use JFM model in Monduli forest reserve should be reconsidered and instead the CBFM model can be used in order to improve livelihood of local communities (ibid 2016). However, the decision of MNRT to use JFM model in Monduli forest reserve instead of CBFM model, is in order to maintain control over resources found within the forest reserve (3RESP 10 November 2016).

> *"Unfortunately, local communities living around Monduli forest reserve are not allowed to conduct production activities within the forest. They are subjected into a very awkward situation" (8RESP 01 December 2016).*

Because of such restrictive environment at Monduli forest reserve, forest conditions have continued to deteriorate (8RESP 01 December 2016). Any decision to conduct resource assessment in Monduli forest reserve today, will yield poor results due to forest degradation and deforestation which has taken place within the forest (ibid 2016).

Hence, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that CBFM model is the best approach for forest management as it enhances both forest condition and local communities' livelihood. The CBFM model allows local communities to completely own a particular forest and plan its utilisation (ibid 2016).

For example, the CBFM model has been used in Kiteto forest reserve which is a production forest (3RESP 10 November 2016). The local communities plan on using the forest over a circle of twenty-five harvesting rotational blocks. That is, they move from zone A to zone B annually and by the time they reach the last zone Z, then the cycle restarts at zone A, and by so doing the circling arrangement provides enough time for trees to grow after being harvested (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, in order for PFM to contribute to communities' livelihood, there should be a complete change of bureaucrats'

perspectives by starting to entrust local communities with the control of forest reserves. Improved livelihood will definitely lead into better forest management (ibid 2016).

> *"There is a saying that you should not bite the hand that feeds you. By giving complete power and authority to local communities, forest conditions would eventually improve as they definitely understand that the forest enabled them to look after their families" (8RESP 01 December 2016).*

The decision to entrust local communities with control over forest reserves can also assist in reducing the problem of inadequate manpower that exists in forest management (8RESP 01 December 2016). The Government could use local communities in critical assignments such as managing forest fire also known as wildfire (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, wildfire in the Savanna ecosystem is a necessary tool used to stimulate growth of new grasses and trees. As such, the decision to use local communities could assist in managing and controlling the fire (8RESP 01 December 2016).

This can be effectively achieved if enough field workers are available and involved in carrying out such assignments (8RESP 01 December 2016). However, there have been incidents when animal poachers also start fires as a strategy for hunting animals (4RESP 14 November 2016). Using wildfire for poaching animals is usually aimed at

scaring the animals into traps or even diverting attention of game rangers during patrols (ibid 2016).

> *"As a Central Government, we have been trying to recognise local communities as partners in forest management, although we deem many of them not to be trustworthy" (3RESP 10 November 2016).*

However, 8RESP (01 December 2016) disagrees with 3RESP (10 November 2016) by explaining that the participation of local communities in forest management has to be built on mutual trust. Local communities can have positive contribution to forest management as seen in some of the pilot projects such as KILORWEMP (ibid 2016).

Wildfire management is made possible through prescribed burning (3RESP 10 November 2016). Prescribed burning is a process of burning forest in zones under strict supervision (ibid 2016).

Normally, zones are burnt in seasonal rotation (3RESP 10 November 2016). Tanzania is located in the Savanna ecosystem area, and being part of Savanna ecosystem, Tanzania's forests are supposed to be managed by fire (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) narrates that usually the Savanna ecosystem for generations has been managed by three variables which are wildfires, rainwaters and soil nutrients. Prescribed burning involves burning grasses and trees which also assist

in killing ticks and other wildlife animal parasites living within a particular forest area (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) offers the following example to buttress the point made above. When one visits Ngorongoro crater and decides to go down into the crater, in no time, it would not be surprising to find a lot of ticks on shoes and clothes. This illustrates the significance of prescribed burning as a method for controlling ticks and diseases caused by parasites (ibid 2016).

Thus, in order to properly manage prescribed burning, the involvement of local communities is needed (3RESP 10 November 2016). Prescribed burning requires participation of a large number of people, relying on local forest officers will not effectively or efficiently handle a wildfire (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), the use of prescribed burning to stimulate the growth of trees and the entire forest management is made possible due to the nature of woodland trees found in Tanzania savanna ecosystem. These trees are usually fire resistant (ibid 2016).

Surprisingly, in order for these trees to grow, they must be burnt (3RESP 10 November 2016). Almost the entire natural forests in Tanzania contain woodland trees (ibid 2016).

Thus, local communities can be hired on a regular basis to participate in prescribed burning and they can reduce the problem of shortage of forest personnel (8RESP 01 December 2016). Meanwhile, the decision could also enhance relations between the two parties (foresters and local communities) and eventually increase household income and improve livelihood (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, another way of improving local communities' livelihood could be by engaging them in modern charcoal business. According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), the Government has started to promote modern charcoal business through programmes such as Sustainable Charcoal Production (SCP).

This idea of SCP was originally introduced by NGOs working in forest management (8RESP 01 December 2016). According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), SCP is believed to reduce the rate of deforestation caused by existing traditional and inefficient methods of charcoal production. The programme provides dual advantages of reducing deforestation and improving livelihood of local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The Sustainable Charcoal Project (SCP) was introduced following growth in human population which led to increase in demand for biomass energy such as charcoal (3RESP 10 November 2016). Thus, increase in demand for charcoal has resulted in higher deforestation and eventually intensified climate change (7RESP 21 November 2016). 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that the NGO responsible for introducing

the project is TaTEDO (Tanzania Traditional Energy Development Organisation) a Non-Governmental research institution responsible for developing and promoting renewable energy technologies, based in Dar es Salaam. The SCP is financed by World Bank (WB).

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), TaTEDO and WB have managed to find new ways such as having modern charcoal cooker and modern charcoal burning technique. Tanzania Forestry Research Institute (TAFORI) on the other hand has conducted research on charcoal production and managed to come up with their own modern technique for burning charcoal (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that the particular method has been put to test as a pilot project in district area of Kilosa in Morogoro region. TAFORI started working with local communities in conjunction with another local NGO known as Tanzania Forest Conservation Group i.e. TFCG (8RESP 01 December 2016). The Kilosa project is famously known as Kilosa Sustainable Charcoal Project (3RESP 10 November 2016).

In addition, the district area of Chunya in Mbeya region has started sustainably producing charcoal (3RESP 10 November 2016). The project is aimed at saving forests by using production methods that ensure sustainability of forest resources considering charcoal production is legally recognised but should not be conducted to the detriment of forest reserves (ibid 2016).

The SCP is considered to be a significant method due to the fact that there has been drought in many parts of the country because of climate change (7RESP 21 November 2016). Climate change has resulted in change in weather condition and subsequently many local communities decided to resort to charcoal production using their traditional methods as a substitute for farming in order to support their families (ibid 2016).

Hence, SCP could also assist in alleviating the problem of climate change (7RESP 21 November 2016). The significance of the usage of charcoal and even its production cannot be overemphasised as ninety percent of people living in urban areas, use charcoal as a source of energy (8RESP 01 December 2016). The remaining ten percent use electricity and gas (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that the ninety percent of urban charcoal consumers come from the big cities of Dar es salaam, Mbeya, Arusha, Mwanza, Tanga and Zanzibar. Normally, in rural areas, local communities prefer to use fuelwood (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) further explains that Tanzania has 48.1 million square hectares (ha) which is recognised as forest area. It is estimated that nearly fifty percent of the forest area is neither protected by law as Government forest reserves nor as communities' forest reserves (ibid 2016).

Eventually, the Government does not have the jurisdiction to manage forests located within the general land i.e. unprotected land (3RESP 10 November 2016). Such situations exacerbate deforestation and degradation of forests as most of the traditional charcoal production activities are conducted on general land (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, usually traditional methods of charcoal production tend to use only thirty percent of the total input taken into the production process and leave the rest as production waste. The seventy percent production waste is the number of trees lost during the production process of charcoal (ibid 2016).

Nevertheless, 3RESP (10 November 2016) further explains that, in the on-going policy review of Forest Policy 1998, the subject of charcoal management has been discussed and related recommendations received from stakeholders, who appeared to be less informed about the underlying issues of charcoal production. In that case, the respective policy provision on charcoal management is unlikely to succeed as there is insufficient information presented as stakeholders' recommendations, which also implies that no impactful study has been conducted (6RESP 25 November 2016).

On the other hand, 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, local communities have never been satisfactorily involved in climate change management and carbon business as a whole. 8RESP (01 December 2016) argues that, carbon business has been dominated by bureaucrats, technocrats and private sector such as Green

Resources and Kilombero Teak Company. The carbon business has not been brought down to local communities (ibid 2016).

Green Resources is a forestation company and among the large producers of wood in East Africa (3RESP 10 November 2016). It has 41,000 square hectares (ha) and operates in Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique. It is one of the first companies to globally receive carbon revenue through its plantation forests headquartered in Norway (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 7RESP (21 November 2016), such new and potential business opportunities are limited to few and wealthy individuals, leaving local communities without any information on the existence of such viable business opportunities. They could have at least been made to understand the dynamics of carbon business so as to share the benefits accruable from tree farming i.e. plantation of forest reserves (8RESP 01 December 2016). Information sharing with local communities could enhance their knowledge and skills and subsequently enable them to understand that there is more to forest management than what they previously knew (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, it is true that carbon business has its challenges, mainly caused by carbon buyers who are the funders i.e. developed countries. However, it is obvious that if properly researched and managed, carbon business could bring many benefits to local communities and improve their livelihood and forest management as a whole (6RESP 25 November 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) argues that carbon business would actually assist in changing the behaviour of many members of local communities who can be convinced to join afforestation and reforestation schemes after being informed of the potential benefits which can be obtained from carbon business. Afforestation and reforestation activities primarily involves tree farming i.e. planted forests (ibid 2016).

7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, while it takes ten to thirty years before most planted trees reach their complete physiological maturity, carbon business starts much earlier, even before a planted tree reaches five years. Thus, the Government's decision to involve local communities in carbon business, could significantly improve their livelihood by convincing them to establish tree farms for the purpose of simultaneously selling carbon and charcoal (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 3RESP (10 November 2016) provides an example from Brazil where *Eucalyptus tree* is planted and used to produce charcoal. It usually takes five to six years to attain its full physiological maturity ready to be harvested (ibid 2016).

In addition, there are other similar tree species apart from *Eucalyptus tree* which can be found in Tanzania and used to produce charcoal (3RESP 10 November 2016). These tree species usually tend to grow within five to six years (ibid 2016).

Hence, 7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, carbon and charcoal businesses are actually areas which could assist to improve the livelihood of local communities

by either encouraging them to enter into tree farming or the Government could decide to attract big private investors to enter into carbon and charcoal businesses. Such decisions could subsequently create employment for local communities (ibid 2016). The decision could also lead up to increase in afforestation and reforestation activities contrary to the notion that charcoal business encourages deforestation (3RESP 10 November 2016). Deforestation would only occur if charcoal business is carried out without proper supervision and good production methods and strategies (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that currently there are two major tree farms (plantation forests) in Tanzania managed by Tanzania Forest Services Agency (TFS) which were solely established in order to support charcoal production. The first tree farm is located at Ruvu area in district of Kibaha, Coast Region and that particular project is known as Ruvu fuelwood plantation (ibid 2016).

According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), the project was established with a vision that because of higher human population growth, there would be a higher demand for charcoal and the project area is about 30,000 hectares (ha). The Ruvu fuelwood plantation project is an indicator of precautionary steps taken towards dealing with the ever-increasing demand of biomass energy (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, the second tree farm is located in Morogoro (3RESP 10 November 2016). Therefore, the decision to use tree farms (plantation forests) could be a better strategy needed to support SCP rather than using natural forests (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to insist that it is important for charcoal production to be supported by tree farms and not natural forests. However, there has been a problem of lack of participation from local communities in making decisions of establishing tree farm projects and charcoal businesses as a whole (ibid 2016).

In that case, in order to ensure sustainability of tree farm projects and charcoal business, and also ensure participation of local communities, Government is using models such as Opportunity and Obstacles to Development (O&OD) which encourages local communities' involvement in managing local projects (3RESP 10 November 2016). According to narrative of 1RESP (03 October 2016), through O&OD which is the arrangement that allows local communities to identify opportunities and obstacles in implementing a particular project, issues of fundamental significance such as establishment of tree farms and charcoal business are usually discussed in village councils and recommendations are being forwarded to district councils on a monthly basis and later taken up to the ministerial level.

However, 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that after the hard work of identifying those opportunities and obstacles to development of tree farms and charcoal business projects, the recommendations of villagers (local communities) are usually ignored

as being irrelevant when they reach the ministerial level. But, these recommendations originate from villagers at the grass roots who are considered to be well informed and understand the real opportunities that exists as well as challenges or obstacles encountered on a daily basis (ibid 2016).

5.3.3 The Participation of Local Communities in Wildlife Management

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), Wildlife Management Area (WMA) model has been introduced as an effort to engage local communities in wildlife management. This model allows local communities to take full control of sustainably managing wildlife animals for their own benefit (ibid 2016).

The WMA model originated in Norway, a long-time development partner in wildlife management (4RESP 14 November 2016). The WMA model was initially known as Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), and at that time, emphasis was placed on the need for local communities to spearhead the management of wildlife resources in areas which used to be their land but which they later allowed wildlife animals to pass through in search of food and water (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that within WMAs, local communities are given rights to hunt wildlife animals in order to satisfy their basic needs. The WMAs are also considered to be village wildlife reserves (ibid 2016).

The implementation of WMA model in managing wildlife animals has been plagued with several challenges as most of the local communities do not have the technical expertise and financial resources to support day to day wildlife management (4RESP 14 November 2016). However, the main reason for allowing local communities to be involved in managing wildlife animals (WMAs) is due to the tendency of wildlife animals to move out of Official Protected Areas (PAs) in search of available resources such as food and water into other areas including villages (ibid 2016).

Hence, the involvement of local communities creates peaceful coexistence between the two parties i.e. humans and wildlife animals (4RESP 14 November 2016). WMA model is reckoned to be the right model for handling such situations of human and wildlife contact, which if not properly handled tend to end up in what is popularly known as human-wildlife conflict (ibid 2016).

In that case, 1RESP (03 October 2016) argues that, because of the tendency of wildlife animals to move out of the protected areas (i.e. wildlife reserves) then game rangers, wardens and scouts should be stationed outside and not within. In other words, they must be stationed in villages and live with other members of local communities (ibid 2016). Many of the poaching incidents take place outside the wildlife reserves and not within, because, wildlife animals migrate from their reserves into human settlements and farms in search of available resources (4RESP 14 November 2016).

For example, there are villages (i.e. local communities) established within three large national parks in the same geographical area of Ruaha, Udzungwa and Mikumi (1RESP 03 October 2016). These local communities have been surrounded by wildlife animals on all sides such that arguably the population of wildlife animals has exceeded that of humans. This situation makes wildlife management difficult as humans are outnumbered by wildlife animals which eventually start entering into humans' settlements and farms (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, poaching incidents can be grouped into three categories; commercial poaching, subsistence poaching and reprisal poaching. The types of poaching incidents carried out by local communities are reprisal poaching and subsistence poaching (ibid 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that reprisal poaching usually occurs after humans have experienced losses of either lives or property particularly crops and livestock. Elephants are considered the most destructive wildlife animals. Such a reputation has made them the prime targets of reprisal poachers (ibid 2016).

Other wildlife animals such as hippopotamus have also been causing frequent losses to local communities by eating crops on nearby farms (1RESP 03 October 2016). Meanwhile, the law protects wildlife animals from being harmed in any way (4RESP 14 November 2016). In that case, local communities have had to resort to taking

matters into their hands, thus intensifying the conflict between humans and wildlife animals (1RESP 03 October 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, the presence of game rangers, wardens and scouts in nearby villages surrounded by wildlife reserves could alleviate the tension between the two conflicting parties. They would use their skills to drive the wildlife animals away from human settlements particularly farms. Due to shortage of local wildlife personnel (game rangers, wardens and scouts) the Government has to involve local communities by raining and equipping them with the required tools to manage these wildlife animals in ways which could alleviate human-wildlife conflicts (ibid 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is a serious issue which continually escalates as a consequence of the damage that wildlife animals particularly elephants bring to villages, causing losses to lives and particularly crops. For example, in villages located in Ruaha Mbuyuni, elephant attacks have been so prevalent to the extent that local communities are not able to cultivate crops and are even afraid for their lives and the safety of their entire families (ibid 2016).

In that case, the decision to involve local communities in managing these wildlife animals so that they do not continue to affect their livelihood, is of paramount

importance (1RESP 03 October 2016). 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, in the past, game rangers and wardens were allowed to kill elephants, remove their trunks as trophies and take them to the special ivory room of the Central Government. Elephants are known to have an extraordinary memory (ibid 2016). The gruesome killing of one elephant whilst others are watching tends to prevent other elephants from returning to that particular area where the incident occurred (1RESP 03 October 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, currently, the law does not allow game rangers or wardens to kill the animals. However, local communities carry out reprisal poaching to prevent the wildlife animals particularly elephants from returning to their farms and settlements (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) compares the practice of killing wildlife animals particularly elephants to the method of prescribed burning used in forest management, as you must lose in order to gain. However, elephants seem to have changed their behaviour in recent times. Once an elephant is killed, other elephants would return in a much larger number to attack and cause unimaginable losses of lives and properties particularly crops (ibid 2016). They would keep on coming again and again as it has been happening in Ruaha Mbuyuni (1RESP 03 October 2016). In that case, 6RESP (25 November 2016), suggests that a long-term and impactful study on human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is needed in order to alleviate the incurred losses.

The Wildlife Conservation Act 2009 prohibits shot-to-kill protocol when game rangers and wardens are involved in chasing out wildlife animals from human settlements and farms (4RESP 14 November 2016). They are only allowed to use sounds of gunshots to threaten wildlife animals and make them return into wildlife reserves (ibid 2016).

However, nowadays elephants are no longer threatened by the sound of gunshots (1RESP 03 October 2016). They have become used to the sound and considering their behavioural change from being docile to collective retaliation, managing the elephants and the entire human-wildlife conflicts has become more difficult (4RESP 14 November 2016). The need to re-introduce the shot-to-kill protocol alone into the policy and respective legislation as allowed in the past may work (1RESP 03 October 2016).

The intensification of human-wildlife conflict has also been caused by some economic factors. Currently local communities have resorted to the employment of modern farming methods such as the use of modern fertilisers, seeds, pesticides and other farming tools and machines (1RESP 03 October 2016). Farmers would require large amounts of financial investment which has to be solicited from the financial institutions to practice these modern farming methods (ibid 2016).

Thus, when an elephant attacks a farm, the losses incurred by the farmer are not only the crops, but also the farmer loses the source of income that would have been used to repay the loan (1RESP 03 October 2016). The loss of the farmer's primary source of income is accompanied with an increase in the household poverty and increase in human-wildlife conflicts (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the biggest problem (i.e. the gap) in wildlife management is the problem of human-wildlife conflict. Human-wildlife conflict is the main cause of all types of poaching including commercial poaching (ibid 2016). The losses incurred from human-wildlife conflict has resulted in local communities harbouring poachers to live with them in the villages (1RESP 03 October 2016). For example, in Ruaha Mbuyuni, local communities regularly receive unidentified poachers and willingly provide them with food and shelter in exchange for protection from further losses caused by rampaging elephants (ibid 2016). In Ruaha Mbuyuni, human-wildlife conflict is a serious issue which affects the livelihood of local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, an ordinary farmer may decide to take a loan of USD 4,000 and invest it into a maize or potato farm. When the maize farm is attacked by elephants, the farmer will understandably be devastated (ibid 2016).

Moreover, even the compensation for losses incurred by local farmers as stipulated in Wildlife Conservation Act 2009 and its regulations, adds more tension to human-wildlife conflict (1RESP 03 October 2016). The related Act and its regulations prescribes that compensation be made in the form of ex-gratia payment (ibid 2016). The ex-gratia payment is the amount paid for the loss suffered which does not cover the complete loss (4RESP 14 November 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that even the ex-gratia amount, is paid only to farmers with land size of more than one acre and usually takes time. According to Wildlife Conservation Act 2009, any farmer who owns farm with land size less than one acre, shall not be entitled to receive the ex-gratia payment following loss caused by the activities of wildlife animals (4RESP 14 November 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, currently the biggest challenge in solving or at least alleviating the human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is the fact that, official records or statistics do not reflect the magnitude of the conflict. There have been complaints in many areas that wildlife animals have been causing loss of lives and properties but there are no official records or statistics to support such complaints (ibid 2016).

According to 4RESP (14 November 2016), the relevant authorities such as MNRT, district offices and even the police have limited information about the complaints. It

is not that incidents do not occur or complaints are not made, rather, the entire record management system needs to be improved (ibid 2016).

According to (4RESP 14 November 2016) MNRT has established the Elephant Management Plan. The plan was developed in order to solve or alleviate human-wildlife conflict and it mainly focuses on managing elephants which prove to be the leading cause of many losses to humans, particularly in the village farms (ibid 2016).

In addition, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, in MNRT headquarters there is a special unit dealing with problems caused by animals, known as "Animal Problems Unit" which is under the Wildlife Division (WD). The unit is responsible for coordinating complaints raised about human-wildlife conflicts (ibid 2016).

Moreover, there is a consolation fund which is responsible for ex-gratia payments to farmers who have lost crops and other properties to rampaging wildlife animals (4RESP 14 November 2016). Yet, the lack of reliable data in all units has hindered proper analysis from being conducted to ascertain the appropriate course of action to be taken when managing the problem of human-wildlife conflict (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the major criterion for paying ex-gratia to members of local communities who suffered from losses of crops and other properties, is the distance which exists between the villager’s settlement and the beacon which represents the boundary of the wildlife reserve. The villager is required

to be situated one kilometre from the beacon in order to be eligible for the payment (ibid 2016).

However, the challenge of ex-gratia is that it takes a long time before the payment is disbursed (1RESP 03 October 2016). The delay in paying ex-gratia is caused by limited information or records on incidents of losses occurred (4RESP 14 November 2016). Eventually, most villagers tend to give up on their losses because on many occasions, the cost for following up on one's ex-gratia application exceeds the ex-gratia paid (1RESP 03 October 2016).

In that case, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, poor record keeping which causes delay in paying claims for the losses incurred, have been misconstrued by villagers as lack of intention by the Government to pay ex-gratia. Moreover, another challenge in dealing with the human-wildlife conflict is the fact that, at the moment, there is no policy provision in place or legislation provision guiding issues of compensation. That explains why the amount paid to local communities is ex-gratia and not compensation (5RESP 17 November 2016).

In any case, 1RESP (03 October 2016) asserts that the ex-gratia payment does not reflect the actual amount invested by a farmer on the affected farm. The cost of investment in farming far exceeds the amount of ex-gratia (ibid 2016). This situation places the affected farmer in ever-decreasing state of livelihood (8RESP 01 December 2016).

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), even the decision to pay ex-gratia has only recently been introduced and implemented as a provision of the current Wildlife Conservation Act 2009. The previous Wildlife Conservation Acts of 1974 did not provide ex-gratia payments to villagers (ibid 2016).

Hence, the best strategy for dealing with the human-wildlife conflicts is through the use of WMA model (4RESP 14 November 2016). The WMA is a passage or corridor which has to be respected by humans and must not be blocked in any way. The WMA would facilitate smooth movement of wildlife animals when migrating from one place to another in search of food and water resources (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, after WMA is established, there has to be adequate funds to finance basic wildlife operations such as wildlife patrol. However, local communities have been receiving minimal amount of funds to manage WMAs (1RESP 03 October 2016). The Central Government (MNRT) usually does not disburse the amount collected from WMAs as required by the Twelfth Schedule of WMAs Regulations 2012 and even when the amount is paid to local communities, it is always less than the required amount and its computation is not transparent (8RESP 01 December 2016). For example, Burunge WMA which is situated between Tarangire and Lake Manyara national parks receives minimal funds to support wildlife operations compared to the steady increase in the amount of revenue generated by this particular WMA (ibid 2016).

Moreover, there is another example of Enduimet WMA which is located between Kilimanjaro national park and Amboseli national park of Kenya, which receives minimal funds as compared to the amount of revenue generated there (8RESP 01 December 2016). This particular WMA is primarily an elephant corridor (ibid 2016).

As leading beneficiaries, local communities expect to be more involved in making decisions on matters of wildlife operations within WMAs (1RESP 03 October 2016). In so doing, it would indicate that WMA model has really taken wildlife management down to lowest level of local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Instead, the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012 has continued to empower the director of WD in MNRT (centralising the power and authority) who has absolute control over managing the wildlife resources within WMAs (8RESP 01 December 2016). The director of WD can decide whether to approve or disapprove any investment decision especially in hunting business which is the main source of revenue in WMAs (ibid 2016).

On the other hand, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that some wildlife management authorities such as Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA) has decided to develop social projects within local communities as a way of alleviating the effects of incurred losses and tension that local communities usually experience from human-wildlife conflicts. The social projects include building schools, dispensaries, wells, etc. (ibid 2016).

However, (1RESP 03 October 2016) narrates that, in order to improve livelihood, TANAPA and the Government could put more effort into establishing economic projects rather than investing in social projects. Doing so would pave way for the creation of many hired and self-employment opportunities (ibid 2016). The decision to introduce social projects into communities has slightly helped in improving livelihood and alleviating human-wildlife conflicts as local communities see the social benefits of being surrounded by wildlife animals (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Moreover, in order to further improve livelihood and at the same time alleviate human-wildlife conflicts, the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012 needs to be amended to ensure that it fully addresses issues of improved livelihood and alleviates human-wildlife conflicts (8RESP 01 December 2016). The desired sections to be amended in the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012, is the reduction of power and authority of the director of WD and the transfer of such power and authority to local communities (1RESP 03 October 2016). The decision to bring the power and authority down to the local communities would manifest the intent of the Government to adhere to the principles of WMA model (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Moreover, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, MNRT could develop some kind of wildlife conflict management database in order to have a much better records management system. The wildlife conflict management database could at least allow district wildlife personnel to record complaints received from members of local communities such as losses incurred following human-wildlife conflicts (ibid 2016).

The data could be entered into the system on a monthly basis and that would enable experts in wildlife management to analyse and make sound judgements about the conflicts (8RESP 01 December 2016). Their evaluation could alleviate the ever-increasing tension between the two sides of local communities and wildlife animals (ibid 2016). The lack of reliable information or data on human-wildlife conflicts has resulted in a situation whereby there is misrepresentation of information (4RESP 14 November 2016).

For example, in Babati district, located at Manyara region, there was a reported incident of hippopotamuses invading human settlements and farms (4RESP 14 November 2016). The report went all the way to the Tanzania parliament and was presented for discussion (ibid 2016).

However, when a team of experts were sent to the district to investigate, the district office and local police station did not have any official information about the occurrence of the incident in question (4REPS 14 November 2016). It therefore became difficult to verify the claims due to the absence of official records (ibid 2016).

Later, it was discovered that, the local community had misrepresented the information about the hippopotamuses' invasion of their settlement in order to be compensated (8RESP 01 December 2016). Thus, such an example really indicates the need for having a reliable database for managing human-wildlife conflicts (ibid 2016).

Hence, the Government could choose to properly make use of WMA model to both improve livelihood and reduce human-wildlife conflict by establishing as many WMAs as possible (8RESP 01 December 2016). The reason for establishing WMAs should be based upon the realisation that local communities live with animals and they frequently come into direct confrontation with them (ibid 2016). Through the use of WMA model both local communities and wildlife animals would be assured of their safety (4RESP 14 November 2016).

> *"In local communities were WMAs have been established, we actually started to receive positives feedback that wildlife management is improving" (4RESP 14 November 2016).*

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), in order to establish WMA in a particular area, two basic conditions must be fulfilled. Firstly, local communities must provide assurance of their positive contribution to wildlife conservation (4RESP 14 November 2016). Secondly, the designated area where WMA would be located must be between two official wildlife conservation areas and the passage must be original, in the sense of being an original route used for passage by animals during the seasons (ibid 2016). Thus, the established WMA must stand as a passing corridor for wildlife animals, when they move from one area to another in search of water and food resources and that explains the reason why WMAs are being described as wildlife corridors (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that, successfully established WMAs largely depend on funds availability to compensate villagers who must reallocate from their settlements in order to provide room for the establishment of a particular WMA. However, the number of WMAs established is still minimal due to limited budget to pay villagers as compensation for reallocating their settlements (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, usually the longer the WMA in terms of distance from one official wildlife reserve to another, the more the amount of funds needed to compensate villagers affected by the established WMA. Currently, the human decision to establish settlements within wildlife corridors poses a great challenge in managing wildlife animals in general and human-wildlife conflicts in particular (ibid 2016).

The human decision to establish settlements within the wildlife corridor may be due to various reasons such as lack of sufficient consultation with the authorities, lack of land use plan etc. (8RESP 01 December 2016). Usually, the animal behaviour of migrating through a particular corridor (i.e. wildlife corridor), is usually guided by what is described as feeding ecology (4RESP 14 November 2016). Feeding ecology describes that any animal migration–is caused by knowledge of resource availability (i.e. where food and water resources are said to be available), apart from that there will be no movement in that particular route or corridor (ibid 2016).

Hence, the primary objective of involving local communities in setting up WMAs (wildlife corridors) in their areas is to facilitate the movement of animals from one place to another in search of food and water resources and at the same time alleviating conflicts between them (humans) and wildlife animals during migration (8RESP 01 December 2016). The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the movement taking place in a particular corridor is always natural and original. It is usually the path used by wildlife animals in the past generation after generation (ibid 2016).

For example, elephant movement within a particular route is usually something which has been there for many decades as they memorise locations where food and water resources used to be found (4RESP 14 November 2016). It is about the particular family of elephants having knowledge of resource availability and based on that knowledge, they decide to navigate from one place to another (ibid 2016).

Other animals also have the same knowledge of availability of resources, such as chimpanzees (4RESP 14 November 2016). They know where and when to find fruits and other alternative food (ibid 2016). Nevertheless, in spite of this tendency of animal migration, humans have decided to reside within these wildlife corridors by establishing their settlements and farms (8RESP 01 December 2016).

It is considered that the number of wildlife animals is comparatively more than the number of humans (4RESP 14 November 2016). Eventually, because of human population growth and their decision to find new places for establishing settlements,

humans have found themselves entering into the passages (i.e. routes) of wildlife animals (ibid 2016).

Satellite images show that many humans have been entering into either protected areas (PAs) of wildlife animals or residing within the wildlife corridors (4RESP 14 November 2016). The migration of wildlife animals and the human-wildlife conflicts include not only elephants but also lions, hyenas, leopards and other carnivores (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, human-wildlife conflict is being aggravated by incomplete planning process especially when Land Use Plan (LUP) is developed (8RESP 01 December 2016). The LUP is a document showing various pieces of land in a particular village and most importantly, the way the land has been apportioned and allocated for various uses such as human settlements area, area for farms, forest area, wildlife area if any (ibid 2016).

However, LUP at the moment, especially in some of the country's areas where it has been prepared, does not have the corresponding implementation strategy (5RESP 17 November 2016). The lack of implementation strategy makes it harder for the LUP to be successfully implemented (ibid 2016).

Therefore, lack of implementation strategy makes the entire land use planning incomplete (5RESP 17 November 2016). 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that a major setback in forest and wildlife management is the crisis that erupts over land

distribution and ownership in many villages. The LUP was expected to be a useful tool for alleviating the land ownership crisis but the plan is incomplete and found in only few villages (8RESP 01 December 2016). The LUP is geared towards ensuring that forests and wildlife reserves in a particular village are protected once they have been identified on the plan (ibid 2016). But, lack of its implementation strategy makes it useless (5RESP 17 November 2016)

The need to establish LUP on a particular village land, has been prescribed in the Land Use Act 2007 (5RESP 17 November 2016). It demands every village to identify how its land is going to be used i.e. areas for farming, settlements, forest, wildlife conservation etc. (ibid 2016)

5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that Land Use Implementation Strategy (LUIS) could be used to describe how the allocated areas will be used. For example, in the area which was set aside for farming activities, will farmers used mixed farming method or something else (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) continues to explain that one of the requirements before LUP is prepared and finalised is to ensure that the particular village has been registered. However, many villages in Tanzania have not been registered (ibid 2016).

A registered village is legally recognised and has legal advantage of entering into formal agreement with other parties on behalf of its members (5RESP 17 November

2016). The fact that there are few villages which have been registered, indicates that a large section of village land has not been planned and surveyed (ibid 2016).

The problem of land use planning and survey shows lack of proper coordination between the ministries involved (8RESP 01 December 2016). For example, a Land Commissioner seated at the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development (MLHHSD) may decide to issue right of occupancy on a particular land without involving or consulting the respective Village Government (ibid 2016). On the other hand, an LUP for the same land may be prepared by the Village Government without knowing that it is actually owned by another party, who in most cases is either a local or foreign investor (1RESP 03 October 2016).

In addition, sometimes changes can be introduced into the LUPs of a particular village which was submitted for approval to MLHHSD without consultation with either the respective Village Governments or the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism on areas which were initially planned to be used as forest and wildlife reserves at the lowest village levels (8RESP 01 December 2016). Normally, approvals on LUPs are granted by the commissioner for land use planning at the MLHHSD (5RESP 17 November 2016). In many cases, the investor who acquired the land at the ministry i.e. MLHHSD would typically own a larger piece of land and this affects the entire LUP of the particular village because it gives rise to a new type of conflict between local community and an investor caused by land scarcity (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Moreover, these investors usually do not utilise the land as prescribed and in many cases, they are involved in either logging or charcoal business (1RESP 03 October 2016). They are also known for clearing the land i.e. deforesting, under the pretext that they are preparing the land for the farming activities and subsequently use the felled trees for producing either timber or charcoal (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that, proper coordination and the actual involvement of local communities in every decision that affects their livelihood is important. Involvement is the key to alleviating chaos or disputes over land (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, in order to improve livelihood of local communities, WMA model should be properly implemented by first reducing or completely removing some of the power and authority from MNRT and give such power and authority to local communities. Local communities must enjoy the benefits of the established village wildlife reserves (WMAs) by collecting revenue from consumptive and non-consumptive activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, wildlife viewing, photographing and other income generating wildlife management activities (ibid 2016).

In reducing the power and authority of MNRT, focus must be on improving the disbursement of collected revenue back to WMAs as currently WMAs receive lesser amount of funds contrary to the requirement of Twelfth Schedule of WMAs

Regulations 2012 which is as good as breaking the law (8RESP 01 December 2016). In that case, the Central Government (MNRT) must adhere to the law (i.e. twelfth schedule of WMAs regulations 2012 schedule) and become transparent in computation of the amount of funds sent back to the WMAs (ibid 2016).

> *"Our Village Governments are not given that level of freedom to make choices that could empower local communities and also improve their livelihood and wildlife resources conservation" (8RESP 01 December 2016)*

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012 was introduced to replace the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2002 which was the first set of Wildlife Management Areas Regulations to be introduced after Wildlife Policy 1998 came into existence. The Wildlife Management Areas 2002 was brought around to legally support the operationalisation of Wildlife Policy 1998 particularly in managing WMAs (ibid 2016).

However, the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that Wildlife Management Areas 2002 had many ambiguities and confusion on the subject of benefit sharing between the Central Government, District Governments and Local Communities. Thus, Wildlife Management Areas Regulation 2012 has been partially successful in alleviating the ambiguities and confusion around benefit sharing which was caused by the existence of various circulars and guidelines previously issued by the MNRT (ibid 2016).

Meanwhile, the ambiguities and confusion were caused by the fact that distribution of revenue collected was not clearly expressed in WMAs Regulations 2002 (8RESP 01 December 2016). These circulars and guidelines were used to describe how benefits should be allocated (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that WMAs Regulations 2012 was expected to bring about changes in wildlife management as opposed to the WMAs Regulations 2002. On the contrary, the Central Government (MNRT) has continued to control hunting block allocations within WMAs (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), hunting block allocations are subject to renewal or cancellation at the discretion of the director of WD in MNRT regardless of any contractual agreement which local communities may have with the respective hunting company (i.e. the investor). In that case, local communities cannot make critical decisions on matters related to wildlife management within WMAs which subsequently affect their livelihood (ibid 2016).

Hence, the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, WMAs Regulations 2012 recognises the Director of WD in MNRT as the countrywide manager of WMAs and not the local communities. In that case, the way MNRT is managing WMAs, goes contrary to the principles of the WMA model which is to take ownership and control of the wildlife resources down to local communities with the aim of improving their livelihood (ibid 2016).

In that case, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that lack of ownership and control in managing WMAs has reduced local communities' involvement in the day to day management of wildlife resources which in turn has adversely affected their livelihood. The minimal involvement of local communities in matters related to wildlife management has resulted into a situation whereby local communities have become disgruntled with many decisions made by the Central Government (MNRT) such as the decision to expand the Ruaha National Park which has led to continued conflict with local communities particularly on compensation in order to reallocate their settlements (ibid 2016).

5.3.4 Conclusion

The specific research question: how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has been generally answered by a narrative that, Government has continued to show reluctance in handing over ownership of forest and wildlife resources by either carefully choosing or changing models such as JFM and WMA respectively and implementing them in forest and wildlife management. This has invariably inhibited other actors such as local communities from being sufficiently involved in forest and wildlife management.

At the moment, the livelihood outcomes in local communities have been adversely affected in terms of the quality of living condition and deteriorating surrounding environment, while encroachment into forest and wildlife reserves has increased

(8RESP 01 December 2016). Conversely, in few areas where local communities have been given complete ownership and control through the CBFM model, both livelihood and forest condition have drastically improved (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 7RESP (21 November 2016) explains that, with proper supervision and better production methods and strategies, charcoal business could largely contribute to improvement in communities' livelihood. The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that demand for biomass energy is increasing, as population continues to grow.

> *"We must change our way of thinking about charcoal business as a source of deforestation, and actually start looking at other alternatives and better ways of supporting this kind of business such as the use of SCP" (8RESP 01 December 2016).*

The local communities countrywide depend on forest and wildlife resources to support their livelihood in various ways, such as being the source of energy which comes from firewood, wooden poles for building their houses, pasturing their cattle, collection of traditional medicines, worshiping etc. (1RESP 03 October 2016). Thus, any more decisions and actions to restrict them from using forests to obtain those needs would further exacerbate the existing tension between local communities and the Central Government over the use and control of forest and wildlife resources (ibid 2016).

5.4 Decentralisation Policy and Operational Efficiency

5.4.1 Introduction

The fourth research question is being asked in order to examine the relationship between Government decentralisation policy and operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management. According to the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), both Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) advocate decentralisation of power and authority in forest and wildlife operations to local communities and private sector respectively. However, during implementation of both policies, actions of bureaucrats do not agree with respective policy provisions (8RESP 01 December 2016). Moreover, the bureaucrats have decided to establish legal and regulatory provisions which prohibit the devolution process contrary to respective policy requirements (1RESP 03 October 2016).

> *"We have not been able to work with both local communities and private sector effectively, as there are no clear implementation strategies on how to engage these two actors in the process of managing forest and wildlife resources" (5RESP 17 November 2016).*

Therefore, from the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), despite many challenges encountered in managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania, bureaucrats continue to believe that Government's intervention in forest and wildlife operations is necessary through the use of Tanzania Forest Services Agency i.e. TFS

and Wildlife Division (WD) at MNRT headquarters respectively (see figure 5.1.4). As shown in Figure 5.1.4, the Government's policy decision to devolve forest and wildlife operations was only made to adhere to conditions for debt relief given by donors' community, as currently participation of local communities and private sector is still minimal (8RESP 01 December 2016). Hence, the idea of allowing other actors to participate in managing forest and wildlife resources, is largely on paper and not in active practice within the various Government programs including but not limited to those in forest and wildlife sectors (ibid 2016).

The following is visual representation of empirical data:



Figure 5.1.4: Word Frequency for Decentralisation Policy and Operational Efficiency

The above word cloud diagram shows that, Wildlife Management Division (WD) at MNRT and Tanzania Forest Services Agency (TFS) continue to maintain more power and authority to take operational decisions on matters of forest and wildlife management under the existing policy's legal and regulatory frameworks. Eventually,

participation of households and private sector in forest and wildlife operations has continued to be minimised.

Detailed narration of the findings

5.4.2 The effects of decentralisation in Forest Management

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), there has been improvement in forest management since the Government decided to decentralise forest operations to some District and Village Governments. However, many significant operational decisions are still made by the Central Government (see figure 5.1.4), in this case the Ministry of Natural Resources through TFS (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Forest management has been decentralised in only few areas, while many other areas continue to be managed by the Central Government through Tanzania Forest Services Agency (8RESP 01 December 2016). 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that the actual decentralisation in the context of forest management is the introduction and implementation of CBFM model in managing forest operations through Village Governments. However, centralised system of operations in forest management continues till date (8RESP 01 December 2016). The centralised system has been causing many challenges, and a major challenge has been on how to manage the country's forest cover (ibid 2016).

According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), forest cover is the total size of forest land which exists within the country. Currently, Tanzania has a forest area size of square hectares (ha) 48.1 million (ibid 2016).

However, the number of forest workers at the moment nationwide is only 3,000 in all cadres of forest management, from the lowest forest official to the director at the ministerial headquarters (3RESP 10 November 2016). In that case, 48.1 million square hectares (ha) of forests cannot be efficiently managed by only 3,000 forest experts (ibid 2016).

On average, each forest expert is required to manage about 16,000 square hectares (3RESP 10 November 2016). As a result of this, some forest management programs such as Participatory Forest Management (PFM) have been introduced in order to alleviate the crisis (ibid 2016).

The PFM advocates decentralisation in forest management (3RESP 10 November 2016). However, the Government has not handed over power and authority of managing forest resources to other actors such as local communities and private sectors (8RESP 01 December 2016). Consequently, local communities have decided to encroach into forest reserves in order to obtain their needs (1RESP 03 October 2016).

"As a village leader, I actually support my people who usually go into surrounding national forests, because our very existence depends on resources found within those forests, I cannot stop them" (1RESP 03 October 2016).

1RESP (03 October 2016) continues to explain that the Central Government has maintained its position of refusing to entrust power and authority for managing forest resources to other actors such as local communities. Such a decision has increased deforestation activities and others similar incidents (8RESP 01 December 2016).

According to 3RESP (10 November 2016), forest reserves in Tanzania are mainly divided into National forests, Local Government forests and Communities (Village) forests. In terms of the total size of the country's forest land, a larger portion is centrally managed by Tanzania Forest Services Agency (TFS) which has zonal offices countrywide (ibid 2016).

Hence, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that considering the minimal number of workers in forest management, forest operations are likely to be affected by the size of the forest cover (i.e. country's total forest land). The Government could use local communities to reduce the problem of manpower which affects operational efficiency (ibid 2016).

Moreover, the Government must regard local communities as partners in forest management as they entirely depend on forests to satisfy their needs (8RESP 01 December 2016). The local communities depend on forests for energy which comes

from fuelwood and charcoal, wooden poles for building their houses, pasturing their cattle, collection of traditional medicines, worshiping etc. (1RESP 03 October 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that local communities and private sector could assist in increasing operational efficiency of workers in forest management. The problem of shortage of forest workers could be reduced by devolving power and authority to local communities and private sector so as to increase efficiency in forest operations (ibid 2016).

Bureaucrats should consider decentralisation in forest management as a policy that can improve forest operations rather than being a policy which has been imposed by donors (8RESP 01 December 2016). The decision to adopt and implement decentralisation should be aimed at securing more grants and other forms of support from donors' community (ibid 2016).

Many bureaucrats believe that Government's intervention is not only necessary but is the best approach for solving social and economic challenges (5RESP 17 November 2016). However, the situation has changed and bureaucrats have decided to comply by adopting decentralisation in various sectors of the economy including forest management (ibid 2016). In addition, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that even if Government continues to intervene in managing forest resources, with existing challenges in forest operations, deforestation and forest degradation are likely to increase.

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), the Government has been using Tanzania Forest Services Agency (TFS) to manage large parts of the country's forest land (i.e. forest cover). TFS was actually established to centrally manage forest resources in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that, TFS is primarily responsible for managing national forests which are under the Central Government and also is given another responsibility of managing forests located in general land outside the official Protected Areas (PAs). However, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that there have been many challenges with TFS such as, lack of legal mandate to manage forests located in general land i.e. outside the PAs.

It is on the general land that most deforestation activities take place (8RESP 01 December 2016). According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), TFS is able to conduct its forest operations on only thirty three percent of the protected forest land. The protected forest land is only fifty percent of the entire country's forest land (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) argues that decentralisation can assist in improving efficiency by extending forest operations into other areas outside the protected areas which TFS is unable to reach. Moreover, those areas in which their forests are not protected, are the ones where many unauthorised village settlements have been established (ibid 2016). By decentralising power and authority for managing forest operations, local communities through LUP can decide to survey

their village lands and later demarcate the new land using beacons (1RESP 03 October 2016). In this way, they become responsible and accountable for managing forest operations conducted under their jurisdiction (ibid 2016).

In conducting forest operations, the private sector has been using better technology and has displayed more sophistication in forest management, for example, Kilombero Valley Teak Company (KVTC) and Green Resources (7RESP 21 November 2016). Thus, because of the number of villagers and technology possessed by the private sector, local communities and private sector can efficiently conduct forest operations (ibid 2016).

The main disadvantage of having large forest land being unprotected by law i.e. unsurveyed and undemarcated is that Government can hardly win any lawsuit against those involved in deforestation within the unprotected land areas (3RESP 10 November 2016). There are reported incidents whereby the Government lost court cases to those caught in deforestation activities within general land (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that the situation becomes worse, due to the fact that TFS is able to manage only thirty three percent of the protected land and faces challenges of shortage of manpower, finance and other material resources such as motor vehicles which could be used to enhance operational

efficiency. TFS was established in 2011 after dissolving Forest Division (FD) in Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism i.e. MNRT (ibid 2016).

However, Forest Division was re-established in year 2015 (3RESP 10 November 2016). Basically, the Government's decision to establish TFS under Government Executive Agencies Act No. 30 of 1997, was mainly aimed at strengthening efforts on revenue collection from forest products (ibid 2016).

> *"The decision to dissolve Forest Division within MNRT, actually surprised many as this was the policy desk of the minister responsible and by so doing, the policy advisor on forest management in MNRT was removed" (3RESP 10 November 2016).*

Therefore, 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that TFS manages thirty three percent of protected forests cover. Fifty seven percent of protected forest cover is managed by District Governments (Local Authority forest reserves) and the remaining ten percent of protected forest cover is managed by local communities through their respective Village Governments (ibid 2016). Thus, only ten percent of existing protected forest cover is under local communities, which vividly shows the extent of actual implementation of decentralisation policy in forest management (8RESP 01 December 2016).

However, the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016) explains that comparatively, village forest reserves have better forest conditions compared to forest reserves which are being managed by either Central or Local Governments. The main reason is due to daily forest management and adequate number of people involved in forest operations which makes forest management much easier especially in undertaking forest patrols, as compared to distant (i.e. in terms of staff location) forest management which is hampered by limited number of forest staff employed countrywide (1RESP 03 10 2016).

Furthermore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that lack of private sector involvement is another restrictive factor in enhancing operational efficiency. Currently, the role of private sector in forest management is only to assist the Government in financial and technical aspects and information sharing (ibid 2016).

In addition, there are very few private actors in forest management (8RESP 01 December 2016). There are few private forest reserves such as Teak Plantation Forest Reserve managed by Kilombero Valley Teak Company (KVTC) located between Kilombero and Ulanga districts in Morogoro region (3RESP 10 November 2016).

However, when the private sector is compared with local communities in terms of financial and technical contribution to forest management, the private sector has more to offer (3RESP 10 November 2016). The Government has not taken enough advantage of such opportunities to improve forest management (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) continues to explain that Green Resources is a private company that operates in forest management with huge plantation forests nationally and internationally. Green Resources is a forestation company that ranks among the large producers of wood in East Africa (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that efficiency in forest operations is affected by delays in the approval process of LUP. Usually, no forest operation is allowed on a land which has not been approved by LUP (ibid 2016). The LUP is approved in the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development i.e. MLHHSD (3RESP 10 November 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that an effective decentralisation process must cut across all other policies and must not be limited to few such as forest and wildlife management policies. For example, Land Policy should provide a particular provision which takes power and authority down to lower levels of Government to decide on matters pertaining to land management such as approvals of LUP (ibid 2016).

5.4.3 The effects of decentralisation in Wildlife Management

According to the narrative of (8RESP 01 December 2016), Village Governments are responsible for looking after Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) through locally established Community Based Organisations (CBOs). The introduction of Wildlife Management Area model (WMA model) is aimed at providing local communities with

full control over sustainably managing wildlife animals for their own benefits (4RESP 14 November 2016).

Hence, WMAs are intended to bring power and authority down to local communities, to be on top of wildlife management process in areas where people reside between two or more official protected wildlife reserves (8RESP 01 December 2016). Thus, WMAs are mini-wildlife reserves managed by local communities through their Village Governments by using CBOs (4RESP 14 November 2016). However, there are only few geographical areas in Tanzania where WMAs have been established and commenced operations (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) continues to explain that, in these few WMAs, there is a problem of decreased efficiency in wildlife operations, as a result of constant Government intervention (see Figure 5.1.4) and minimal or rather limited devolution of power and authority needed to improve wildlife operations. The minimal (limited) devolution of power and authority in managing WMAs, is as a result of Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE), the Wildlife Conservation Act 2009 and Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012 which gives the Central Government more power and authority over matters related to wildlife operations within WMAs (ibid 2016).

Eventually, Village Governments through CBOs conduct wildlife operations in those respective WMAs based on decisions made centrally by MNRT (8RESP 01 December

2016). Moreover, the Central Government (i.e. MNRT) collects revenues from WMAs but does not disburse the funds timely to the WMAs where the funds were initially collected. Even when a particular WMA receives the disbursed fund, it usually not in accordance with the Twelfth Schedule of WMAs Regulations 2012 and also its computation is not transparent (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that lack of local communities' power and authority to decide on matters related to wildlife operations within WMAs has been influenced by conservation politics. Conservation politics are a set of established policies, legal and regulatory settings best adapted to conservation (4RESP 14 November 2016). It involves working out which of the actors is better placed to manage conservation of forest and wildlife resources (ibid 2016).

For example, NGOs wanted to enable local communities to enhance their revenue management system in WMAs by proposing a revenue management framework which could directly benefit the local communities (8RESP 01 December 2016). However, all proposals including the framework itself were finally accepted by MNRT, but not included into the revised WMA Regulations 2002 and for this reason, the new and existing WMA Regulation 2012 has no recommendation from NGOs particularly in relation to revenue collection and its management (ibid 2016).

Moreover, conservation politics can also be seen in the relationship that exists between bureaucrats within the MNRT (8RESP 01 December 2016). This typically occurs when forest and wildlife managers compete for resource allocation, especially

at the time of budget disbursement and at the time of soliciting funds from donors (ibid 2016).

For example, usually the MNRT receives the annual budget ceiling for the entire ministry each financial year from the Commissioner for Budgeting (CB) at the Ministry of Finance and Planning (MoFP) on behalf of the Paymaster General (PMG), then the MNRT management has the responsibility of allocating the amount to various internal divisions (5RESP 17 November 2016). During budget allocation meetings held each financial year, forest and wildlife managers have been constantly debating over which divisions among the two i.e. between forest and wildlife should be allocated more funds (ibid 2016).

In managing revenues, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that usually when MNRT collects funds from WMAs, it is supposed to remit the funds to PMG at the MoFP. Thereafter, funds will be redistributed to the MNRT and back to respective WMAs (ibid 2016).

Such delay in funds disbursement always hinders efficiency in wildlife operations within WMAs (1RESP 03 October 2016). Many wildlife operations cannot be efficiently carried out because of delays and inadequacy of funds (ibid 2016). Thus, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, devolution in the context of wildlife management largely depends on the successful implementation of the WMA model in managing wildlife operations through CBOs under Village Governments. In those few

geographical areas where the WMA model has been implemented, it has brought encouraging results (4RESP 14 November 2016).

However, there have been some challenges during implementation of this particular model such as local communities are not given full power and authority to manage the wildlife operations due to claims that they lack adequate skills and knowledge necessary to manage wildlife operations (8RESP 01 December 2016). These claims usually come from bureaucrats thus indicating the continued existence of politics of conservation in wildlife management operations (ibid 2016).

On the contrary, 8RESP (01 December 2016) argues that in order for local communities to successfully manage wildlife operations, the Central Government must disburse revenues initially collected from WMAs timely and in accordance with the Twelfth Schedule of WMAs Regulations 2012. The MNRT must also correctly and transparently compute and issue explanatory notes on the disbursed amounts (ibid 2016).

Moreover, the major challenge that hinders a successful implementation of WMA model in many areas is the legal and regulatory environment which makes implementation of WMA model difficult in terms of other contradicting cross cutting laws and subsequently affects wildlife operations within WMAs (8RESP 01 December 2016). For example, Land Use Act No. 5 of 1999 which implements the National Land Policy of 1995 creates a challenge particularly on land use planning and approval

whereby the commissioner for land at MLHHSD, has the sole power and authority to approve an LUP prepared and agreed at the village level (ibid 2016).

The land Act directs local communities to seek final approval from the land commissioner at MLHHSD after preparing the LUP (8RESP 01 November 2016). Any village land which has been marked as WMA can be disapproved by the land commissioner who solely has been given such authority (5RESP 17 November 2016). Although the commissioner for land in Tanzania is the sole bureaucrat responsible for the overall administration of all lands, while land officers at district and municipal levels have some power delegated to them but not authority (ibid 2016).

Normally, land use planning process involves preparation of minutes of various meetings held after decision is made to divide a particular village land (8RESP 01 December 2016). Thereafter, a survey of the land is usually carried out and beacons are implanted at designated locations (1RESP 03 October 2016). Subsequently, coordinates are recorded from each beacon and used in preparing the formal agreement between the Village Government and District Government as the two parties involved in the agreement (ibid 2016). The agreement literally shows that the District Government has accepted the plan and subsequently the LUP is sent to commissioner for land at MLHHSD for final approval (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Moreover, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the WMA model is aimed at compensating local communities for the losses they usually suffer from daily confrontation with wildlife animals. In addition, when establishing a particular WMA,

local communities have to be financially compensated for the land area which they surrendered (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the reason why there are few WMAs is because of the lengthy establishment process which demands time, skills and financial resources. The introduction of WMA model in wildlife management makes Tanzania wildlife reserves to be divided into four categories namely: national parks, game reserves, game controlled areas and WMAs (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) continues to explain that, the major challenge in managing WMAs lies in its operational framework. For example, WMA has always been described as village wildlife reserve but all key operational decisions cannot be made at the village level (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that Village Governments must seek approval from the Central Government through the District Government before carrying out a particular wildlife operation. At the District Government, there is a designated office that deals with WMAs (ibid 2016). However, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that the office usually forwards all operational requests to the MNRT for approval before the operational request is implemented (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016), at MNRT there is a special desk responsible for managing all countrywide WMAs. In that case, Village Governments through CBOs have neither power nor authority to carry out key operational decisions within WMAs without the MNRT's approval such as allocation of hunting blocks to hunters as described in WMAs Regulations 2012 (ibid 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, in WMAs there have been fewer reported cases of animal poaching compared to other categories of wildlife reserves due to high frequency of patrols by the villagers although they are not well equipped and trained. But, in national parks and game reserves, there are many reported cases of game rangers and wardens (who are well trained and equipped) being involved in animal poaching which signifies low efficiency and morale in their wildlife operations (ibid 2016). For example, 1RESP (03 October 2016) explains that many of the game rangers and wardens in Selous Game Reserve and Ruaha National Park are either directly involved or assist poachers in illegal hunting instead of preventing it, with the aim of enriching themselves.

Moreover, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, efficiency in wildlife operations is affected by lack of recognition and acceptance of professional ideas or recommendations issued to political actors. Often times, political actors tend to ignore professional recommendations that do not benefit them politically in their respective electoral constituencies (ibid 2016).

On the other hand, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, the overall Government's budget allocation to support MNRT wildlife operations is another operational efficiency setback. Often times, various ministerial plans and programs have not been efficiently implemented due to inadequacy of funds to support wildlife operations (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that lack of adequate working tools such as motor vehicles has adversely affected the efficiency in conducting wildlife operations. Game rangers and wardens have been using old and out-of-date tools to prevent and control illegal hunters who have increasingly become militarised (ibid 2016).

Meanwhile, 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that when the Government decided to devolve power and authority to the lower district level also known as Local Government Authorities (LGAs) through its decentralisation policy in 1972, the decision was intended to improve operational efficiency. Instead, during implementation of decentralisation policy, many workers in LGAs were retrenched including game wardens and scouts (ibid 2016). It was believed that in order to increase operational efficiency, those possessing lower academic qualifications such as primary education of seventh grade, should be removed from public service through the well-known, Government workers' retrenchment program (ibid 2016).

According to narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016), it was subsequently learned that implementation of decentralisation policy through retrenchment of workers was not properly conducted. After the removal of game rangers and wardens in the 70's and 80's, human-wildlife conflicts, wildlife trafficking and animal poaching became prevalent (4RESP 14 November 2016).

The continued growing conflict between humans and wildlife animals, wildlife trafficking, animal poaching has compelled the Government to revisit its previous decision on retrenchment of workers and start to employ game wardens and scouts (4RESP 14 November 2016). Currently, there is a college located at Ruvuma in Namtumbo area, North of Songea Town called Likuyusekamaganga which provides training to game wardens and scouts (ibid 2016).

However, Village Governments seem to be unable to train their own game wardens and scouts due to limited financial resources (8RESP 01 December 2016). At the moment, many trainees are being sponsored by either the Central Government or Non-Governmental Organisations (ibid 2016). The shortage of game wardens and scouts at the village level affects wildlife operations both within and outside WMAs in human settlements and farms (8RESP 01 December 2016); eventually leading to an increase in human-wildlife conflicts, wildlife trafficking and animal poaching (ibid 2016).

Therefore, 8RESP (01 December 2016) narrates that, in order to increase operational efficiency in wildlife management especially in villages, MNRT must provide the required amount of finance and other material support to enable recruitment of more game wardens and scouts. Moreover, during the recruitment of field workers (game wardens and scouts) MNRT should consider other candidates who lack academic credentials, but have work experience in wildlife operations as their experience is an important skill set that replaces their lack of the requisite academic qualification (ibid 2016).

In addition, the narrative of 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that, the efficiency of wildlife operations is affected by many contradicting laws within wildlife management. There are three wildlife authorities namely: TANAPA, NCAA and TAWA. Each operates by using its own law whereby the laws have overlapping institutional responsibilities namely Tanzania National Parks Act Cap. 282 of 2002 (RE), Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority Act Cap. 284 and Wildlife Conservation Act No. 5 of 2009 respectively (ibid 2016).

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that these wildlife authorities operate by using three different laws which in most cases cause contradictions during their implementation. In order to minimise contradictions and increase efficiency in the overall wildlife operations, these three laws must be harmonised or integrated, because at the moment there is only one wildlife policy in place (ibid 2016).

Moreover, 4RESP (14 November 2016) expresses concern over continuity or sustainability of WMAs due to the fact that the model is being funded by Norway. There is a possibility for WMAs to collapse when Norway decides to withdraw its support (ibid 2016).

The introduction and operationalisation of WMA model requires considerable financial investment and long set-up time (4RESP 14 November 2016). It takes eight to nine years to establish a particular WMA and make it operational (ibid 2016).

5.4.4 Conclusion

The specific research question: how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has fundamentally been answered by a narrative that, bureaucrats continue to believe that Government intervention is vital and necessary in forest and wildlife management (see figure 5.1.4). This intervention strategy is sometimes considered to be in the best interest of the people.

> *"As a free nation, we are supposed to make our own decisions on how best to engage in the process of managing the country's natural resources, after all people have elected us to protect those resources" (2RESP 27 November 2016).*

However, the narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that the Government's intervention has adversely affected efficiency in forest and wildlife operations. Despite a change in the Government's policy from centralised to decentralisation management of forest and wildlife resources, lower levels of the Government such as Village Governments have neither power nor authority to make operational decisions as the operational decisions continue to be made from the top ministerial level i.e. MNRT (ibid 2016).

Thus, in a nutshell, the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) further explains that there have been minimal achievements since MNRT decided to devolve power and authority to local communities and private sector to enable them conduct forest and wildlife operations. The MNRT has been either carefully selecting or altering the JFM and WMA models, to prevent local communities and private sector from taking an active and productive role in managing forest and wildlife operations (ibid 2016).

5.5 Bureaucratic paradigm change and cooperation of other actors

5.5.1 Introduction

The fifth research question is being asked in order to understand the relationship between bureaucratic paradigm and cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources. 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, there are changes in public service delivery after the Government chose to adopt free enterprise system from the old socialist system guided by the Arusha Declaration. The change of economic system has also demanded public sector reform in policy management and paradigms of bureaucrats involved (ibid 2016).

However, in spite of the change of economic system, classical public administration (CPA) continues to exist among bureaucrats, which makes the process for public sector reform relatively static (6RESP 25 November 2016). There is a discrepancy between the new public management (NPM) recently introduced in Tanzania bureaucracy and the actual situation resulting from bureaucrats' admiration of the classical public administration (5RESP 17 November 2016). This discrepancy is hindering successful policy reforms in public sector (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, there have been various reforms in Tanzanian bureaucracy such as Public Service Reform Program (PSRP) funded by the World Bank, which seeks to improve accountability, transparency and resource

management. However, the reform efforts have not been able to change the existing bureaucratic paradigm i.e. classical public administration (ibid 2016).

The following is visual representation of empirical data:

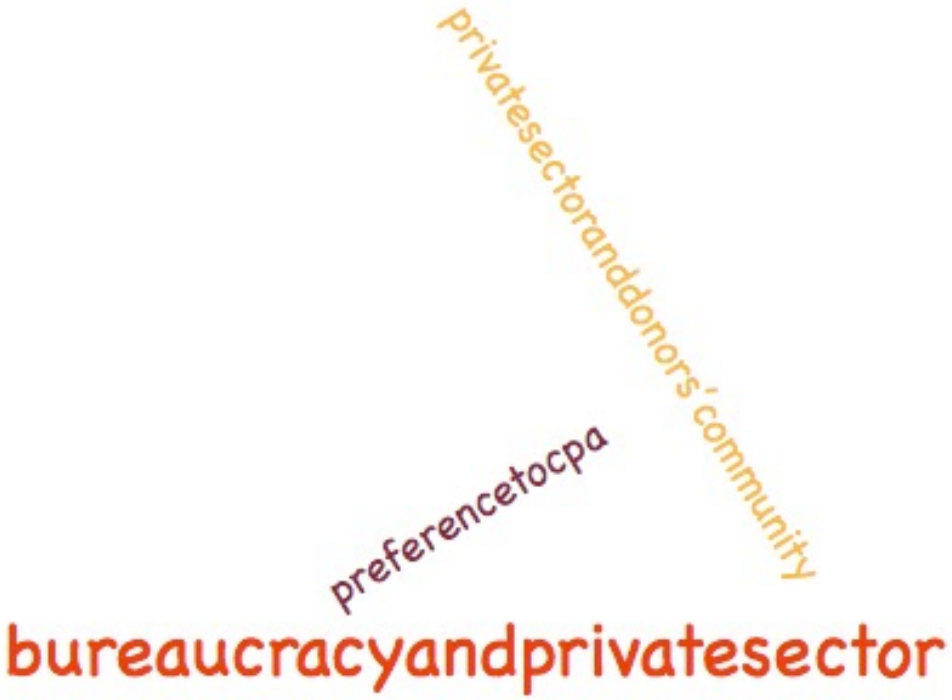


Figure 5.1.5: Word frequency for bureaucratic paradigm change and cooperation of other actors

The above word cloud diagram shows that, the decision by bureaucrats to continue embracing classical public administration (CPA) in spite of changes from socialism to

free enterprise has affected the cooperation between bureaucracy and private sector. However, such resistance to change has not affected the cooperation between the private sector and donors' community.

Detailed narration of the findings:

When it comes to cooperation in policy design and implementation, many interviewed respondents indicated that, minimal cooperation exists between bureaucrats and other actors particularly the private sector. This is caused by continued adherence by bureaucrats to classical public administration which does not advocate the new customer-oriented managerialism in conducting Government business (see figure 5.1.5) which could improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania (6RESP 25 November 2016). This is caused by the socialist thinking of many bureaucrats (ibid 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, there is more cooperation (see figure 5.1.5) between private sector (which includes Non-Governmental Organisations and private foresters) and donors' community. The better cooperation between donors and private sector communities is as a result of mutual belief in principles of market economy (ibid 2016). Bureaucrats continue to formulate and implement rules which do not encourage cooperation with outside actors (8RESP 01 December 2016).

The narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, periodically the MNRT has been organising scientific expert conferences in order to exchange expert views on

forest and wildlife animal sciences in which various actors usually participate. However, these kinds of conferences have been described as having minimal contribution to both forest and wildlife policies as they tend to discuss academic issues rather than policy issues which emerge from practical challenges in forest and wildlife management (ibid 2016).

Furthermore, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the role of the media is critical in order to enhance cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors especially at the time of designing and implementing policies. Minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors is evident on the fact that the policies in forest and wildlife management are designed and implemented without enough consultation (ibid 2016). Through cooperation bureaucrats could understand the underlying issues which need to be incorporated into respective policies and subsequently improve policy outcomes (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Cooperation between Bureaucracy and Private Sector

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), when it comes to cooperation between bureaucrats and private sector in designing and implementing forest and wildlife policies, there is minimal involvement of private sector, as it appeared during the development, implementation and revision of both Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) respectively. Often times, private sector is only involved in forest and wildlife management when it is required to provide technical

and financial support to Government, and not in actual process of policy design, development, implementation or revision (6RESP 25 November 2016). Normally, private sector is more of the recipient of Government directives (ibid 2016).

3RESP (10 November 2016) and 4RESP (14 November 2016) explain that, the contribution of private sector in forest and wildlife management is vital for new and quality policy inputs which could improve related policies and the entire forest and wildlife management systems. The cooperation with private sector would help to obtain views of private sector during policy design and avoid many practical challenges which might erupt when both policies are implemented (5RESP 17 November 2016). Moreover, private sector has better technical and financial capabilities needed in forest and wildlife management (6RESP 25 November 2016).

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the cooperation between private sector and the Government can be seen when private sector prepares policy briefs. Policy briefs are usually expected to feed into policy management processes (5RESP 17 November 2016). The process of preparing policy briefs by NGOs, regularly involves the presence of Government officials (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016), there is a particular policy brief which was prepared to look at the viability of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) whereby representatives of TANAPA and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) took part in its formulation. This particular arrangement of involving

Government officials usually helps to provide information to the Government on what should be expected in a forthcoming policy brief (5RESP 17 December 2016).

The narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the contribution of the policy brief on viability of WMAs is expected to be seen in the next policy review process. Moreover, CWMAC which is the apex body of WMAs has prepared a policy brief which indicates some shortfalls in Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE), as the Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) does not address some of the key challenges encountered in WMAs (8RESP 01 December 2016). Meanwhile, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that MNRT is expected to convene stakeholders' meetings and expect to receive the particular policy brief on WMAs from CWMAC in the next policy review of Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE).

However, 8RESP (01 December 2016) narrates that, in the past there were some recommendations from policy briefs presented to the minister during the review process of Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2002 in year 2012 which were specifically aimed at addressing issues of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). The recommendations were discussed by key stakeholders in wildlife management and it was agreed that they should be incorporated into the review process of Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2002 in front of the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), the recommendations were later altered by MNRT officials and replaced with their own ideas/recommendations. The Wildlife Management Areas Regulation 2012 was subsequently signed by the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism and became operational (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) continues to explain that, some bureaucrats in MNRT privately own the hunting, timber and logging businesses and that could be the cause of not considering the issued recommendations. The policy and regulatory decisions made in managing forest and wildlife resources have always been to their personal benefit (ibid 2016).

According to 8RESP (01 December 2016), the rejected ideas were basically geared towards increasing the involvement of private sector in alleviating various challenges which threaten the sustainability of many established WMAs. Currently, most of the established WMAs have experienced financial difficulties and the bureaucrats could have simply assisted local communities by accepting the ideas through introduction of new policy provisions which elevate the role of private sector in policy implementation and attract more investments into the WMAs (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 8RESP (01 December 2016), ecologically, the WMA can be properly located as it allows animals to migrate from one protected area to another, but wildlife operations within a particular WMA needs to be financially

supported so as to provide benefits to local communities. Thus, when local communities do not see any benefits of having a particular WMA in their areas, they would resort to land reclamation and restart using the land for farming and establishing settlements (1RESP 03 October 2016).

However, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that not all WMAs face financial difficulties, for example, Ikona WMA in Serengeti district generates more funds than funds collected by Serengeti district council through various sources of income. Such an achievement is a product of effective communities' involvement and attraction of investors i.e. private sector involvement (1RESP 03 October 2016).

Ikona WMA is a leading WMA that generates a lot of revenue in Tanzania (8RESP 01 December 2016). It was formed by five local communities that decided to enter into an investment agreement with Grumeti Reserve Ltd, an eco-tourism company which established a resort within Ikona WMA and remits a certain agreed percentage of its revenue to Ikona WMA (4RESP 14 November 2016). That is what constitutes the success story of Ikona WMA (ibid 2016).

In such a case, 4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that the Government should cooperate with private sector and ensure such cooperation is facilitated by the Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) and Wildlife Conservation Act 2009, by allowing private sector to take a more active and productive role in designing and implementing forest and wildlife conservation policies. Moreover, private sector has not been allowed to

manage any of the wildlife reserve (ibid 2016). Hence, the only relationship or cooperation that exists between bureaucrats and private sector comes, at the time when there is a need for information sharing and provision of technical advice to and from the Government (6RESP 25 November 2016).

Furthermore, cooperation between bureaucrats and private sector specifically NGOs involved in forest and wildlife management, has a challenge in terms of lack of coordination between these two parties (6RESP 25 November 2016). Many NGOs that operate in forest and wildlife sectors are not registered or recognised by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (ibid 2016).

In other words, bureaucrats are unaware of the existence of many NGOs that operate within forest and wildlife industries (6RESP 25 November 2016). Eventually, these NGOs receive funds from donors' community and start operating in forest and wildlife management without the knowledge of the ministry responsible, i.e. MNRT (ibid 2016).

Thus, the lack of proper coordination and cooperation between MNRT and NGOs, has resulted in duplication of efforts in forest and wildlife management (8RESP 01 December 2016). Often times, MNRT conducts a similar activity to that of an NGO (ibid 2016).

For example, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that lack of coordination and cooperation is evident when there are NGOs reportedly to be registered to conduct similar institutional functions as combating wildlife crimes such as Multi-Agency Task Team (MATT) and National and Transnational Serious Crimes Investigation Unit (NTSCIU). Meanwhile, there is TAWA which was recently established by MNRT in 2015 to combat wildlife crimes. There are already other public authorities such as TANAPA and NCAA conducting similar responsibilities, arguably each wildlife authority has been assigned a specific operational area i.e. either operates in game reserves or national parks, but these wildlife authorities have always been colliding in terms of their overlapping institutional responsibilities (ibid 2016).

Therefore, the major challenge that mars cooperation between bureaucrats in MNRT and NGOs, appears to be coordination (6RESP 25 November 2016). The lack of proper coordination between MNRT and NGOs has led to a situation where, other NGOs participate in international fora without the knowledge of MNRT and speak out on critical issues of forest and wildlife Management in Tanzania (8RESP 01 December 2016). Moreover, it occurs in some international meetings where NGOs speak contrary to the Government's positions which show that NGOs are challenging positions taken by Government on matters of forest and wildlife management (3RESP 10 November 2016).

Notwithstanding, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that usually NGOs are described as the second arm of Government and always support Government in areas

where Government cannot reach. Generally, in forest and wildlife management, NGOs have provided enormous contributions (5RESP 17 November 2016). For example, the contribution of TFCG to forest management in Tanzania is commendable (3RESP 10 November 2016).

The cooperation between bureaucrats and researchers in policy design can be well described as when bureaucrats receive research results and recommendations from researchers, the interaction between the two parties usually depends on which categories of researchers that work or associate with bureaucrats (5RESP 17 November 2016). There are two categories of researchers namely, analysts and activists (ibid 2016).

The research analyst usually shows both positive and negative results and provides appropriate recommendations on how to deal with a particular problem. Activists on the other hand, usually prefer to pin-point negative results and subsequently issue recommendations which seem to be offensive (5RESP 17 November 2016). In that case, the extent of cooperation or interaction is affected and the situation as a whole becomes very uneasy for both parties (ibid 2016).

Research analysts are usually relating amicably with Government (5RESP 17 November 2016). Hence, the manner in which research results and recommendations are being shared or communicated between bureaucrats and researchers, usually defines the extent of cooperation between the two parties (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that when a particular research study has been conducted and the results and recommendations are shared with bureaucrats in a non-confrontational manner, often times bureaucrats tend to be receptive to the results and recommendations offered. In that case, research analysts usually seem to avoid confrontational writing when providing their findings and recommendations on a particular subject matter of investigation (ibid 2016).

Cooperation between bureaucracy and other state actors

The narrative of 5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that, when it comes to the formulation and implementation of policies for forest and wildlife management, usually the three state branches (i.e. judiciary, legislature and executive) tend to look after their respective interests. The three branches of the state have shown minimal inter-cooperation in matters of forest and wildlife management as legislature may decide to formulate laws that protect the interest of patrons by making sure that they simply win confidence of voters in their electoral constituencies and reject the expert recommendations and technical reports presented by bureaucrats specialised in forest and wildlife management (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Similarly, patrons may introduce significant changes within technical proposals presented to them for deliberation, in order to garner political support from their voters (5RESP 17 November 2016). Moreover, some of the judiciary rulings tend to

adversely affect forest and wildlife management as the verdict is usually issued after considering the impact of the verdict on the electorates and not reflect on the seriousness of the offenses committed particularly with reference to incidents such as animal poaching and deforestation (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Cooperation between Private Sector and Donors' Community

6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, currently there is maximum cooperation between donors' community and private sector compared to cooperation between donors' community and Government (as shown in figure 5.1.5). The reason for this is that donors' community understand the contribution of private sector to forest and wildlife management, particularly when referring to their own respective countries, as it occurs in Scandinavian countries (3RESP 10 November 2016). The Scandinavians have been involved in matters of forest and wildlife management in Tanzania for decades (ibid 2016).

In addition, 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, private sector has been empowered by the donors' community to provide assistance in forest and wildlife management in various areas such as combating wildlife trafficking, animal poaching and building capacity of Government institutions. Moreover, the private sector has been contributing in policy debates which seek to improve the existing Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) for better policy outcomes (4RESP 14 November 2016).

Furthermore, 6RESP (25 November 2016) continues to explain that, private sector has been providing financial assistance needed to strengthen relevant Government institutions and even NGOs that operate in forest and wildlife management. Donors' community has been mostly working with private sector to assist various NGOs under the arrangement of what is described as landscape partnership in forest and wildlife management (8RESP 01 December 2016). Landscape partners are local NGOs working closely to bring an integrated approach that would help in designing and implementing policies of forest and wildlife management. The landscape partners have displayed significant contribution to forest and wildlife management, and some of them are; TNC (The Nature Conservancy) based in the Northern Zone, Wildlife Conservation Society which operates in the Southern Zone particularly at Ruaha and the Jane Goodall Institute (JGI) found in Western Zone (ibid 2016).

On policy management, the narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the private sector (through NGOs) has been looking at various contradictory policies, which prompted the preparation of policy briefs to propose some policy changes aimed at improving forest and wildlife management. For example, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, TNRF (Tanzania Natural Resource Forum) is expected to come out with policy briefs which would propose some policy changes to be considered during the next policy review of Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE).

In addition, 8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, private sector has been assisting other NGOs such as; STEP (Southern Tanzanian Elephant Project) in

working on ways to combat elephant poaching. There is PAMS Foundation (for the Ruvuma Elephant Project) which works on training Village Game Scouts (VGS) to combat trafficking and poaching of wildlife resources (ibid 2016).

Other NGOs are the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) works on training canine dogs such as German shepherds used for detecting illegal trafficking of wildlife resources in harbours and airports (8RESP 01 December 2016). The Community Wildlife Management Areas Consortium (CWMAC) is a consortium of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) which operates as the apex body that brings together WMAs (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, another NGO which obtains assistance from the private sector is Lawyers' Environmental Action Team (LEAT) which is an environmental law organisation in Tanzania established to ensure sustainability in managing environmental and natural resources by analysing contradicting laws which cut across such as Land Act and Wildlife Conservation Act, Energy Act etc. LEAT aids in the identification of conflicting areas and provides advice on harmonisation of the contradicting laws (ibid 2016).

TRAFFIC is another NGO which deals with monitoring of legal cases related to wildlife management and implementation of judicial rulings (8RESP 01 December 2016). TRAFFIC deals with legal cases by following up on as many legal cases which lack

adequate legal representation and they also strive to ensure that the verdicts offered by the judiciary are not lenient (ibid 2016).

8RESP (01 December 2016) explains that, TRAFFIC is aiming at increasing awareness of the judiciary branch so that when incidents of illegal hunting of wildlife animal are reported and filed in court, the verdict would be expected to be close or equal to the extent of losses of wildlife resource. Apparently, at the moment, the judiciary branch has minimal training and expertise on wildlife crimes (4RESP 14 November 2016). Moreover, TRAFFIC usually follows up on cases from the start to the end by providing legal assistance when required (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Cooperation between bureaucracy and regional partners

4RESP (14 November 2016) explains that lack of regional cooperation in wildlife management particularly with neighbouring countries such as Kenya, is among the major policy setbacks. The Kenyan wildlife management policy permits the destruction of elephant trophies (ivories) seized from poachers while Tanzanian wildlife management policy prohibits destruction of elephant trophies and instead they are warehoused while waiting for the appropriate course of action to be taken (ibid 2016).

This inconsistency between the two policies has given rise to a situation whereby the Government of Kenya is disgruntled over some of the decisions and recommendations

presented by the Government of Tanzania (4RESP 14 November 2016). The Government of Kenya has been at the forefront in international fora opposing many recommendations issued by the Government of Tanzania, particularly when it comes to discussions of issues related to wildlife management (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Cooperation between Bureaucracy and Donors' community

The narrative of 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that minimal cooperation between Government and donors' community has been caused by the fact that international financial and technical support rendered in forest and wildlife management has not been in line with the Government's plans and strategies. For example, in most cases Government sees that the donors' community has been investing in research studies of forest and wildlife resources with objectives which contribute more to academia than those objectives which could solve practical challenges that currently pervade forest and wildlife management (4RESP 14 November 2016).

Moreover, donors' community considers it easier to manage funds released through the private sector than funds which are being injected into the Government system (6RESP 25 November 2016). Because of that, Government usually looks at private sector as a rival, rather than a partner in forest and wildlife management, as they both compete for financial support from donors' community (ibid 2016).

"Easy access to information and timely accountability of funds (received and utilised) have always increased interactions and trust between private sector and donors' community" (6RESP 25 November 2016).

"Private sector is the leading actor in forest and wildlife management in Scandinavian Europe. This explains why Nordic countries who are major supporters both technically and financially, have more interactions and trust with the private sector including NGOs in Tanzania" (8RESP 01 December 2016).

Cooperation within bureaucracy

6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that cooperation among bureaucrats particularly at the inter-ministerial level such as, cooperation between MNRT and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, East Africa, Regional and International Co-operation (MFAEARIC) has its challenges. Often times, the President's Office has to remind Government bodies particularly ministries to ensure that cooperation exists amongst them (ibid 2016). Moreover, there are specific instructions issued by the President's Office, stating that all matters of communicating with the outside world or counterparties must be channelled through MFAEARIC (5RESP 17 November 2016).

However, when MNRT was preparing and later revising forest and wildlife policies and even implementing some of the international forest and wildlife resolutions related to climate change, MFAEARIC was not being adequately informed on the progress (5RESP 17 November 2016). On the other hand, when MFAEARIC was prepared and

revising the existing foreign policy (i.e. Foreign Policy 2001), MNRT and other key strategic ministries were also not being well informed about the process and progress made (ibid 2016).

When a decision was made to revise Foreign Policy 2001, MFAEARIC decided to establish internal ministerial taskforce (team of experts from within the ministry) to carry out such a critical activity (5RESP 17 November 2016). Moreover, even when position papers are prepared, the MFAEARIC usually executes this task without duly consulting other related ministries (ibid 2016).

5RESP (17 November 2016) explains that usually, MFAEARIC has the responsibility of preparing position papers which describe the country's position on a particular matter of significance such as matters of forest and wildlife management. The Government's position paper is supposed to be prepared in collaboration with the foreign ministry and other relevant ministries involved in handling such a particular matter of international significance (ibid 2016). However, there are several cases in which position papers have been used repeatedly at different international meetings with minimal amendments (6RESP 25 November 2016).

Moreover, cooperation between bureaucrats can well be described as the way MNRT works with other actors such as city councils and security organs in managing urban forest reserves (3RESP 10 November 2016). In other countries, there are designated forest reserves within cities and towns which are usually identified as urban forest

reserves in a similar way to village forest reserves being identified in Tanzania (ibid 2016).

According to the narrative of 3RESP (10 November 2016), usually these urban forest reserves tend to produce sufficient oxygen and improve air circulation within cities and towns and reduce quantities of carbon produced from various sources whether animal or non-animal. In other words, urban forest reserves allow cities and towns to breath (ibid 2016).

On the contrary, in Tanzania urban forest reserves are being regarded by other bureaucrats apart from foresters as sanctuaries for bandits and threats to security and safety of urban residents (3RESP 10 November 2016). As a result of this, there are no urban forest reserves in Tanzania as previous ones have been slashed and the areas allocated for other use particularly human settlements (ibid 2016). Moreover, neither Forest Policy 1998 nor current on-going policy review, has considered or addressed the need for having urban forest reserves (5RESP 17 November 2016).

In the city of Dar es salaam, there is a mangrove forest at Selander bridge which improves air circulation around the immediate vicinity (3RESP 10 November 2016). However, security organs and city authorities are constantly demanding the mangrove forest to be slashed, as it is said to be used by criminal gangs as a sanctuary (ibid 2016).

Similar demands have been issued by security organs in relation to the Vikindu forest located outside of the city of Dar es salaam and the police force claims that the Vikindu forest is a sanctuary for robbers (3RESP 10 November 2016). Eventually, there was a decision by the local authority to slash the forest either fully or partially (8RESP 01 December 2016). However, that decision was challenged by the MNRT (3RESP 10 November 2016).

Therefore, 3RESP (10 November 2016) argues that bureaucrats must cooperate in finding alternative solutions to various practical challenges such the one concerning security and safety of urban residents. In other countries such as Kenya, there is the Karura forest reserve located at the heart of nation's capital city of Nairobi (8RESP 01 December 2016). The Government in Nairobi have used community police which proved to be a better strategy in fighting robbery and other social ills which used to take place in areas around Karura forest (ibid 2016).

5.5.2 Conclusion

The fifth and last specific research question: how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources? has been primarily answered by a narrative that, there is minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors both within and outside the Government in designing and implementing policies that could improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. 6RESP (25 November 2016) explains that, the cooperation between bureaucrats and private sector has been largely and adversely affected by the

existing bureaucratic way of thinking (see figure 5.1.5). Yet, many bureaucrats continue to believe in centralist rules and regulations in designing and implementing policies (ibid 2016).

Next, these empirical findings explained above for all five specific research questions, will be subjected to critical evaluation and interpretation against the assumptions and principles of theories and models of theoretical framework in the following chapter. The aim is to be able to understand whether these empirical results satisfy or do not satisfy relevant premises of theories and principles in the theoretical framework.

Summary

To end this, this particular chapter has presented empirical results of each of the five specific research questions. The chapter reveals a number of issues which need to be critically evaluated and interpreted, in order to ascertain whether they satisfy or do not satisfy the premises of the theories and model of theoretical framework of the study. Some of the key issues are:

i. There are many significant changes in terms of revisions to the country's foreign policy provisions which constitute part of the major policy reforms which have taken place in Tanzania since the 1990s. However, those significant changes in foreign policy provisions and reforms as a whole, have not been able to address critical issues such as climate change management.

Furthermore, the empirical information indicates that the country's foreign policy lacks connection (i.e. harmonisation) with other key and strategic domestic policies. Moreover, when foreign policy was developed and revised, prior research studies were not conducted. Prior research could have enabled bureaucrats to formulate a sound policy based on an analysis of the situation that is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible. Meanwhile, the significant role of policy and planning division (PPD) is diminished, not well understood or fully realised.

ii. The central role which stakeholders play in policy making in Tanzania supersedes the role of researchers. Stakeholders' inputs are integral but they need to be validated to ensure that they are both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible before taking them into the policy making process.

The preference given to stakeholders' recommendations than those coming from researchers, is as a result of minimal investment in research studies by the Central Government and existing poor quality of research. Moreover, in terms of the significance of supply-driven and demand-driven research studies, both are considered to have similar or equal impact. In actual fact, the Government could invest in supply-driven research which has more impact and feeds well into policy making process and subsequently produces effective policy provisions.

iii. There has been more use of Joint Forest Management (JFM) model and Wildlife Management Area (WMA) model in forest and wildlife management respectively. Moreover, Community Based Forest Management (CBFM) model has been applied in very few areas countrywide and eventually all three models have neither improved forest and wildlife conservation nor households' livelihood outcomes.

iv. The Wildlife Division (WD) at MNRT and Tanzania Forest Services Agency (TFS) continue to maintain more power and authority to make operational decisions on matters of forest and wildlife management under the existing policy, legal and regulatory frameworks. Eventually, participation of households and private sectors in forest and wildlife operations has continued to be minimised.

v. The decision made by bureaucrats to continue embracing classical public administration (CPA) i.e. preference for CPA, in spite of changes from socialism to free enterprise has highly and adversely affected the cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors particularly the private sector in designing and implementing policies. However, such resistance to change has had little impact on the cooperation between the private sector and donors' community in managing forest and wildlife resources.

CHAPTER SIX

6. Critical Evaluation and Interpretation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed set of critical arguments on empirical findings after evaluating and interpreting the theoretical framework. In this way, the researcher is able to interpret the empirical data by using assumptions and principles of theories and models used, so as to offer explanations on the correlation that exists between variables for each research question.

This research is primarily centred on the importance of researching and involving various stakeholders in different stages of policy development and its entire management, from initiation stage of soliciting policy inputs, designing, implementing and evaluating policy outcomes. Thus, the researcher seeks to understand the role of various actors such as local communities, private sector and donors in improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania.

It is important to highlight at the outset that the empirical information gathered and analysed in the second research question may seem contradictory to other research questions. This is because some respondents cautioned on the tendency for bureaucrats to simply rely on whatever is received from stakeholders and incorporate

them directly into policy without validation. But, such cautionary response should not be regarded as confirmation that stakeholders are not important in policy making process. Actually, they are integral to successfully designing and implementing a policy, as it is indicated in the empirical information gathered and analysed in subsequent research questions. Meanwhile, the third research question shows that stakeholders must be involved in policy making process. These two arguments may seem contradictory but they are not.

In that case, the two research questions are complementary rather than contradictory; particularly, responses to the second research question which try to show the importance of research towards perfecting or validating stakeholders' inputs or recommendations before being taken into the policy making process. Hence, this study recognises stakeholders as being of the utmost importance in the policy making, who should not be marginalised under any pretext. Therefore, the argumentation starts as follows:

The first research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? is addressed by using Goodin's Empirical Theory of policy making. The lines of argumentation used to address this particular question explains the relationship that exists between foreign policy provisions and donors' financial and technical support needed to improve forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania.

Cooper (1972) describes a country's foreign policy as being a higher foreign policy, while sectorial policies such as forest policy, wildlife policy and other domestic policies of strategic significance as being lower foreign policies. A country's foreign policy usually looks after its topmost priority issues. Such issues encompass international trade, climate change, national security and survival. These issues are interwoven with other issues in key domestic policies that are more specific to a particular sector such as forest, wildlife, minerals etc.

In that case, it is worthwhile examining Tanzania's foreign policy as the new or modern Tanzania Foreign Policy 2001 has been focusing on economic diplomacy, following the economic and socio-political shift that occurred at the international and national levels. Moreover, Foreign Policy 2001 has preserved the gains of the past and consolidated the fundamental principles of Tanzania's traditional foreign policy (MFAIC 2015). The promotion of deeper economic cooperation with donors' community is among the modern principles of Tanzania foreign policy (*ibid*).

Tanzania's foreign Policy has the following objectives; to project, promote and protect the country's political, economic, social and cultural interests through active and sustainable economic diplomacy; to ensure that the country's relation with other nations and international entities are in line with economic interests of the state; and to create the necessary conditions which shall enable the state to participate effectively in the regional and international negotiations etc. (MFAIC 2015). In

addition, Tanzania's foreign policy has the following strategies; to build a facilitative internal environment; to continue forging international partnership; to promote the interest of the United Nations Organisation (UNO); to address financial issues and external debt; to cooperate with multinational corporations; and to support effective NGOs (*ibid*).

Thus, in order to understand the contribution of Tanzania foreign policy to natural resource management particularly in managing forest and wildlife resources, the empirical information suggests that there have been several changes in Tanzania's foreign policy provisions. Currently, there is an on-going review process and neither at this review stage nor during its initial formulation were prior research studies conducted in order to understand the critical policy issues which are needed to foster the right donors' financial and technical support (p.143).

Moreover, the foreign policy itself has not been connected with other domestic policies such as those in the forest and wildlife sectors of the economy. The empirical information suggests that the foreign policy is an extension of domestic policies (p.143). A proper connection between foreign policy and domestic policies ensures that domestic policies are successfully implemented; failure to achieve this connection implies failure of the foreign policy itself (p.144).

In addition, the empirical evidence reveals that Tanzania's foreign policy has not been connected to the Sustainable Development Goals (p.144). Developing economies such as Tanzania need to connect the macro and micro policies at international and national levels to ensure that they both contribute in addressing many of the critical challenges which are cutting across nations such as global crisis of climate change (*ibid*).

Thus, the empirical findings reveal that Tanzania Foreign Policy 2001 stands as an independent document with no affiliations to domestic policies especially those with strategic importance to the economy such as forest and wildlife management. Moreover, neither Forest policy 1998 nor Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) contributes to the policy provisions outlined in the country's foreign policy (p.145).

On the other hand, Goodin's principle of policy making states that policy making process must add meaning or feed into other related policies. In other words, a sound policy must be broadly coherent with other related policies. On the contrary, the empirical evidence reveals that Tanzania's foreign policy does not connect or feed into other domestic policies of key and strategic significance in order to achieve broader and better policy outcomes (p.144).

According to the empirical findings none of the policies in Tanzania connect or feed into each other, particularly those which relate to forest and wildlife management (p.152). The empirical information shows that bureaucrats operate in silos (secrecy)

i.e. they develop and implement policies without enough consultation and without placing emphasis on ensuring that their policies contribute or feed into each other (p.184).

The empirical findings reveal that TDV 2025, Foreign Policy 2001, Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) were all developed in secrecy and no serious measure has been taken to harmonise (i.e. connect) them, especially in some key policy issues such as climate change and its mitigation strategies (pp.160;184). Moreover, the empirical evidence reveals that even other cross cutting policies and their respective laws such as those of agricultural, minerals and livestock sectors which tend to adversely affect forest and wildlife management are not harmonised (connected) at the lower level nor at the higher level to the Foreign Policy 2001 and TDV 2025 (p.175). Lack of harmonisation poses a major setback to the implementation of all these policies as well as the implementation of Foreign Policy 2001.

Moreover, the problem of harmonisation between Foreign Policy 2001 and other policies of key sectors of strategic importance is being aggravated by the absence of foreign affairs legislation which could make it mandatory for other key and strategic policies to be harmonised with the country's foreign policy to ensure its overall smooth and successfully implementation. Other policies have their respective legislations for implementation, but Foreign Policy 2001 does not have and that makes it difficult to be successfully implemented. In order to ensure that any policy is successfully implemented, lawmakers have a central role to play in enacting the

requisite legislation which will help to enforce the implementation of the policy (Heritier 2002 p.186).

Therefore, harmonisation of all policies related to forest and wildlife management from top to bottom, will ensure that policies are successfully implemented and eventually attract the right financial and technical donors' support needed to improve forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. Improved forest and wildlife management will be of mutual benefit to both Tanzania and donors' community in the fight against climate change. It has always been the aim of donors' community when supporting forest and wildlife conservation to increase carbon stocks akin to the colonial and post-colonial eras (Mgaya 2017).

The second research question: how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? is going to be addressed by using both Goodin's empirical theory of policy making and Ayuk and Marouani's policy making theory. In addressing this particular question, the lines of argumentation explain the relationship that exists between research quality and policy effectiveness and then outline the real challenges involved in relation to policy making and overall forest and wildlife management in Tanzania as follows:

The research quality that is used as policy input for better policy outcomes depends on whether a particular policy is made after understanding the social system through a proper research (as stated by Goodin's theoretical assumption of policy making).

However, empirical findings reveal that policy making process in Tanzania is not governed by this particular theoretical assumption, rather bureaucrats merely solicit information from various stakeholders through seminars and workshops and eventually use the information to develop policy provisions which have proved to be ineffective, particularly in forest and wildlife management and in preventing human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching, deforestation, forest degradation etc. (p.179).

Moreover, the empirical evidence reveals that when Foreign Policy 2001, Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) were initially developed and subsequently revised, there were no prior and proper (i.e. impactful) research studies conducted. It seems Government has decided to have direct line of communication with actors involved in order to understand social challenges which actors encounter in forest and wildlife management through stakeholders' workshops and meetings, instead of using researchers. The rationale behind such a decision appears to be based on reducing time and cost of soliciting information (p.179). However, the validity of information collected via this mode is low, and this shows that the Government is not concerned with quality of data that could feed into policy making process, but rather on saving time and cost involved in the solicitation process. Eventually, bureaucrats are not well informed on the causes of social challenges that prevail within the society.

Furthermore, in the on-going policy review of Foreign Policy 2001 which started in year 2016, empirical evidence reveals that MFAEARIC did not use any empirical research findings in ironing out issues of strategic importance to be included into the

revised policy. Rather, MFAEARIC decided to form a small internal task force which simply conducted desk reviews on various material sources as well as use verbal instructions issued by top ministerial officials and national leaders to revise the foreign policy (pp.157-158).

In addition, empirical evidence reveals that in forest management, the Forest Division (FD) in MNRT tends to hire other consultants on demand, to conduct research studies for specific assignments (demand-driven research studies/short-term research studies). A case in point is when MNRT wanted to know, to what extent Forest Policy addressed critical environmental issues. The consultancy assignment was contracted to University of Dar es salaam (UDSM).

The Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) and other prominent researchers were also contracted on a short-term basis (minimum of one year contract) to investigate various issues of critical importance in forest management. Currently when conducting policy review, those short-term research reports from various consultants are used as input into the process of revising the Forest Policy 1998 as they are synthesised and examined in totality in order to identify policy issues and subsequently formulate their respective policy statements. In that way, FD considers the applied approach of engaging consultants on a short-term basis to conduct research, to be enough to understand the challenges and use the short-term findings and recommendations to revise Forest Policy 1998 (p.200).

On the other hand, the empirical evidence reveals that in the past ten years there has been no impactful wildlife management research project funded by the Government as opposed to Ayuk and Marouani Theory. Instead, TAWIRI has been receiving funds from the Government to conduct short-term research studies which are targeted at solving short-term problems that exists in wildlife management (pp.207-208).

In that case, it means that TAWIRI has not be able to execute any long-term research projects for a long period of time. Failure to implement such long-term research studies has resulted in a situation whereby the Government is unable to fully understand what is happening in wildlife reserves and wildlife management as a whole in Tanzania. It also indicates that the revised Wildlife Policy 2007 has not captured the underlying problems in wildlife management, and that explains why the policy gaps continue to increase or in other words, policy outcomes continue to deteriorate as more human-wildlife conflicts, animal extinction, animal trafficking and animal poaching continue to increase.

Hence, the effectiveness of policy provisions for both Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) are in question due to the existing poor policy outcomes. The lack of effectiveness of policy provisions governing forest and wildlife management has been caused by poor quality of research results and recommendations produced by demand-driven research studies. If and only if, there have been impactful research studies conducted, then the prevailing problems in forest and wildlife management would have been significantly reduced.

Moreover, the empirical evidence reveals that the importance of conducting a proper or impactful research in both forest and wildlife management is to be able to answer fundamental questions such as how change in socio-economic development or change in human population growth etc. has affected forest and wildlife management. Those kinds of fundamental questions cannot be answered by short-term research studies. The long-term research approach would enable the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism as a custodian of both forest and wildlife policies, to know the major policy issues that affect conservation efforts and even be able to see the trend at both local and global scales so as to subsequently develop a proper management plan (p.204).

Therefore, without proper research, bureaucrats will be less informed about critical issues that exist within a social system and subsequently produce ineffective policy provisions which lead to poor policy outcomes. Thus, the Government should find ways of dealing with issues of time and financial constraints so that long-term impactful research studies can be conducted in order to improve policy outcomes. In this way, research findings and recommendations can feed into the policy making process and produce effective policy provisions which will address existing social and economic challenges in forest and wildlife management such as poor livelihood among members of local communities, human-wildlife conflicts, deforestation etc.

The Goodin's theoretical principle is also stating that policy making process must be supported by empirical validation of theories and/or models. The empirical evidence reveals that in Tanzania, the policy making process is not supported by empirical validation of theories and/or models. Thus, the issued recommendations especially those coming from stakeholders are taken into the policy making process without being validated (p.179).

The empirical information reveals that during policy making process in Tanzania, stakeholders' recommendations usually supersede recommendations of researchers (p.176). Stakeholders' recommendations are highly considered as necessary and reliable inputs than recommendations from researchers during either policy development or policy review. They rank among the major prerequisites for getting policy approval from the Cabinet.

Hence, bureaucrats prefer to use stakeholders' recommendations as a major source of policy inputs in Tanzania's policy making process and have been merely soliciting information from various stakeholders through seminars and workshops and eventually use those recommendations to develop policy provisions without validating them with any of the related existing theory or model of the issued recommendations (p.179). Eventually, the situation has resulted in the formulation and implementation of ineffective policy provisions which have led to an increase in human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching, animal extinction, deforestation, forest

degradation and poverty among local communities living in surrounding areas of forests and wildlife reserves.

On the other hand, it is necessary for African researchers and bureaucrats to interactively engage in policy making processes. This is because researchers have a better understanding of the social, economic and political environment in which they operate. Moreover, Ayuk and Marouani made a theoretical assumption that, domestic and sufficient funding or investment in research produces effective and relevant local public policies.

The empirical results reveal that the low quality of research results and recommendations from demand-driven research is largely due to lack of adequate funds from the Tanzanian Government. According to empirical information, other research institutes have been compelled to enter into commissioned works (demand-driven research projects) in order to cover their running expenses (p.188).

Eventually, there is poor quality of research results and recommendations to feed into the policy making processes. According to empirical information researchers have been struggling for their existence as institutions. Some of the research institutes have decided to develop their own business model to ensure that they are able to survive in the research industry. Renowned research institutes such as ESRF, IFAKARA Health Institute (IHI), REPOA etc. have decided to develop their own

business models of operations in order to finance their research projects due to inadequate funding from the Government (p.187).

It is also described that research output is a public good (Willinsky 2006). Hence, if research output is a public good, it means Government must ensure that research institutes receive adequate funds to enable them to conduct impactful or long-term research studies which would eventually guarantee better quality of research results and recommendations that could properly feed or contribute into the policy making process.

For a long period of time, most of the research studies in forest and wildlife management have been financed by donors. According to the empirical evidence, many research works in TAWIRI depend on funds from donors' community (p.202). In that case, African research studies and policy development must be funded by respective African Governments. This will invariably guarantee improved research quality as a reward for adequate investment.

The third research question: how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? is addressed by using DFID livelihood model. The lines of argumentation used to address this particular question aims at explaining the relationship that exists

between households' participation in managerial process and their livelihood outcomes.

In addition, the effects of implementing various developmental interventions by donors and the Central Government has been examined and described. Tanzania is blessed with enormous natural resources which are basically the livelihood assets, found in the famous Ngorongoro crater, Serengeti national park and Gombe stream national park amongst others. Donors' community have constantly been involved in forest and wildlife conservation in terms of providing financial and technical assistance as follows:

According to DFID livelihoods model, households are at the centre of any development program/project and they should be the ones determining development priorities and influencing the institutions involved in the processes that affect their lives. However, empirical information reveals that there is no mutual trust between bureaucrats and local communities in forest and wildlife management in implementing Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program (which has been adopted by the Government of Tanzania from Norway through NORAD). Bureaucrats sees local communities as drivers of the problems that exists, while local communities complained that, they are being denied their right to make use of forest and wildlife resources in order to improve their livelihood outcomes (p.213).

This clearly shows that households are not at the centre of PFM because of mistrust which exists, while initially the PFM as a development program was meant to improve both forest condition and communities' livelihoods. Hence, inclusion of local communities in determining development priorities is not there. Thus, it is important to involve local communities in determining development priorities after validating their recommendations so as to ensure successful implementation of any development intervention.

Therefore, in order to improve livelihood and forest conditions, the empirical evidence suggests that other programs such as Development by Devolution (D by D) should be introduced into forest management to increase participation of local communities. The empirical findings reveal that D by D involvement process usually starts from the bottom to the top (p.221). In this way, local communities are able to point out issues of immediate concern rather than having bureaucrats formulate policies or programmes from the top to bottom. Bureaucrats have also been known to impose programs such as PFM on local communities, thereby making them implementers of Government policy decisions which directly affects their livelihood outcomes (p.261). Thus, the current policies do not reflect the priority needs of local communities such as improved livelihood outcomes, rather, they are focused on the priorities of bureaucrats and donors such as attaining better forest conservation.

Moreover, the empirical evidence suggests another program which encourages local communities' participation known as Opportunities and Obstacles to Development

(O&OD). O&OD is a participatory community program aims at empowering the local communities. It is also based on a bottom up approach. According to the empirical evidence, the O&OD program is funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the program recognises the significant role of local communities by giving them the chance to discover opportunities within their immediate surroundings. The discovered opportunities will then be developed into programs/projects and subsequently implemented by the local communities as program/project managers who are conversant with the available opportunities (p.222).

Thus, by bringing in new programs such as PFM which have neither originated from the local communities nor have their development priorities been considered, it explains why livelihood outcomes have been poor. Furthermore, the bureaucratic attitude towards participation has also adversely affected livelihood outcomes. Currently, PFM has not been able to produce expected results of improved forest conditions or improved livelihood of local communities surrounding the forest resources.

Hence, because PFM through its JFM model has not been able to achieve its objectives of improving forests conditions and livelihood of local communities, the empirical information suggests that O&OD should be adopted into forest management. The O&OD places local communities at the heart of a particular development program and subsequently guarantees its successful implementation.

In addition, it is evident from the empirical findings that MNRT has decided to marginalise local communities by implementing PFM through the use of JFM model and not CBFM model (p.225). Comparatively, CBFM model increases participation as it transfers ownership of the entire forest reserve to local communities from the Central Government, and there are positive outcomes from such a decision. The empirical evidence reveals that forest condition and livelihood outcomes have significantly improved in some villages where CBFM model has been used (p.227).

Another assumption of DFID livelihoods model states that, households should use their asset base to develop a range of livelihood programs/projects which would enable them achieve their desired livelihood outcomes. The empirical evidence reveals that Government has been reluctant to hand over ownership of forest and wildlife resources through the use of models such as JFM and modified WMA by putting up structures which inhibits local communities from fully participating in forest and wildlife management. Moreover, it is only few villages that have been using CBFM and WMA models in forest and wildlife management respectively (p.214).

In other respects, there are some areas where households have been using the same forest land to cultivate crops i.e. Agroforestry. The empirical evidence reveals that agroforestry is also being used to improve livelihood outcomes of households and reduce over-dependency on forests products such as charcoal, timber, fuelwood etc.

Thus, agroforestry also contributes towards the reduction of incidents of encroachment and deforestation activities. It involves planting trees within crops or crops within trees, provided that both species are compatible with each other (p.220).

However, agroforestry can only be practiced where CBFM model is used. In other words, it can only be practised where villagers have the right to own the forest land on which they can cultivate their crops or plant trees. The current state of affairs is such that the Government has sole right over forest land and villagers are not granted access into the forest to conduct any type of productive activity due to the application of the JFM model by the Government. It is therefore not possible to practice agroforestry as the forests belong to the Government and not local communities.

In view of this, households should be empowered to use their asset base i.e. surrounding forest land to develop a range of livelihood programs/projects which would enable them to achieve their desired livelihood outcomes and simultaneously improve forest and wildlife conservation. Households will be empowered only if the Government accepts to transfer forest ownership to local communities through the use of the CBFM model. At the moment, only about ten percent of the entire forest land in Tanzania uses the CBFM model.

Therefore, JFM-based PFM program being donor-funded has not enabled local communities to use their asset base to develop a range of other livelihood programs

because it restricts them from owning forest land. If this was not the case local communities would have achieved their desired livelihood outcomes. Consequently, failure to allow households own and use their asset base to develop various livelihood programs will result in the continued deterioration of forest and wildlife management.

The DFID livelihoods model also operates under the assumption that, households have no control or limited control over vulnerability context/issues (i.e. environmental context) which comprises trends, shocks and seasonality. The three sets tend to negatively affect households and make them vulnerable to poverty. The empirical evidence reveals that there are environmental issues such as increase of human population which has given rise to higher demand for biomass energy such as charcoal in Sub-Saharan Africa (p.265). Eventually, there has even been an increase in deforestation in order to produce enough charcoal that would meet the demand.

In that case, the empirical evidence suggests that another way of improving local communities' livelihood outcomes could be by engaging them in modern charcoal business. Fortunately, the Government has started to promote modern charcoal business through programs such as Sustainable Charcoal Production (SCP). The empirical evidence reveals that the idea of SCP was originally introduced by NGOs working in forest management.

The SCP is believed to reduce rate of deforestation caused by existing traditional and inefficient method of charcoal production (p.233). Hence, the Government's decision to provide support to other programs such as SCP could enable local communities to manage or control the challenges brought about by vulnerability issues. This is due to the fact that they (i.e. households) have no control or limited control over vulnerability context as the vulnerability issues usually tend to negatively affect households and make them vulnerable to poverty.

Hence, programs such as PFM are supposed to assist in addressing the livelihoods and vulnerability issues which local communities are facing in order to ensure PFM becomes sustainable. The JFM-based PFM and WMA programs have neither addressed livelihood nor vulnerability issues of local communities such as improved human health, employment opportunities, prices, demography, technology and so on. Therefore, because local communities have no control or limited control on such issues, that makes the PFM as well as the WMA programs to be irrelevant to households living around the forest and wildlife reserves.

It is obvious that when the PFM was introduced by donors in the first place, its main objective was not to improve the livelihoods of local communities but rather to have better forest conservation in order to strengthen the ability of forests to absorb more carbon. Thus, the Government and donors should know that local communities have different expectations from PFM regarding improving their livelihood outcomes.

DFID livelihoods model also operates under the principle that livelihoods analysis must be holistic in terms of identifying both internal and external factors which have positive or negative impact on the livelihood of a particular household and also ensure participation of members of households' communities. According to the empirical information, a good example of an effective livelihood analysis is on the use of O&OD.

The empirical evidence shows that O&OD could assist in improving livelihoods of households involved in forest and wildlife management. During the implementation of O&OD, the entire project idea is generated from local communities. O&OD has been introduced in few parts of the country which include Monduli in Arusha Region, Bagamoyo in Coast Region, Pangani in Tanga Region, Ulanga and Kilombero in Morogoro Region, Tunduma in Ruvuma Region, Nzega and Igunga in Tabora Region and Chunya in Mbeya Region (p.223).

According to the empirical information, the O&OD program was introduced by JICA, and it recognises the significant role of local communities by giving them the chance to discover opportunities within their immediate surroundings. The discovered opportunities will then be developed into programs, which will be implemented by the local communities as program managers who are conversant with the available opportunities (p.222). On the contrary, the PFM program has not been able to meet its objectives because of the following reasons; firstly, it lacks adequate livelihood analysis as no interviewed respondent from local communities admitted to hearing or being involved in any consultation beforehand and even after the program became operational. Moreover, the actual program implementation considers livelihood to be

a secondary objective particularly when the decision was made to use JFM model instead of CBFM model.

Another principle upon which DFID livelihoods model operates states that, any kind of intervention i.e. program/project introduced to a particular local community must recognise, appreciate and respect the differences that exists among the households' members such as overall well-being, gender, age, ethnicity, level of education etc. The empirical information reveals that bureaucrats look at local communities as organisations which lack required knowledge and skills to manage their local forest and wildlife resources (p.281).

During the implementation of PFM and WMA programs, donors and the Tanzania Government regard local communities as drivers of deforestation, forest degradation and other ills in forest and wildlife management. In addition, local communities are being considered to lack required knowledge and skills in managing forest and wildlife resources. Thus, in order to ensure successful implementation of PFM and WMA models, donors and the Government must reconsider and start recognising the potential and critical role of local communities in forest and wildlife conservation.

DFID livelihoods model also operates under the principle that, livelihoods analysis must be conducted based on how people make a living. The empirical evidence reveals that traditionally, local communities have been using forests and wildlife resources to improve their livelihood outcomes. The local communities depend on

forests for energy which comes from fuelwood (and sometimes charcoal), wooden poles for building their houses, pasturing their cattle, collection of traditional medicines, worshiping and so on (p.265).

Yet, the donor-funded JFM-based PFM and WMA programs have been introduced and are being implemented without considering how local communities make their living. For example, in Monduli forest which uses JFM model, livelihood outcomes continue to deteriorate and subsequently cause escalation of poor forest condition.

The empirical evidence shows that Monduli forest reserve is a joint forest reserve which uses the JFM model to specifically protect sources of water in Monduli district area. It is also a catchment forest reserve that prohibits productive activities such as logging. The Monduli forest reserve has a unique tree scientifically referred to as "*Junipera Spocera*" used by the Maasai tribe for building houses. Thus, the Government's decision to use JFM model in Monduli forest reserve instead of CBFM model, makes that particular forest reserve susceptible to encroachment and other activities which adversely affect Monduli forest reserve (p.228).

Moreover, the empirical evidence shows that Monduli forest reserve is surrounded by wildlife reserves, out of which animals tend to migrate into Monduli forest reserve in search of food and water resources. The presence of these wild animals makes it an

attractive hunting block for subsistence hunting and fetching water for domestic use (p.228).

In that case, before deciding to introduce JFM-based PFM into Monduli forest reserve, donors and the Government were supposed to ensure that livelihoods analysis was conducted and most importantly, consideration should have been made on how people earn their living. Thus, the increased deforestation and degradation not only within Monduli forest reserve but also across other forests countrywide, shows that livelihoods analysis was not conducted before introducing JFM-based PFM.

Furthermore, DFID livelihoods model operates under the principle that, there must be frequent reviews of the practices used to deal with various livelihood and vulnerability issues during implementation of a particular program/project. These reviews must be conducted on both sides of the Government/donors and community (households) involved, in response to various changes particularly on vulnerability context that usually take place in an effort to avoid unintended consequences. The empirical results show that there are neither systematically periodic reviews conducted on the practices involved in forest and wildlife management.

For example, since 1998 when both forest and wildlife policies were introduced for the first time in history of forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania, only the Wildlife Policy was revised in 2007. Both policies introduced and advocated the

participatory approach in managing forest and wildlife resources by involving other actors particularly local communities and private sector.

In addition, the first WMAs regulations were introduced in 2002, four years after the Wildlife Policy 1998 was approved. The WMAs Regulations 2002 was later revised in 2012, ten years afterwards which shows there is no consistency as to when the reviews or reflections on practices that take place in addressing various livelihood and vulnerability issues must be conducted. Meanwhile, forest policy has not been revised since 1998, and it is only now that there is an on-going review process.

The fourth research question: how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? is addressed by using Boko (2002) centralist theory, Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) neo-patrimonial theory and Van de Walle (2007) clientelist theory. In addressing this particular question, the lines of argumentation seek to explain the relationship that exists between change in Government policy to decentralisation and operational efficiency in forest and wildlife management. The new narrative is going to be used as a basis for showing the embedded elements or behaviours which impede successful implementation of decentralisation in forest and wildlife conservation as follows:

The Boko (2002) centralist theory operates under the assumption that local organisations (Village Governments, District Governments and Private sector) are expected to behave in ways that are as close as possible to the Central Government's wishes, albeit non-financial wishes. The empirical information indicates that currently, the private sector has been providing the Government with technical assistance and sharing information on forest and wildlife management (p.276). Historically, these actions have been guided or stipulated in the Wildlife Policy 1998.

The Wildlife Policy 1998 calls for the public "…to support Government's efforts in the conservation and management of wildlife resources" (MNRT 1998 p.29). It also states that "the role of local and international NGOs is to support the Government technically at all levels, in the conservation and management of wildlife resources" (MNRT 1998 p.29).

Hence, private sector and other actors work for the Government in managing forest and wildlife resources, and are always expected to respond to instructions issued by the Government. The empirical information reveals that private sector has a minor role to play in forest management and it is only few members from the private sector community that are directly involved in forest management.

There are very few private forest reserves such as Teak Plantation Forest Reserve managed by Kilombero Valley Teak Company (KVTC) located between Kilombero and Ulanga districts in Morogoro region (p.276). Comparatively, when the private sector

is compared with other actors in terms of financial and technical contribution to forest management, private sector has more to offer. However, the Government has not taken enough advantage of such opportunities to improve forest management.

For example, according to the empirical information, Green Resources is a private company which operates in forest management with huge plantation forests nationally and internationally. Green Resources is a forestation company and among the larger producers of wood in East Africa (p.237).

Furthermore, the Boko (2002) centralist theory operates under the assumption that local organisations are expected to raise revenues for the Central Government. The empirical information suggests that usually, when MNRT collects funds from WMAs, it is supposed to remit all collected funds to Paymaster General (PMG) at the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Later, funds will be disbursed back to the MNRT and back to respective WMAs (p.280).

However, empirical findings further indicate that there has always been delay in disbursing funds back to the WMAs and such delays hinder efficiency in wildlife operations. Eventually, many wildlife operations cannot be efficiently carried out because of delays and inadequacy of funds (p.280).

In that case, the Central Government is using local organisations (i.e. CBOs which are responsible for managing WMAs) to collect revenue. But, if the Central

Government wishes to raise funds, then it should collect it in the form of tax charged on the amount of revenue that has been collected in a particular WMA, and not to collect the whole amount and later disburse it back to WMAs.

The Boko (2002) centralist theory also operates under the principle that the Central Government must take and/or maintain those responsibilities which cannot be effectively performed by local organisations. However, Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) discourages the Central Government from being at the forefront of maintaining forest and wildlife operations.

Both policies advocate decentralisation of power and authority in forest and wildlife operations to local communities and private sector respectively. However, during implementation of these policies, actions of bureaucrats have shown inclination towards Boko's centralist theory.

Bureaucrats have shown preference for continuing to centrally manage forest and wildlife operations. They have introduced legal and regulatory provisions which prohibit successful devolution processes in forest and wildlife operations contrary to respective policy provisions as stipulated in both forest and wildlife policies. However, local communities and private sector have proved to be useful and successful in managing forest and wildlife operations despite the fact that they operate in only few and limited areas as shown by the empirical evidence (p.265).

Thus, it shows that despite many existing challenges in terms of poor policy outcomes encountered in managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania, bureaucrats continue to believe that Government intervention in forest and wildlife operations is necessary. Hence, it confirms that the Government's decision to devolve power and authority in managing forest and wildlife operations was only made to adhere to conditions for debt relief issued by donors' community (pp.148;267).

The decision of Central Government (i.e. MNRT) to continue embracing power and authority over forest and wildlife operations is glaring in its refusal to implement fiscal decentralisation. Eventually, it has made it easy for patrons to use forest and wildlife resources to fulfil their neopatrimonial and clientelistic objectives as shown by the empirical evidence.

The neo-patrimonialism in forest and wildlife management is described by using Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) Neo-patrimonial theory. The theory operates under the assumption that usually in a neo-patrimonial environment, the existing rules are expected to be flexible in order to respond to new challenges in resource management that would benefit the patrons. The empirical evidence indicates that patrons have been using regulations which are much more flexible to change in their favour in response to various challenges that they face in public resource management.

For example, in a review of Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2002 which took place in 2012, some recommendations from NGOs and private sector on how best to manage WMAs were altered by MNRT officials and replaced with their own recommendations as shown by the empirical evidence (p.296). NGOs and private sector prepared a particular policy brief and presented to the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism during the review process of Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2002. The policy brief particularly proposed ways of addressing issues of revenues management in Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs). The policy brief was initially discussed and subsequently accepted in front of the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism.

Unfortunately, during submission of the revised regulations, the recommendations proffered in the policy brief did not form part of the revised Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012. Finally, the WMAs Regulations 2012 were signed by the minister for Natural Resources and Tourism and became operational (pp.295-296).

Such actions taken by MNRT bureaucrats typify neo-patrimonial tendencies of using regulations to legitimise their neo-patrimonial actions. According to the empirical evidence, the patrons at MNRT own hunting, timber and logging businesses. Their refusal to incorporate recommendations from NGOs and private sector signifies that they are using offices of the public for their personal benefit (p.296).

It also indicates that patrons are using regulations which are much easier and flexible to alter to fulfil their neo-patrimonial intentions. These regulations are usually being formulated within the responsible ministry and approved by the respective ministers. Normally, regulations are prepared and approved internally as opposed to the legislations which must be approved by the parliament. This arrangement makes the job of patrons much easier, as preparation and approval of regulations becomes an internal matter within the particular ministry.

Therefore, it is very easy to make changes to regulations and in any way that the patrons want. One can therefore argue that the revised WMAs Regulations 2012 have been formulated by patrons in order to protect their neo-patrimonial interests. To buttress this argument is also another example of the way in which TFS was established, as described below.

The Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) neo-patrimonial theory also operates under the assumption that, the newly established rules should only be developed in response to new challenges to the patronage system in public resource management. Thus, empirical evidence reveals that patrons reacted as a response to the new challenges which emerged after accepting the devolution in forest management, when MNRT decided to respond by establishing TFS under the Government Executive Agencies Act No. 30 of 1997 (p.272).

Hence, Government Executive Agencies Act No. 30 of 1997 was used to establish TFS. The Government Executive Agencies Act No. 30 of 1997 simply gives power to all full cabinet ministers to establish executive agencies within their respective ministries (Executive Agencies Act 1997 p.4).

In that case, the minister responsible at MNRT used the power vested in the office of the minister by the Government Executive Agencies Act No. 30 of 1997 to establish TFS in response to the challenge of decentralising power and authority in managing forest operations to local organisations. Thus, TFS is now centrally controlling forest operations in national forest reserves which constitute thirty three percent of the entire protected forests and eighty-three percent of the whole country's forest cover (i.e. total forest land of the country). However, the empirical information indicates that TFS lacks efficiency in managing forest operations (pp.270-272).

Efficiency is defined as a situation whereby every resource is optimally allocated and used, leaving minimal wastes and losses (Coelli et al. 2005). The lack of efficiency opens doors for the patrons to take advantage of the prevailing situation. Furthermore, by establishing TFS, MNRT was solidifying its central position in forest management, contrary to the whole idea of devolution as stipulated in the Forest Policy 1998.

Hence, because of the prevailing poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management, bureaucrats should now reconsider and look at devolution in both forest and wildlife conservation as an alternative strategy for increasing efficiency in forest and wildlife operations. Bureaucrats should also ensure that the embedded neo-patrimonial elements or behaviours are discouraged in forest and wildlife conservation.

In other respects, Bratton and Van de Walle (1994) neo-patrimonial theory operates under the principle which states that the established rules of patrons must indicate who may participate in making public decisions concerning resource management. The empirical information reveals that private sector and local communities have always been marginalised in decision making processes concerning forest and wildlife management. The decision on allocation of hunting blocks which is made centrally by the director of WD at MNRT is an indication that other actors are being marginalised from making significant and critical decisions which ultimately affect them. The empirical information also indicates that local communities cannot make their own investment decisions in respective WMAs without approval of the director of WD at MNRT (pp.213;252).

In the case of clientelism in forest and wildlife management, the Van de Walle (2007) Clientelist theory operates under the assumption that the patrons should use their discretion when distributing the resources (benefits) to know voters' (clients' or clienteles) partisan preferences. The empirical information indicates that patrons

have been having the propensity to make decisions that go contrary to the expert recommendations and adversely affect the efficiency in wildlife operations just to satisfy their patron-client relationships.

Sometimes, patrons have been making clientelistic decisions to satisfy some members of local communities who are electorates in their respective electoral constituencies. There have been instances where there is lack of recognition and acceptance of professional ideas or recommendations when such professional ideas or recommendations are issued to patrons. Often times, patrons tend not to consider professional recommendations that do not build them politically (p.284).

Furthermore, the empirical information reveals that often times, when expert recommendations differ from the expectations of patrons, the particular issued recommendation will not be considered or sometimes patrons may choose to openly oppose the issued recommendations. For example, there have been sustained protests from villagers led by local patrons over the decision to expand Ruaha National Park. The decision to evacuate these households was based on issued expert recommendations on the importance of reallocating people as a way of expanding Ruaha National Park. The villages involved in the reallocation of people are Igomelo, Luhango, Nyeregete and Ikoga Mpya but patrons have been at the forefront trying to prevent the expansion of Ruaha National Park (p.182). The patrons claim that these villagers are their electorates so they should not be reallocated. This is an indication of the presence of clientelistic tendencies in forest and wildlife management

as such resistance demeans the value of experts' recommendations which are primarily aimed at reducing the human-wildlife conflicts in the villages involved.

In addition, Van de Walle clientelist Theory operates under the principle that resource allocation must be directed towards the most loyal political supporters both as a reward for existing and previous political support and as a down payment for its continuation. The empirical information reveals that patrons have been showing clientelistic reactions towards various expert recommendations as some of parliamentary bills and judicial verdicts are usually passed and issued respectively under the influence of patrons after considering the impact of the verdict on electorates (pp.301-302).

Hence, it is obvious that public resources are misallocated or misdirected towards the most loyal political supporters by patrons. On the other hand, even when offences have been committed in matters of forest and wildlife conservation, lenient punishments are being issued to avoid the losses of votes.

The fifth research question: how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania? is addressed using Saurugger (2013) Actor-centred Constructivist Theory and Ostrom (2005) model of Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD). The lines of argumentation used to

address this particular question aim at explaining the relationship between the existing bureaucratic paradigm and cooperation of other actors in forest and wildlife conservation. The empirical findings reveal the power game which is played among actors in designing and implementing policies related to forest and wildlife management in Tanzania as follows:

There have been changes in public service delivery since the Government chose to adopt free enterprise system from the old socialist system guided by Arusha Declaration (p.290). The change of economic system has also caused public sector reforms in various areas such as policy management and change of paradigms of bureaucrats involved in different social and economic settings.

Yet, in spite of reform efforts, classical public administration continues to exist among bureaucrats. This makes public sector reform process relatively static. Eventually, there is discrepancy between the new public management (NPM) recently introduced in Tanzania bureaucracy and the actual situation resulting from bureaucrats' admiration of the classical public administration. This discrepancy is hindering successful policy reforms in public sector (p.290). Such discrepancy or gap has adversely affected forest and wildlife management because bureaucrats no longer look at other actors in forest and wildlife management as customers who need to be served and treated well.

According to the empirical information, there have been various reform efforts in Tanzania bureaucracy such as Public Service Reform Program (PSRP) funded by the World Bank, which seeks to improve accountability, transparency and resource management. However, the reform efforts have not been able to change the existing bureaucratic paradigm i.e. classical public administration (pp.290-291).

Thus, Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist Theory helps to explain the relationship between the existing bureaucratic paradigm and cooperation between other actors in forest and wildlife conservation. The Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist Theory operates under the assumption that the individual ideas, interests and beliefs of an actor are constructed and very important in defining policy outcomes. The empirical evidence reveals that periodically, the MNRT has been organising scientific expert conferences with the aim of exchanging expert ideas on sciences guiding forest and wildlife management in which various actors usually participate.

Unfortunately, these kinds of scientific conferences are largely restricted to experts and have been described as having minimal contribution to forest and wildlife policies. The conferences tend to involve more of academic discussions than discussion of policy issues which emerged from practical challenges in forest and wildlife management (pp.292-293). Indeed, these conferences could be used to construct policy ideas, interests and beliefs which could feed into policy making and eventually improve the policy outcomes.

In addition, Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist Theory operates under the assumption that, the beliefs of actors usually guide their actions and sometimes perceived beliefs only rationalise strategies that can be chosen for other reasons. The empirical evidence reveals that bureaucrats hold a negative set of beliefs about members of local communities. They see them as drivers of deforestation, poaching and other ills that occur in forest and wildlife management (p.213).

As a result of this, various decisions have been made by bureaucrats and actions taken such as implementing JFM and modified WMA models which basically prevents local communities from being actively involved in forest and wildlife conservation. The empirical information reveals that bureaucrats have been showing reluctance in handing over ownership of forest and wildlife resources through the use of JFM and modified WMA models by consciously putting up structures which inhibit local communities from fully participating in forest and wildlife management (pp.213-214). Conversely, local communities believe they are being deprived of their right to obtain their basic needs from the forest and wildlife reserves (p.270).

This explains why local communities have been constantly encroaching into forests and wildlife reserves. Since the beliefs of actors usually guide their actions it is somewhat expected that they would rationalise any strategy that would help them

improve their livelihood outcome. Hence, leading to continued poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

Furthermore, Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist Theory operates under the assumption that ideas are weapons or strategic tools which can have political, social and economic influence. Indeed, it is true that ideas are weapons, the ideas of the private sector could definitely transform the entire forest and wildlife conservation when validated and used accordingly. The empirical evidence reveals that contribution of the private sector to forest and wildlife management is vital and necessary in order to obtain new and quality policy input which could improve related policies and the entire forest and wildlife management systems, as it is currently evident that the private sector possess better technical and financial capabilities needed in forest and wildlife conservation. Examples of such members possessing technical and financial capabilities in the private sector community are Kilombero Valley Teak Company (KVTC) and Green Resources (p.274).

The empirical findings reveal that Green Resources is a private company that operates in forest management with huge plantation forests nationally and internationally. Green Resources is a forestation company and among the large producers of wood in East Africa, it has 41,000 square hectares (ha) of land and operates in Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique. It is one of the first companies globally to receive carbon revenue through its plantation forests, headquartered in Norway (p.237).

Based on the technical and financial capabilities of members in the private sector community, their ideas are indeed weapons which could have improved the existing poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife conservation. Ideas from the private sector are without doubt weapons or strategic tools which can have political, social and economic influence. Unfortunately, bureaucrats have not been able to make use of such weapons to improve the poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

The Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist theory also operates under the principle which states that, the actors must create broad coalitions around common strategies in order to achieve better policy outcomes. The empirical findings reveal that there are no serious coalitions of actors within the bureaucracy or among the members of private sector community and even among local communities. The absence of serious and broad coalitions among actors with common interests who can formulate common strategies on how to alleviate and subsequently improve or achieve better policy outcomes, has contributed to the existence of poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

Thus, it goes without saying that the private sector community has abundant resources and technical expertise in forest and wildlife management according to the empirical information (pp.276;294;298). However, private sector community is not yet organised in building a serious, strong and broader coalition which could assist it

to elevate its position in forest and wildlife management. Eventually, the private sector has been sidelined and has not been able to actively participate in the power game of designing and implementing policies. In other words, private sector has been a passive participant in forest and wildlife conservation.

In other respects, empirical findings reveal that there is minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors particularly private sector in designing and implementing better policies that could improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. On the other hand, there is maximum and active cooperation between private sector and donors in forest and wildlife management (p.302).

In addition, Saurugger Actor-centred Constructivist Theory operates under the principle which states that, the ideas used in designing and implementing policies must serve the interest of the dominant actors by strengthening their position in the game. The empirical information reveals that minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors such as private sector and local communities has contributed to poor policy outcomes (p.293). Policies in forest and wildlife management are being designed and implemented without sufficient consultation or consideration of the interests of dominant actors. Prior consultation would enable bureaucrats to understand the underlying issues which need to be integrated into respective policies so as to improve policy outcomes.

According to Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE), both policies have acknowledged dominance of local communities and private sector community in forest and wildlife conservation. In that case, the matter of cooperation with local communities and private sector community in designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife conservation is of paramount importance. However, bureaucrats always tend to ignore the ideas of dominant actors and eventually proceed with designing and implementing their own ideas which end up producing poor policy outcomes. Once the ideas coming from local communities and private sector have being validated, they can definitely improve the existing policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

Normally, when the dominant actors (i.e. local communities and private sector) see that the existing ideas of bureaucrats are the ones which control the affairs of forest and wildlife management, then they react or resort to actions such as encroaching and establishing settlements within forest and wildlife reserves. This explains why there is an increase in deforestation, human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching etc.

Currently, the ideas that control the power game of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management actually serve the interests of bureaucrats and donors. One of these ideas is an effort to attain better forest and wildlife conservation at the expense of livelihoods and other vulnerability issues of local communities as shown by the empirical evidence.

Moreover, bureaucrats may decide to engage other actors in designing and implementing policies under the pretext of cooperation. Through stakeholders' meetings, workshops and seminars bureaucrats would gather ideas from other actors on how to improve policy outcomes. However, bureaucrats usually accept only those ideas which strengthen their position in the power game of designing and implementing policies. The ones which weaken their position will be rejected as shown by the empirical evidence when ideas of NGOs and private sector (in a policy brief aimed at empowering local communities in the course of managing their WMAs) was rejected during the preparation of WMAs Regulations 2012 (p.296).

Thus, bureaucrats have been spending more time strengthening their position in forest and wildlife management by using the regulations governing forest and wildlife conservation to their advantage. They use policy, legal and regulatory frameworks to protect their interest of increasing revenue and other neo-patrimonial and clientelistic intentions. Donors on the other hand use their funds and technologies to strengthen their position in the power game of designing and implementing policies by ensuring that policies that are being designed and implemented continue to protect their interest of preserving forests in order to increase carbon stocks. Meanwhile, local communities in particular are left in a weaker and vulnerable position throughout the entire process of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management.

In other words, the changes that have been happening in terms of amendments and other revisions to the regulations, in this case, amending the WMAs Regulations 2002 to WMAs Regulations 2012 and the existing revision of Forest Policy 1998, are all geared towards the efforts of bureaucrats to strengthen their position in the power game of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management. For example, in implementing Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) through WMA Regulations 2012, the director of WD has sole power and authority to either approve or disapprove key operations to be conducted within a particular WMA.

Therefore, policies, legislations and regulations in forest and wildlife management are all consciously designed and implemented without taking into consideration the ideas and interests of dominant actors such as local communities and private sector. The decision to ignore their ideas by bureaucrats is aimed at weakening the positions of local communities and private sector and this explains why there are continued poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

The Ostrom model i.e. IAD model also operates under the assumption that the degree of power of an individual in a situation is usually affected by the distribution of control and opportunity. The empirical information reveals that comparatively, bureaucrats may legally possess more control over forest and wildlife resources. However, local communities and private sector also have a commensurate amount of opportunities like the Government in terms of residing close to the forest and wildlife reserves and having technical and financial capacity respectively. If bureaucrats wish to use these

opportunities possessed by local communities and private sector properly, they could actually decide to empower them and eventually increase their participation and improve forest and wildlife conservation as compared to current situation of marginalisation.

Hence, the opportunities which local communities and private sector have should be harnessed to ensure that they increase their overall influence. The fact that local communities reside around the forest and wildlife reserves, should grant them much power in designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife conservation. This will help ensure that forest and wildlife conservation as well as their livelihoods are improved.

Moreover, private sector has sophisticated technology and financial strength which can be used to increase their influence in the power game of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management. For example, the empirical information reveals that private sector has been technically and financially assisting a substantial number of NGOs in wildlife sector such as LEAT, TRAFFIC, STEP, TNRF etc. Thus, private sector could use such strength and influence to demand a more active role in forest and wildlife conservation instead of remaining passive until when Government needs either technical or financial assistance. The empirical information reveals that lack of active involvement of the private sector in forest and wildlife management is among the factors hindering better conservation of forest and wildlife resources. Currently, the role of private sector in forest and wildlife management is

only to assist the Government in financial and technical aspects and information sharing (p.276).

Therefore, lack of influence from local communities and private sector in the power game of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management has contributed to prevalence of poor policy outcomes. This has been largely caused by continuance of Classical Public Administration (CPA). Thus, reform efforts should continue to ensure that CPA (the old bureaucratic paradigm) is eliminated to pave the way for New Public Management (NPM) which is compatible with the desired changes. The NPM discourages marginalisation of actors and allows them to actively participate in forest and wildlife conservation and eventually improve the policy outcomes.

6.2 Conclusion

To end this, these assumptions and principles of theories and models which constitute the theoretical framework of the study, have been used as tools to interpret the empirical information and eventually produce a complete and new narrative of how to improve policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. In addition, this particular section recapitulates some of the significant issues emerge such as:

i. The argumentation reveals that despite changes in Tanzania's foreign policy, prior research studies were not conducted in order to understand the critical

policy issues which are needed to foster the right donors' financial and technical support in managing forest and wildlife resources.

Moreover, the foreign policy itself has not been harmonised with other domestic policies such as those of forest and wildlife sectors of the economy. The harmonisation (i.e. connection) between foreign policy and domestic policies would ensure successful implementation of domestic policies, and failure of foreign policy to interconnect with the lower (domestic) policies, is the failure of the foreign policy itself.

In addition, Tanzania foreign policy has not been connected (i.e. linked) to the Sustainable Development Goals. Developing economies such as Tanzania should ensure that macro and micro policies at international and national levels are interconnected in order to be able to address cross cutting and critical issues such as climate change.

Thus, Tanzania Foreign Policy 2001 stands as an independent document with no affiliations to domestic policies especially those with strategic importance to the economy such as forest and wildlife management. Hence, neither Forest policy 1998 nor Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) contributes to the policy provisions outlined in the country's foreign policy.

ii. The argumentation also shows that policy is made after understanding the social system through proper research. In this case, impactful research studies are of paramount importance to feed into policy making process. However, policy making process in Tanzania is not governed by long-term and impactful research studies, rather bureaucrats merely solicit information from stakeholders through seminars and workshops and eventually use the information without validating it to develop policy provisions. Unfortunately, these policy provisions have been ineffective, particularly in forest and wildlife management, as human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching, deforestation, forest degradation continue to increase.

Moreover, the validity of recommendations issued by stakeholders is low. Many of Stakeholders' recommendations are not empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible. Thus, the Government ought to be concerned about the quality of policy inputs that feeds into policy making process by investing more in research studies. By strengthening the role of research in policy making process, bureaucrats will be well informed about the causes of social challenges that prevail in the society. However, the use of stakeholders' recommendations is still vital and critical to policy making process only when the recommendations are validated.

iii. The argumentation reveals that in order to improve the ever-decreasing livelihoods of local communities and at the same time improve forest and

wildlife management, households should be at the centre of any development program introduced. The local communities should be the ones determining development priorities and should be able to influence the institutions involved as well as the processes that affect their livelihood outcomes.

Moreover, Households should be empowered to use their asset base (i.e. surrounding forest land) to develop a range of livelihood programs/projects. This arrangement would enable them to achieve their desired livelihood outcomes and simultaneously improve forest and wildlife conservation. The easiest way to empower households is for the Central Government to accept the transfer of forest ownership to local communities through the use of CBFM model. Currently, only few geographical areas use CBFM model which constitutes only ten percent of the entire forest cover (i.e. land) of the country.

The current arrangement of using JFM model to implement the PFM program has not been able to empower local communities to have and even use their asset base to develop a range of other livelihood programs and achieve their desired livelihood outcomes. In that case, without households being empowered to own and use their asset base to develop various livelihood programs then forest and wildlife management will continue to deteriorate.

Therefore, it is obvious that PFM program has not been able to meet its objectives primarily because of lacks adequate livelihood analysis. Hence, both the forest and wildlife policies, should be able to address serious livelihood and vulnerability issues of local communities.

iv. The argumentation also reveals that local organisations (i.e. Village Governments, District Governments and Private sector) are expected to behave in ways that are as close as possible to the Central Government's wishes. In addition, Central Government has refused to implement financial decentralisation in forest and wildlife management. Eventually, WMAs are being used as sources of income generation by the MNRT. Currently, MNRT collects revenues from WMAs and later disburses back the funds in order to finance wildlife operations. But, if the Central Government wishes to raise funds, then it should collect in the form of tax charged on the amount of revenues that have been collected in a particular WMA.

In other respects, there is evidence of the presence of neo-patrimonial and clientelistic tendencies in forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. The respective regulations have been formulated by patrons in order to protect their neo-patrimonial interests especially when they make neo-patrimonial decisions. In addition, patrons have been making clientelistic decisions in order to protect their respective electoral constituencies.

Moreover, patrons have been showing clientelistic reactions towards various expert recommendations when presented in the form of a bill in the parliament house. Usually, patrons prefer to approve expert recommendations which do not affect their political careers. In addition, even some of the judicial verdicts are influenced by patrons and are only being issued after considering impact of the verdict to electorates.

v. Lastly, argumentation reveals that the weak position of local communities and private sector in the power game of designing and implementing policies of forest and wildlife management has contributed to prevalence of poor policy outcomes. The reform efforts should continue to ensure that the old bureaucratic paradigm (i.e. classical public administration) is actually eliminated and paves the way for New Public Management (NPM) which would elevate the position of other actors particularly local communities and private sector and eventually improve forest and wildlife conservation.

The argumentation also reveals that ideas of local communities and the private sector are without doubt weapons or strategic tools which can have political, social and economic influence. Unfortunately, at the moment, bureaucrats have not been able to make use of such weapons to improve the poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

Most importantly, these ideas must serve the interest of the dominant actors (i.e. local communities and private sector community) by strengthening their position in the power game of designing and implementing related policies. Moreover, minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors caused by the Classical Public Administration (CPA) bureaucratic paradigm has contributed to poor policy outcomes. Because of CPA, policies in forest and wildlife management are being designed and implemented without enough consultation or consideration of the interests of dominant actors which could enable bureaucrats to understand the underlying issues which need to be integrated into respective policies and subsequently improve policy outcomes.

The Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) advocate dominance of local communities and private sector community in forest and wildlife management. Hence, cooperation between bureaucrats on one hand and local communities and private sector on the other in designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife conservation is of paramount importance. Once the ideas coming from local communities and private sector have being validated, they can definitely improve the existing policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

To this end, the complete and new narrative has been constructed and is going to be presented in the next chapter in the form of the contribution of the study to

disciplinary knowledge. Moreover, the next chapter describes the implications of the study as well as directions for future research.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents the findings of the study in terms of its contribution to knowledge. The empirical information has been interpreted and eventually constructs a complete and new narrative on how to improve the policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. In concluding this particular study, the chapter is divided into the following sections; the aim of the study, overall contribution of the study, contribution to disciplinary knowledge, implications of the study and lastly, recommendations for future research.

7.1 The Aim of the Study

The study is aimed at solving the intellectual puzzle of improving the policy outcomes while managing forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. Thus, the overarching research question of the study is how can policy outcomes for forest and wildlife management in Tanzania be improved?

Based on a critical assessment of the empirical findings of the study, the overarching research question has been divided into five different sub-questions. The research questions are as follows:

i. How has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

ii. How has change in the quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

iii. How has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

iv. How has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

v. How has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania?

Therefore, the next section presents the contribution of the study in form of answers to the overarching research question and the five related sub questions. The following are the contributions of the study:

7.2 The Overall Contribution of the Study

The study offers five major contributions on how to improve policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management. Firstly, the Government can improve policy outcomes by harmonising (connecting) Tanzania's foreign policy with other policies of key sectors

of strategic significance to the economy, and attract the right donors' financial and technical support needed to improve forest and wildlife management. The harmonisation of country's foreign policy and other policies of key sectors of strategic significance to the economy should be legally enforceable by the foreign affairs legislation. The harmonised policies will guarantee successful implementation of respective policies including the country's foreign policy.

Secondly, the Government can improve policy outcomes by investing in research, particularly in long-term research studies (i.e. supply driven research studies) in order to have better policy inputs which could properly feed into policy making process and eventually produce effective policy provisions needed to improve policy outcomes. Thirdly, the Government can improve policy outcomes by enhancing livelihoods outcomes through ample involvement of local communities; whilst also ensuring that local communities are protected from vulnerability issues.

Fourthly, the Government can improve policy outcomes by ensuring that power and authority to decide on matters related to forest and wildlife operations are actually being devolved to local communities and private sector and discourage neo-patrimonial and clientelistic actions in forest and wildlife management. Lastly, the Government can improve policy outcomes by ensuring that empirical well-grounded and theoretically defensible ideas of dominant actors (i.e. local communities and private sector according to Forest Policy 1998 and Revised Wildlife Policy 2007) are being considered and used in designing and implementing policies. Meanwhile the

existing classical public administration bureaucratic paradigm should actually be discouraged to ensure that new public management is fully adopted in Tanzania public sector following various reform efforts, in order to create a suitable environment for accommodating the desired changes of increasing cooperation among the actors in forest and wildlife management.

7.3 Contribution to Disciplinary Knowledge

7.3.1 Contribution to Policy Making

The first research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has been answered by the narrative that donors' support has not been able to improve forest and wildlife management due to increase in poor policy outcomes. Lack of research and harmonised foreign policy provisions are among the prominent reasons why donors' financial and technical support has failed to improve forest and wildlife management.

The study reveals that generally despite changes in Tanzania's foreign policy, neither at the revision stage nor during its initial formulation were prior and proper research studies conducted. Prior and proper research studies would enable bureaucrats to understand the critical policy issues which are needed to foster the right donors' financial and technical support in managing forest and wildlife resources. Eventually, those changes in foreign policy provisions have failed to influence donors to change their old style of financial and technical support which usually focuses on the use of preservationist approach in managing forest and wildlife resources and disregards

the importance of improving the livelihood outcomes of local population. The study shows that the ever-decreasing livelihood outcomes has continued to adversely affect forest and wildlife conservation.

Study also shows that despite changes in its provisions, foreign policy itself has not been interconnected (harmonised) with other key domestic policies of strategic importance such as those of forest and wildlife sectors of the economy. The harmonisation (connection) between foreign policy and domestic policies would ensure successful implementation of domestic policies, and at the same time it would have a multiplier effect on the successes of the foreign policy itself.

Furthermore, the study indicates that Tanzania foreign policy has not been harmonised (connected) with the Sustainable Development Goals. Developing economies such as Tanzania need to connect macro and micro policies, at international and national level to ensure that they contribute towards addressing critical cross cutting challenges such as climate change.

Thus, the study shows that none of the policies in Tanzania connects or feeds into each other. The Tanzania Foreign Policy 2001 continues to stand as an independent document with no affiliations to other domestic policies especially those with strategic importance to the economy such as forest and wildlife policies. In other words, neither Forest policy 1998 nor Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) contributes to the policy provisions outlined in the country's foreign policy.

More importantly, the study shows that for decades, forest and wildlife management have been supported by donors' community particularly Scandinavian Europe. However, to sustain their financial and technical support of forest and wildlife management from colonial to post-colonial eras, donors have been using various development interventions particularly in forest and wildlife management such as JFM-based PFM and WMAs programs in order to ensure better forest and wildlife conservation but have failed to address livelihoods and vulnerability issues of the people residing around the forest and wildlife reserves. Even Mgaya (2017 p.45) argues that the major aim of donors' community when providing financial and technical support in forest and wildlife management has always been more on increasing carbon stocks.

The study also indicates that bureaucrats have been making and implementing policies in silos (secrecy). In other words, they develop and implement policies without enough consultation or without considering whether their policies contribute or feed into each other. For example, Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025, Foreign Policy 2001, Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) were all developed in silos (secrecy) and no serious measures have been taken to harmonise (connect) them, especially on some of the key policy issues such as climate change and its mitigation strategies. Hence, lack of harmonisation (connection) has resulted in setbacks when implementing these policies. A case in point is the setback experienced during the implementation of Foreign Policy 2001 at the international level.

Hence, the successful implementation of Foreign Policy 2001 largely depends upon the extent of harmonisation (connection) that can be reached with other key policies of strategic significance such as Forest Policy 1998 and Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE). As a result of this, serious steps should be taken to harmonise (connect) foreign policy with forest and wildlife policies and the provisions of the policy should only be developed after conducting prior and proper research.

Such prior and proper research would ensure that the foreign policy has been developed on the basis of situation analysis which is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible which would enable bureaucrats to formulate the country's priorities that guarantee the right kind of financial and technical support. The existing donors' financial and technical support such as JFM-based PFM has failed to improve forest and wildlife management because it ignores the need of addressing the livelihood and other vulnerability issues of local population.

The second research question: how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has been answered by the narrative that policy is made after understanding the social system through proper research. It highlights the role of impactful research studies as a catalyst for progress in policy making process. Unfortunately, policy making process in Tanzania is not governed by impactful research studies, rather bureaucrats merely solicit unsubstantiated recommendations (not being validated) from

stakeholders through seminars and workshops and eventually use them to develop policy provisions. This approach has proven to be highly ineffective, particularly in forest and wildlife management as human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs), animal poaching, animal trafficking, deforestation, forest degradation etc. continues to increase.

The study shows that the validity of recommendations provided by stakeholders is low because they are not empirically well-grounded and theoretically defensible as policy inputs. The Government should therefore start to be concerned with the quality of policy inputs that feed into policy making process. By strengthening the role of research in policy making process, bureaucrats will be well informed on the causes of social challenges that prevail within society.

However, it should be noted that the use of stakeholders' recommendations is vital and should not be disregarded in anyway, rather it should be encouraged on the precondition of being validated before being adopted into policy making process. The study indicates that none of the Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025, Foreign Policy 2001, Forest Policy 1998 or Wildlife Policy 2007 (RE) were formulated after conducting proper and impactful prior research study.

The study shows that when these policies were developed or revised, no prior and proper research studies were conducted. As such, the Government need to invest tremendously in local research endeavours to ensure that local researchers produce home-grown policies and reduce dependence on foreign research bodies.

The study reveals that due to lack of reliable home-developed research database, the Government has been compelled to use foreign-grown policies and programs to govern various operations such as PFM in forest management which has failed to improve forest management on one hand and livelihood of local population on the other. A reliable local research database would also facilitate validation of stakeholders' recommendations and eventually produce effective policy provisions.

7.3.2 Contribution to Forest and Wildlife Management

The third research question: how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania? has been answered by the narrative that in order to improve the ever-decreasing livelihoods of local communities and at the same time improve forest and wildlife management, households need to be at the centre of any development program. The study shows that local communities should be the ones determining developmental priorities and they should be able to influence the institutions involved as well as the processes that affect their livelihood outcomes.

The study suggests that households should be empowered to use their asset base (i.e. surrounding forest land) to develop a range of livelihood programs/projects such as SCP which would enable them to achieve their desired livelihood outcomes and simultaneously improve forest and wildlife conservation. The easiest way to empower

households is for the Central Government to accept the transfer of forest ownership to local communities through the use of CBFM model. Currently, only few geographical areas use CBFM model, these areas constitute only ten percent of the forest cover (i.e. entire forest land of the country).

The study shows that the current arrangement of using JFM model in implementing the PFM program has not been able to empower local communities to have and even use their asset base to develop a range of other livelihood programs. In that case, without households being enabled to own and use their asset base to develop various livelihood programs, forest and wildlife management will continue to deteriorate.

Hence, the study indicates that the PFM program has not been able to meet its objectives due to lack of adequate livelihood analysis. Thus, both the forest and wildlife policies should now address serious livelihood and vulnerability issues of local communities.

The fourth research question: how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency during the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania, has been answered by the narrative that local organisations (i.e. Village Governments, District Governments and Private sector) are usually being expected to behave in ways that are as close as possible to the Central Government's wishes. The study suggests that the Central Government (MNRT)

should now consider implementing financial decentralisation in forest and wildlife management.

For example, at the moment devolution in the real sense of the word as far as wildlife management is concerned has not succeeded due to the fact that WMAs are being used as sources of income generation by the MNRT. The study shows, MNRT collects revenues from WMAs and later disburses some funds back to them in order to finance wildlife operations. However, if the Central Government wishes to raise funds, then it should do so in the form of tax charged on the amount of revenues that have been collected in a particular WMA.

Moreover, the study indicates the presence of neo-patrimonial and clientelistic tendencies in forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. Patrons have been using respective regulations to advance their personal interest and also to legitimise their actions especially when they make neo-patrimonial decisions. In the same vein, they have been making clientelistic decisions on matters related to forest and wildlife management that would benefit them politically in their respective electoral constituencies.

The study shows that patrons have been showing clientelistic reactions towards various expert recommendations when presented in the form of a bill in parliament. Usually patrons prefer to approve only expert recommendations which would not affect their political careers. Likewise, some judicial verdicts are usually issued under

the influence of patrons after considering the impact of the verdicts on the electorates and not reflecting on the seriousness of the offenses committed particularly with reference to incidents such as animal poaching and deforestation.

The fifth research question: how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania? has been answered by the narrative that weak position of local communities and private sector in the power game of designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management has contributed to prevalence of poor policy outcomes. The study reveals that more reform efforts are needed to eradicate classical public administration bureaucratic paradigm and increase the power of local communities and private sector by fully adopting the new public management (NPM) in Tanzania public sector particularly in forest and wildlife management.

The study indicates that by fully adopting and implementing New Public Management (NPM), cooperation of bureaucrats and other actors (particularly local communities and private sector community) in designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management will significantly increase. The current poor policy outcomes are the result of minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors with particular reference to marginalisation of local communities and private sector which has resulted from the strong belief and adherence by bureaucrats to the existing policy, legal and regulatory frameworks. The study shows that the existing policy,

legal and regulatory frameworks collectively discourage cooperation among actors in designing and implementing policies and instead the frameworks encourage marginalisation of local communities and private sector.

The study indicates that forest policy 1998 and wildlife policies (RE) 2007 advocate decentralisation of forest and wildlife operations. In that case, the local communities and private sector communities are the dominant actors in forest and wildlife conservation. Yet, ideas of local communities and private sectors are not being considered when designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife management.

The study indicates that private sector's ideas are without doubt weapons or strategic tools which can have political, social and economic influence, but unfortunately at the moment bureaucrats have not been able to make use of such weapons to improve the poor policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management. The study indicates that the ideas which are needed to design and implement policies must serve the interest of the dominant actors (i.e. local communities and private sector community) by strengthening their position in the power game. However, the ideas which are being used in power game of designing and implementing policies are those coming from bureaucrats, thereby weakening the position of the local communities and private sector as dominant actors. Thus, such decision of bureaucrats to weaken the position of local communities and private sector in the power game has led to the formulation

and implementation of weak policy provisions and eventually produced poor policy outcomes.

Thus, study reveals that minimal cooperation between bureaucrats and other actors who are the dominant actors has contributed to poor policy outcomes. The existing policies in forest and wildlife management are being designed and implemented without enough consultation and adequate consideration of the interests of dominant actors which could enable bureaucrats to understand the underlying issues which need to be addressed into the respective policies and subsequently improve policy outcomes

In that case, the study suggests that the subject matter of cooperation between bureaucrats on one hand and local communities and private sector community on the other in designing and implementing policies for forest and wildlife conservation is of paramount importance. The study indicates that once the ideas coming from local communities and private sector have being validated, they can definitely improve the existing policy outcomes in forest and wildlife management.

The study further indicates that, at the moment the ideas that control and run the game of forest and wildlife management actually serve the interests of bureaucrats and donors such as better forest and wildlife conservation while ignoring the livelihoods and other vulnerability issues of local communities. Thus, the design and implementation of policies depend on the ideas or views of donors and bureaucrats.

The study indicates that bureaucrats use their ideas to design and implement policies which protect their primary interests of increasing revenue and fostering other neo-patrimonial and clientelistic intentions while donors are using their funds and technologies to protect their interest of preserving forests in order to increase carbon stocks, leaving local communities in a much more vulnerable position to poverty.

The status quo of marginalisation of other actors in designing and implementing policies should and can be avoided. At the moment, bureaucrats may have designed policies and regulations that provide them with more control over forest and wildlife management. However, the study shows that local communities and private sector have much more opportunities than the bureaucrats because they reside close to the forest and wildlife reserves and have technical and financial prowess respectively. The study suggests that if bureaucrats decide to use the opportunities possessed by local communities and private sector properly, they could eventually empower the local communities and private sector community to be able to actively participate in efforts to improve forest and wildlife management, as compared to current marginalisation.

7.4 Implications of the Study

7.4.1 Implications to Research

This research primarily highlights the importance of conducting proper and impactful research prior on policy development or revision. In addition to this, harmonisation of various policies and community-based forest and wildlife management; improvement in livelihood outcomes and control over vulnerability issues; actual devolution of power and authority to local communities and private sector community; recognition and use of ideas of dominant actors and significance of bureaucratic paradigm change from classical public administration to new public management; are the five critical areas to be considered if the Government wishes to improve its policy outcomes. These five factors are pivotal to improving policy outcomes and this revelation is grounded in the empirical information presented and analysed. Improved policy outcomes would mean reduced human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching, animal extinction, animal trafficking, deforestation and forest degradation etc.

7.4.2 Implications to Policy Management

The study shows the need for harmonising key policies of strategic significance to the economy. The harmonisation process should commence from the upper level of foreign policy to lower levels of sectorial policies. The harmonised policy system will facilitate implementation of foreign policy and achievement of the overall national development objectives.

There is also a need to discourage the development, implementation and revision of policies in silos (in secrecy). This is in order to ensure participation of other relevant actors whose contribution may prove invaluable towards the success of a particular public policy. The decision to involve other actors within and outside the Government in policy management will foster transparency which is necessary to ensure good governance in carrying out forest and wildlife management.

7.4.3 Implications to Forest and Wildlife Management

The study also shows that there is a need to revise the existing policies, laws and regulations guiding forest and wildlife management. One of such regulations is the Wildlife Management Areas Regulations 2012 which deprives local communities of the power and authority to decide on matters related to wildlife operations. Such power and authority is currently under the purview of the director of WD in MNRT who can allocate hunting blocks within WMAs at will.

According to the study, Village Governments through CBOs have been deprived of power and authority to make decisions on matters related to wildlife operations within WMAs. Currently, the Central Government (MNRT) continues to make such decisions which directly affect WMAs. The lack of power and authority to decide on matters related to wildlife management within WMAs, has contributed to poor policy outcomes in WMAs such as human-wildlife conflicts, animal poaching, animal extinction and so

on. The study also indicates that there is a lack of adequate funds in WMAs to finance basic wildlife operations such as wildlife patrols.

On the other hand, Central Government (MNRT) should ensure that it takes deliberate measures to increase the number of forests that will be managed directly by local communities through the use of CBFM model. At the moment, it is only ten percent of the entire forest cover (i.e. country's forest land) that is managed by local communities through their Village Governments. According to the study, in some few areas where CBFM model has been used, forest condition and livelihood outcomes have improved immensely. Government should start entrusting local communities with the responsibility of managing more forests as the benefits can be seen in the few areas where CBFM model has been used.

In addition, the study reveals the enormous potential threat posed by the existing conflict between humans and wildlife animals. Human-wildlife conflicts (HWCs) in many areas have resulted in tremendous losses on both sides. Humans have lost lives, crops, livestock and other properties while the number of wildlife animals has been decreasing as a result of killings that take place in retribution for the losses that humans have suffered. Thus, the best strategy for the Government should be the proper application of WMA model and establishment of more WMAs in order to enable smooth animal migration from one place to another without causing further losses to both humans and animals. In the meantime, humans should be educated on the need to avoid establishing their settlements or farms within wildlife corridors.

To end this, it is necessary for the Government to take deliberate measures such as conducting policy and legal revisions for both policies involved and their respective laws and regulations based on the empirical evidence presented in this particular study in order to address these critical issues of significance to forest and wildlife management in Tanzania. In so doing, the revised policies, laws and regulations will contribute in attaining specific objectives of the Government within the respective sectors for the ultimate benefit of the general populace.

7.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The recommendations for future research are as follows:

In the literature survey, a peculiar research gap was identified; the local communities are being excluded from forest and wildlife management. The study reveals that many African bureaucracies continue to believe and practice centralism by managing fiscal resources centrally. However, they may accept the three types of decentralisation namely, political decentralisation, administrative decentralisation and economic decentralisation but not fiscal decentralisation. Thus, this is the first area that requires further investigation.

In addition, the study shows (and related theories confirmed) the existence of neo-patrimonialism and clientelism in forest and wildlife operations. This is the second area which the researcher urges others to investigate further in order to understand

the extent to which neo-patrimonialism and clientelism have affected public assets management in Tanzania.

- **The End -**

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9. APPENDICES

9.1 Appendix I



PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

School of Politics

Project Title: Policy Implications of Public Assets Management for Forest and Wildlife Conservation in Tanzania

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Email ID: kadx5wms@nottingham.edu.my
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Trevor Parfitt,
Email ID: Trevor.Parfitt@nottingham.edu.my
Ethics Approval Reference Number: *[to be inserted following ethical review]*

This is an invitation to take part in a research study about policy implications of public assets management for forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. This information sheet is designed to tell you what it will involve.

Firstly, your participation is voluntary, and you may change your mind about being involved or decline to answer a particular question or stop the recording at any

time without giving a reason. You are also free to withdraw at any point before or during the study but not after its completion or during its publication phase.

The objective of this study is to identify ways of improving forest and wildlife conservation in Tanzania. The research will involve examination of policy variables and gaps that exist in forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. By answering the questions posed during the interview, you will be contributing to the body of knowledge on ways of improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania. Your response will be anonymous and treated with the highest level of confidentiality. Rest assured that there is no right or wrong answer and any information derived from the responses will be used solely for research purposes. The final aim of this research is to produce a PhD thesis and some part of it could be submitted for publication in academic journals.

In ensuring that a high level of anonymity and confidentiality is upheld, you should understand that if you choose not to be named, the confidentiality of any information you provide will be safeguarded (subject to any legal requirements), and you will not be identified in any publications arising from the research. The data from the interview will be kept in a secure storage, accessible only to the researcher and subsequently destroyed after a five-year period.

In addition, when the recordings are transcribed by the researcher or any approved transcriber, personal details or references will be avoided or removed in order to ensure anonymity. Thereafter, data will be uploaded into a password

protected database. The final results of the study can be summarised and shared with you, subject to a request to do so.

Lastly, if you require further information about the study or have any query regarding the interview, please contact me or any of my supervisors: Professor Dr. Trevor Parfitt at Trevor.Parfitt@nottingham.edu.my or

Asst. Professor Dr. Francesco Stolfi at Francesco.Stolfi@nottingham.edu.my

Thank you for your participation

Yours Sincerely,

Wenceslaus Mselya Sobayi
PhD Student
University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus
Email: kadx5wms@nottingham.edu.my
Phone: +255-713-290535

9.2 Appendix II



University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

RESPONDENT CONSENT FORM

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

School of Politics

Project Title: Policy Implications of Public Assets Management for Forest and Wildlife Conservation in Tanzania

Researcher: Wenceslaus Mselya Sobayi,

Email ID: kadx5wms@nottingham.edu.my

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Trevor Parfitt,

Email ID: Trevor.Parfitt@nottingham.edu.my

Ethics Approval Reference Number: …. *[to be inserted following ethical review]*

- Have you read and understood the Project Information Sheet? YES/NO
- I agree to take part in an interview that will be recorded" YES/NO
- Do you know how to contact the researcher if you have questions about this study? YES/NO
- Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study

without giving a reason? YES/NO

- Do you understand that once you have been interviewed it may not be possible to withdraw your data unless requested within a certain timeframe?

  YES/NO

- Do you give permission for your data from this study to be shared with other researchers in the future provided that your anonymity is protected?

  YES/NO

- Do you understand that non-identifiable data from this study might be used in academic research reports or publications?

  YES/NO

Signature of the Respondent ……..

Date: ……

Name (in block capitals) ……..…..

9.3 Appendix III

The following is a list of thematic codes developed by Nvivo software:

Sources column represent no. of respondents coded, and *references* no. of citations (i.e. quotes) for a particular theme.

Thematic codes for research question: how has change in foreign policy provisions, affected donors' financial and technical support in an effort to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

Description of the theme	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
Carbon business management	4	15	10 Mar 2017, 08:20:32	WMS
Internationally - Involvement of donors	2	11	10 Mar 2017, 08:23:08	WMS
Nationally - Involvement of households	2	4	10 Mar 2017, 08:21:30	WMS
Changes in foreign policy provisions	5	46	10 Mar 2017, 08:26:50	WMS
Climate change management - International strategy	6	41	10 Mar 2017, 08:29:35	WMS
Climate change management - National strategy	5	16	10 Mar 2017, 08:30:26	WMS

Connection between foreign policy provisions and other strategic domestic policies	4	12	10 Mar 2017, 08:31:08	WMS
Debt relief and policy reforms	2	2	10 Mar 2017, 08:33:33	WMS
Donors' support in forest and wildlife management	3	12	10 Mar 2017, 08:16:31	WMS
Decreased financial and technical support	3	9	10 Mar 2017, 08:18:24	WMS
Economic diplomacy and its benefits in forest and wildlife management	1	1	10 Mar 2017, 08:36:40	WMS
Established national data bank and importance of long-term research	4	4	10 Mar 2017, 08:41:24	WMS
Implementation of sustainable development goals in Tanzania	3	26	10 Mar 2017, 08:40:04	WMS
Policy reforms in Tanzania	2	3	10 Mar 2017, 08:43:04	WMS
Prior research in preparing and revising foreign policy	3	12	10 Mar 2017, 08:46:19	WMS
Role of each PPD in research, assessment and evaluation of respective ministerial policies	1	3	10 Mar 2017, 08:49:23	WMS
Role of PPD - MFAEARIC in prep, revising and monitoring implementation of other ministerial policies	2	2	10 Mar 2017, 08:53:06	WMS

Role of PPD – MFAEARIC in preparing and revising foreign policy	2	3	10 Mar 2017, 08:51:39	WMS
Use of presidential circular and challenges in political diplomacy	3	13	10 Mar 2017, 08:43:39	WMS

Thematic codes for research question: how has change in quality of research results and recommendations as policy inputs, affected effectiveness of policy provisions that have been designed to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

Description of the theme	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
Researchers and policy making process in Tanzania	6	59	12 Mar 2017, 09:04:32	WMS
Stakeholders and policy making process in Tanzania	4	29	12 Mar 2017, 09:11:44	WMS
Effectiveness of policy provisions in forest management	1	1	12 Mar 2017, 09:07:05	WMS
Effectiveness of policy provisions in wildlife management	1	1	12 Mar 2017, 09:19:37	WMS
Quality of research in forest management	4	21	12 Mar 2017, 09:12:53	WMS
Quality of research in wildlife management	5	71	12 Mar 2017, 09:13:58	WMS
Demand-driven research in forest and wildlife management	3	10	12 Mar 2017, 09:18:05	WMS
Supply-driven research in forest and wildlife management	5	27	12 Mar 2017, 09:17:21	WMS

Thematic codes for research question: how has change in local communities' involvement in managerial process, affected their livelihood outcomes and whether or not they lead to changes that are conducive to improve forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

Description of the theme	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
Application of CBFM model in forest management	4	13	12 Mar 2017, 09:32:14	WMS
Application of JFM model in forest management	4	18	12 Mar 2017, 09:31:20	WMS
Application of WMA model in wildlife management	4	44	12 Mar 2017, 09:32:46	WMS
Households involvement in managerial process for forest and wildlife management	5	8	12 Mar 2017, 09:24:46	WMS
Households involvement in forest management	3	4	12 Mar 2017, 09:28:43	WMS
Households involvement in wildlife management	2	4	12 Mar 2017, 09:26:54	WMS
Involvement of households in forest and wildlife management through other alternative programs	2	14	12 Mar 2017, 09:34:37	WMS
Livelihood outcomes in forest management	6	30	12 Mar 2017, 09:38:13	WMS

Livelihood outcomes in wildlife management	3	12	12 Mar 2017, 09:38:45	WMS

Thematic codes for research question: how has change in Government policy to decentralisation, affected operational efficiency in the course of improving forest and wildlife management in Tanzania?

Description of the theme	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
Condition of forest and wildlife operational efficiency	4	10	12 Mar 2017, 09:40:46	WMS
Decreased operational efficiency	4	22	12 Mar 2017, 09:41:56	WMS
Devolution of power and authority in forest management	3	4	12 Mar 2017, 09:42:34	WMS
Devolution of power and authority in wildlife management	3	6	12 Mar 2017, 09:43:21	WMS
Meaning of devolution in forest policy	1	1	12 Mar 2017, 09:45:39	WMS
Meaning of devolution in wildlife policy	5	36	12 Mar 2017, 09:46:07	WMS
Socio-economic benefits of devolution in forest management to households	1	1	12 Mar 2017, 09:47:53	WMS
Socio-economic benefits of devolution in wildlife management to households	2	2	12 Mar 2017, 09:46:56	WMS

Thematic codes for research question: how has change in bureaucratic paradigm, affected cooperation with other actors in designing and implementing policies for improving the management of forest and wildlife resources in Tanzania?

Description of the theme	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
Cooperation between bureaucracy and donors' community	3	6	14 Mar 2017, 11:10:45	WMS
Cooperation between bureaucracy and private sector community	6	48	14 Mar 2017, 11:16:00	WMS
Cooperation between bureaucracy and regional partners	2	4	14 Mar 2017, 11:11:53	WMS
Cooperation between bureaucrats and other state actors	2	4	14 Mar 2017, 14:30:48	WMS
Cooperation between private sector and donors' community	5	16	14 Mar 2017, 11:13:17	WMS
Cooperation within bureaucracy	4	20	14 Mar 2017, 11:10:00	WMS
Preference to classical public administration	2	3	14 Mar 2017, 09:50:18	WMS
Preference to new public management	1	1	14 Mar 2017, 10:07:59	WMS