

Aiming at “Community Initiative Forest Management”

~ Who can save the forest of Mt.Kilimanjaro ? ~



TANZANIA POLE POLE CLUB

2011

Aiming at “Community Initiative Forest Management”

So far, in our newsletter, we have reported the actual situation and main causes of diminishing forests of Mt. Kilimanjaro, historical changes of the forest management policy and its problems, and also how the forests have been positioned in the everyday life of the local people(=villagers who live in the mountain) (1).

Mt. Kilimanjaro is said to have lost nearly 30% of its forest during past century (2). There is no doubt about the significance of the forest of Mt. Kilimanjaro concerning the lives of 0.9 million people (3) who depend on the natural water sourcing from the forest, and its indigenous plants and animals (4) in danger of extinction by the threat of the forest degradation.

But now, the forest of Mt. Kilimanjaro faces an even more serious problem generated from a legal execution (5), which primary objective is excluding the local residents from the forest. This, as a result, could further incur the forest destruction. It is possible to say that the actual source of problem could be the forest protection policy (6) itself, which the government insists as an effective solution.

[Why Not the Forest Fully Protected?]

1. The Forest Policy that Ignores the Local Residents' Society and Structure of Living

The history of forest protection and policy of Mt. Kilimanjaro could be described as the reinforcement of control over the local residents (7). Since 1904, when Germany as a suzerain nation has stated “Game reserve”, its management style was simply duplicated from the Western idea of wild nature conservation based on “Fortress Conservation” which completely separates nature from human beings.

An exceptional measure at Mt. Kilimanjaro was the establishment of buffer zone that is called *Half Mile Forest Strip* (hereinafter HMFS) in 1941 along with the lower edge of inside the forest reserve, where local residents are granted to collect and use natural resources necessary for their everyday life. This was a pioneering measure to the world back then (9). Moreover, what deserves special mention is the fact that its management was fully entrusted to “Chagga Council”, a representative authority of Chagga despite under the British colonization at that time.

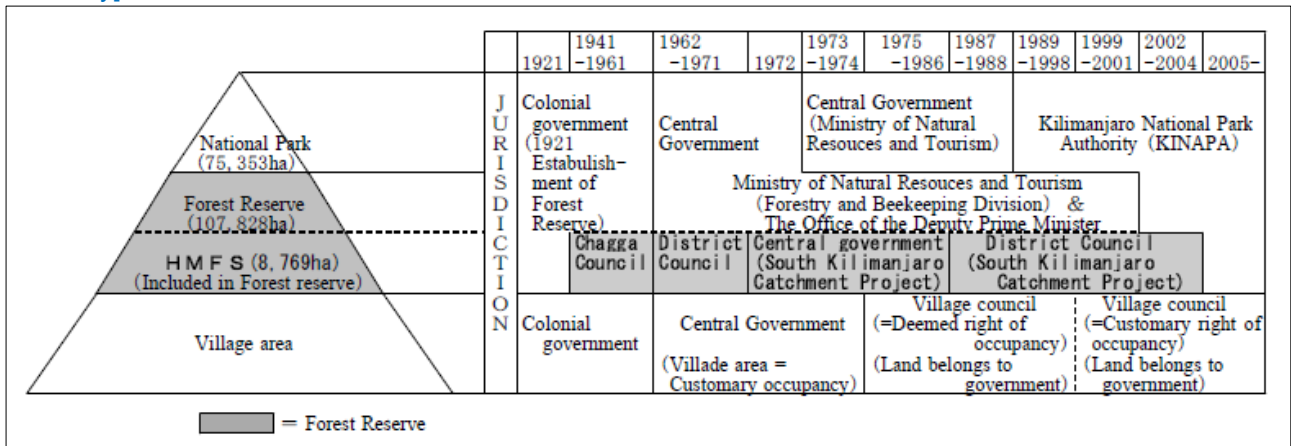
The abovementioned entrustment itself, however, shows that the existence of the friction between the local residents and the forest reserve (10) which was established without consideration of their life. In this regard, HMFS is a very consequence under such condition. It can be said that it had already been suggested that the fortress conservation and the forest conservation policy forcing unilateral exclusion of the local residents not consist structurally at this point in time(11).

In spite of the structure of the social living of local residents, the forest protection policy has been strengthened step by step. In 1962, HMFS was transferred from Chagga Council to the government (District council). Eventually, with the subsidiary legislation of National Parks Act promulgated in 2005, the forest reserve including HMFS has been completely merged into the national parks. Hereby the legal restriction for utterly exclusion the local residents from the forest has been completed, and in their eyes Kilimanjaro forests has become the fortress for real (see Figure1).

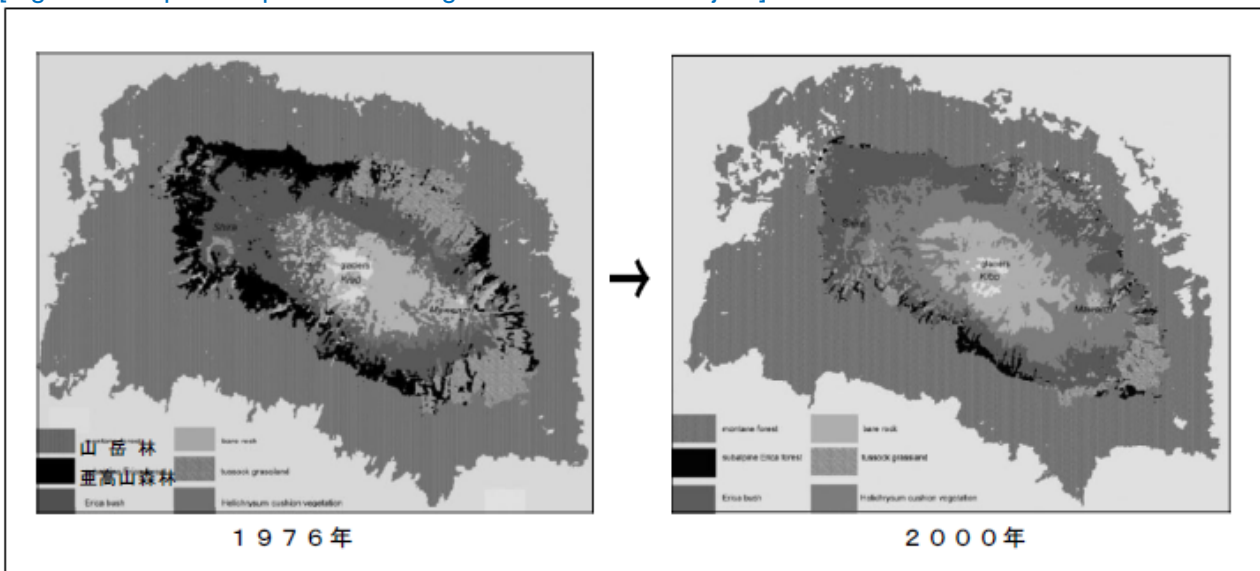
As recommendation by the OECD working group, the government (or the Kilimanjaro National Parks (KINAPA) that exercises jurisdiction) has thrown rangers out as forest guards, who are just like army troops equipped with shotguns (12), and according to the testimony of the local residents, they have started excluding intruders from the forest using measures including physical violence.

However, as per mentioned in our newsletter No. 31, no matter how they strict the legal regulation or the forest management, so long as the local residents' living structure is based on the forest, excluding them is impossible. Entering into the forest is a part of their structured living system, which is a vital matter. In other words, no matter how badly treated, they have no choice other than entering the forest. During our field work this summer, we came across with the villagers in the forest. In response to our question asking if it is okay to enter the forest and if they are not afraid of KINAPA, they all said “We have no choice, or what are we supposed to do? If we get caught by KINAPA, it's time to give up.”

[Figure 1: Structure of forest management on Mt. Kilimanjaro and conceptual map of management authority]



[Figure 2: Graphic map of diminishing forest of Mt. Kilimanjaro]



As a matter of life and survivorship, even though restricted by the government, the local residents had no choice from the start anyway except entering the forest. This is the reason why the forest cannot be protected with the logic of one-way exclusion which is without consideration their life components, and by the related policies and regulations stand on that logic.

Further, looking back on the past history that had followed by a series of reinforcement of management to the forest, the fact that they could not protect the forest evidentially demonstrates the non-effectiveness of such political/legal frameworks (see fig.2: those sample graphics during the period between 1976-2000 depict the forest transformation on Mt. Kilimanjaro under the government administration, as shown in fig.1, which had resulted the sharp forest decrease).

2. Inconsistent Government Laws and Policies

As described thus far, a number of legal regulations have been enforced one after another on Mt. Kilimanjaro that limits the local residents' access and the use to the forest. This is a tighter control against them and by turning the forest into a national park has come to a conclusion as "the complete exclusion of the local residents."

However, on the other hand, Tanzania government shows an inconsistent side of their standpoint as having set forth some forest policies, which apparently opposes to the current situation as a matter of fact. Namely, it is a political policy of community/residents participatory approach (hereinafter "Participatory Approach"). For instance, when the Local Government Authorities Act was approved in 1982, the management authority of HMFS was

returned from Tanzania government to district council in 1987. "Promoting local management which had lost on HMFS" is stated as a part of its purposes (13).

Further in 1991, in order to deal with matters related with the community/the local residents, a dedicated department called CCS (Community Conservation Service) was established under Tanzania National Parks Service (hereinafter TANAPA). It aimed to financially support the local communities located around the respective national parks with their profit: in other words, the revenue made at each national parks (14).

Subsequently in 1998, Joint Forest Management (JFM) was announced in The National Policies for Forestry and Beekeeping. It expressed promoting private sectors, including the local residents and NGOs, taking part in forest management. Additionally, a fair distribution of the benefit from the forest was mentioned, which also covers a clear definition of the forest area and the ownership of the trees (15).

The Forest Act 7/02 founded in 2002 has clearly defined the legal framework of forest management by such as JFM, in order to promote the appropriate and effective forest management operation by private sector and community base (16).

On the other hand, it was not only Tanzania government that was aware of the necessity of participatory approach on forest management in Tanzania: Global Environment Facility (GEF) founded within the World Bank has projected to enhance participatory forest management by supporting extension of JFM through FCMP (Forest Conservation and Management Project).

The major Western countries such as Germany, Finland, Denmark, and Norway, and EU have also offered support to participatory forest management approach in Tanzania.

3. The Essence of "Participatory Approach" Policies of the Government

Thus as far as forest reserves in Tanzania are concerned, particularly on Mt. Kilimanjaro in this context, the contradictory national policy and its management practice are simply applied and operated in parallel without any adjustment: with actual situation which is a complete exclusion of the local residents by enhanced application of the National Parks Act over the reinforced management; and the Forest Act which aims to protect forest by Participatory Approach and other programs along the line.

It will be hard to possibly understand to local residents with limited information what is happening in the forest surrounding their village. As a matter of fact, even the government forestry officers are in the midst of confusion.

As per mentioned in earlier sections, because the means called "Fortress Conservation" based upon the thought of primeval nature protection (with an implication of extensive application of national park to the forest reserve, including HMFS on Mt. Kilimanjaro) cares nothing of residents living system or structures, we think that the forest is not protected in such a means. Also, the problem of fortress conservation is not just limited to Mt. Kilimanjaro; such approaches pulling nature and people away from each other is already recognized as a part of nature protection issues (17),

The thought of "participatory approach" has come as a lesson learnt from the past one-way approaches of primeval nature protection and the non-effectiveness of fortress conservation. Having stated so, how well have aforementioned participatory policy or its programs been taken in place? We are afraid we cannot help taking a negative side of the view to answer this question. Seeing is believing: the actual situation of the forests unprotected by these very policies and programs shows everything. Far from it, most of the programs are likely to either vanish as mist, otherwise becoming a mere name missing its real purpose.

Talk about "participatory approach" may sound like a panacea; why does not it work then? The answer is found in the structural defect with regard to the current participatory policies and its approaches common to governmental, international, and private programs.

Prior to discussing about the core subject, let us touch on what the "Participatory Approach" is all about from the government point-of-view. The legal ground of "Participatory Approach" in the forest policies of the government sits on The Forest Act 7/02. Stated in this act as a concrete practice framework of Participatory Approach policy is JFM (the authority of jurisdiction on Mt. Kilimanjaro is Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Office of Tanzania Government).

As mentioned previously, JFM aims to run the forest management involving private sectors including the local residents, NGO, etc. and evenly distribute the benefit from the forest (including the clear definition of the forest area and the ownership of trees). However, the actual

procedure incorporated to its practice is mainly limited to the restriction and fining against forest trespassers, and support for income generate activities (i.e. nursery management, eco tourism introduction, etc.) to replace the direct use of the forest resource. What lies in the basis in it is the viewpoint of putting weight in "conservation" in order to discourage local residents from using the forest resources by offering the economic incentive. Apparently, this is different from "the community and the local residents' participation in the forest management."

What makes this viewpoint more conspicuously is CCS (Community Conservation Service) by TANAPA (18). CCS is supposed to build cooperation between local organizations such as local government, private company, etc. and local residents, and enhance it for conservation (19). Nevertheless its practice mostly putting emphasize on supporting local community with the revenue earned from national parks admission (i.e. constructing schools, bridges, etc.), far from building a hand-in-hand relationship with the local residents. The CCS approach as such is called "Protected Area Outreach", which is a mechanism to return the revenue (or partial revenue) of protected area for social development of neighboring communities. The aim of it is to make the local residents recognize the significance of the protected area by that and to make their attitude positive about protecting the forest or negative about using the forest resources.

According to these points, it could be interpreted that the meaning of "Participatory Approach" of the government is "to exclude the local residents from the forest by offering social/economic incentives" rather than involving them to the forest management itself (decision making and its execution practice)..

This is not so much different from the idea of "Fortress Conservation" at the bottom; the only difference may be whether or not with the social/economic incentives. Under such policy, the local residents are simply positioned as the receiver forced to follow the top-down policies and programs. This cannot help but say very doubt whether this can say "Participatory Approach"

While it is proposed the remarkable effect in participatory approach for the conservation of the protected area (21), the actual situation can be said that an old-fashioned top-down style is the essence of "community participation" policy of the government.

4. Structural Issues of "Participatory Approach" Policy at Present

Aside from the issue of participatory approach that excludes community's and its residents' participation, then, is the participatory approach programs (JFM/CSS) of the government related to the result the same as the plan ? So far, they have made no particular effect to the speed of diminishing forest, and as previously mentioned, many of them today are in name only. For those local residents not allowed participating in the processes of decision-making or the management, when they see/feel issues in such Participatory Approach policies and programs, or once they judged them as unsuitable, the option of "not consuming the forest resources" set by the policies or programs become meaningless and they are abandoned. The below are the issues/concerns pointed out (22):

- a. The income generation activities supported by the programs brought very little income for the most cases.
- b. Insufficient distribution of the profit earned through the programs (the revenue made from national parks admission overwhelmingly goes to the government for the most part; and the local distribution is not made appropriately.)
- c. When the profit earned through the programs is invested to a public sector (i.e. Schools, Bridges, etc.), it becomes non-attractive incentives to the individual local residents.
- d. Disproportion of social/economic profit returned between respective communities.

It can be said that these points certainly accord with the actual situation even if compare with the situation of Mbokomu and Old Moshi, the areas of our activity.

Particularly for JFM that mainly offers income generation program in exchange for excluding residents from the forests, the issue of insufficient income is fatal. It is not easy to offer a support program to the majority of residents living around the close area of the forest reserve, which brings sufficient income. There will be little possibility that can achieve the purpose to exclude residents from the forest, as far as JFM particular sticks to the means of income generation as a form of the "participation"..

As opposed to this situation, CCS might be able to encourage the residents showing somewhat positive attitudes, or to restrain them from accessing to the forest, if it is reconsidered the distribution ratio between the government and communities of the rich amount of funds earned through national parks admission (particularly Kilimanjaro National Park in this context), and made to the social development of communities with rectified disparities among communities. Nonetheless the government's attitude towards these improvements is extremely negative and strongly criticized.

However, if these are improved, would those government policies such as JFM and CCS become effective for forest protection in the Mt. Kilimanjaro ? Unfortunately our outlook for this question is negative. It is due to the structural defects that these fundamentally hold. The fundamental structure of JFM/CCS is to hold down the local residents' use of forest resources by offering social and economic incentives. Notwithstanding such incentives, they cannot replace the needs of the local residents that exist on a day-to-day basis at all such as firewood, charcoals and fodder for livestock, and the like. No matter how large the amount of income being made, or no matter what type of social infrastructure takes place that fully benefits, the local residents will not stop entering to the forests.

If the government were to exclude the local residents from using the forest resources, it must provide alternative means for securing their materials mentioned above. Unless otherwise providing support for introducing Biogas System that can completely eliminate their firewood consumption, nothing can change their course of action.

Having discussed thus far, the methodology of "the forest protection" conducted by "the exclusion of the local residents" does not work without providing replacement that complements their needs. Further, in the light of reality, we must say that providing such replacement is extremely unrealistic.

This type of methodology, which holds down the local residents' behavior using the forest resources by offering/supporting social and economic incentives, has been commonly practiced not only by the Tanzania government but also the other international organizations and other countries in the various kinds of projects (23). And many of those are run in the name of "Participatory Approach".

[For Protecting Forests of Mt. Kilimanjaro]

1. What to Work on as Tanzania Pole Pole Club?

Mainly there are two major parts comprising the problem with regard to protecting the forests of Mt. Kilimanjaro.

First, the problem of the expansion of national park that goes over to HMFS. Fortifying the forests of Mt. Kilimanjaro, and completely/legally excluding the local residents do not mean their needs for firewood and the like would disappear. As per touched in the opening statement, those residents are aware of the legal restriction, but have no choice other than entering to the forest even though they may be beaten by the rangers. Emerging from the expansion of the National Park as a result is "a lawless area" where rules no longer make any sense to follow. And the reality has such situation already. In order to resolve the problem, the borderline of the expanded national park must be adjusted back to where it was, at least to the position where HMFS is not included (prior to the national park expansion, the entire forest reserve including HMFS were out of the sphere).

Second, restructuring the forest management system applied within HMFS. Simply adjusting the borderline back to its place would only bring the past state. Even on those days, the forest destruction had been worsened at both HMFS and the forest reserve: Without restructuring the forest management system, it would only remove the title of the national park and cannot stop the forest destruction.

2. Push Back the National Park Borderline

Regarding our further activities on Mt. Kilimanjaro, the objective that becomes the most important is realizing the aforementioned two parts. As for the former, regarding the national park borderline, our repeated negotiation with the regional and district governments have been continued since 2007. Although, our effort has succeeded little by little to convince them of the significance of the problem.

As a result at Tema village, the regional government had granted the local residents entering to the forest reserve and planting trees as a special case (24).

But the conclusion of Tanzania government that has regarded them as destroyer of the forest and deprived HMFS by including it as a part of the national park, furthermore, KINAPA's harassment

against them has completely destroyed tree planting activity of the community lasting for 20 years, and minds of the villagers who have worked on it.

On the other hand, the expanded application of the national park to the forest reserve was made to other areas from Mt. Kilimanjaro and had caused problems at various areas.

Happened was an unbelievable state of serious conflict within the same government between TANAPA and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, when Olmotonyi Forestry Training Institute in Arusha region (which is located next to Kilimanjaro region administered by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism), was included to the national park. As a matter of course, the local residents' complaints had become serious, and we were informed by TEACA that there is a movement inside the government for the adjustment of the national park borderline.

In order to ascertain these movements, we have held a conference in Moshi this summer to discuss about the issue with the government's respective forestry related departments altogether. Attended from the government were the South Kilimanjaro Catchment Forest Office, the Zonal Publicity Office-Northern Zone, the Kilimanjaro Regional Forest Department, the Moshi District Forestry and Bee-keeping Department, and from the government-affiliated organization was Tanzania Association of Forestry (25).

The principal objective was to push back the national park borderline above HMFS; for that purpose, TEACA and we presented the following explanations and proposals:

- a. Presentation about the status and its data related to the strengthened history of the forest management up to the present, and the reality of deforestation linked and worsened to it.
- b. Expression of concern and the actual situation against uncontrollable forest use which is expected to be worsened as the result of expanding the national park borderline.
- c. Providing various and available research results proposing the effectiveness of the community initiative for forest management of Mt. Kilimanjaro.
- d. Presenting the successful practices of

the sustainable forest use and its management by the Community Initiative in the past on Mt. Kilimanjaro (26).

- e. Pointing out the inefficiencies of the traditional ways of the government-driven Participatory Approach policies until now.
- f. Proposals for pushing back the national park's borderline, and the necessity of establishing new framework of the Community Initiative forest management system.



[Photo : Discussion with the directors of related forest departments.]

As far as these points and proposals are concerned, we are convinced that all the related departments who have attended the conference had shown high interest (special recognition). As to the reconsideration for the national park's borderline, the funding issue for surveillance stands as the bottleneck for progressing its redefinition and resettlement, however our outlook towards the government's movement is optimistic. Further, in order to ascertain these actions, we have also held another discussion with the head office of Forestry and Beekeeping Department under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism at Dar es Salaam. It was of our regret that we could not get a hold of the director of the department face-to-face since during the business trip, but we have managed to exchange our opinions with his aide and drawn her high attention. After the event, we gained an agreement from the department head himself to hold a meeting on the subsequent opportunity, which encouraged us to make it happen for real upon our next visit.

3. Necessity of “Community Initiative” Forestry Management System

Next, as the second challenge, we have worked on building the framework of new forest management at HMFS. Its focus is on how the effective forest management system should serve for protecting forests after pushing back the national park’s borderline. The base of it is on the “Community Initiative” learned from the experience of the Chagga Council and the local people as successful practice, which had managed the forest by their own hands and enabled its sustainable use.

HMFS jurisdiction prior to incorporation to the national park, used to belong to the district. However the district was able hardly to manage HMFS though they were having jurisdiction, and the realities that were not able to stop the deforestation have already been described. Under the insufficient financial affairs, it was hard to secure enough numbers of staff: in addition, as to those laws applied to HMFS and the forest reserve one after another, as well as those projects implying various and different directions done by various organizations, even the forest officers could not clearly answer what is right and what not. How could the district possibly manage HMFS properly?

Moreover, it is completely out of the question in the eye of local residents to renounce using the forest resources according to the government’s new policy line that declared “Participatory Approach” which follows the traditional top-down approach and ignoring the local peoples’ opinions or intentions.

To solve such issue, the following are required as prerequisite: preparing the united management system of use of the forest resources based upon the mutual agreement of the local residents; the management system functions substantially and effective; cost-effective; the sufficient number of human resources can be secured.

It is exactly the local communities that have possibility to realize it, especially “the villages” as the closest administrative organ for the local residents that put them together. This can be almost overlapped with what had once been realized by Chagga Council and the local residents, plus their ability for execution have already been proven to be evidential with their own hands.

The government ought to correct its prejudice (stereotype) against the local residents

simply as the ignorant forest destroyer. Also, posture of listening to the idea and thought of the forest management that local residents oneself thinks about, and supporting its practice will be necessary for the government, instead of forcing them to follow the participatory approach concepts that various developed countries, international organizations, and NGOs bring in from the outside.



[Above photo: HEM Trust Fund, one of the NGOs acting at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro]

[Bottom photo: Meeting with Mr. Sekiete, the management head of HEM, and Mr. Raou in charge of Marangu district.

4. Villages, The Key Player of Community Initiative

To realize forest management by "Community Initiative", substantial right of management over the forest (HMFS) needs to be returned to the hand of the residents (=villages) (28). They have the necessity to depend on the forest in order to sustain their daily lives; therefore they are fully aware of the significance. Moreover, the villagers of Tema village, at least, have pride that it is them but not other who have protected the forest by the effort of tree planting activity for 20 years till now.

However, when seeing as Mt. Kilimanjaro whole, the forest management of the government does not function, and as a whole, the fact that deforestation advanced to is as having described so far. And, as a result, the mountain got pressure from the world countries because it was a world heritage, and the forest of HMFS was taken away at last as a national park.

The forest will just continue decreasing as before only by returning to a former "management" state even if a national park was removed. It is obvious that internal and external pressure to return the forest to national park rising again (29). Once it is decided so again, the forest will never return to a hand of villagers. This is what we exactly afraid of.

After all, it is villagers that cornered to the most embarrassed standpoint even if the forests decrease or it is taken up. In order to avoid such situation, the only option left for them is to establish the sustainable management rules for forest resources and its usage, and structure them as a system, then negotiate/persuade the government to grant them. This is the conclusion we have arrived as a result of the meeting with leaders of TEACA.

However, for doing so, the way of afforestation activities led by TEACA would not work anymore, even at Tema village. This is because the "village" is the only entity that is in the appropriate position for representing the villagers for the government, though TEACA has played a key role of tree planting activity in the community until now. Further, no such local NGO as practicable as TEACA hardly exists in villages that are scattered along with the vast field of HMFS, which total area is nearly 9,000 ha. As a result, various organizations like government, international organizations and NGOs carried out many projects by a different thought and different policy until now. And it confused villages and local

residents.

In order to avoid such situation to happen again, and to realize holistic and practical forest management across Mt. Kilimanjaro, such organization that can form the opinion and thought of local residents in bottom-up, and can take the initiative to practice is necessary. The main constituent that can play the role across all the communities is the "village" after all.

5. Community Initiative Forest Management; Aiming at its achievement

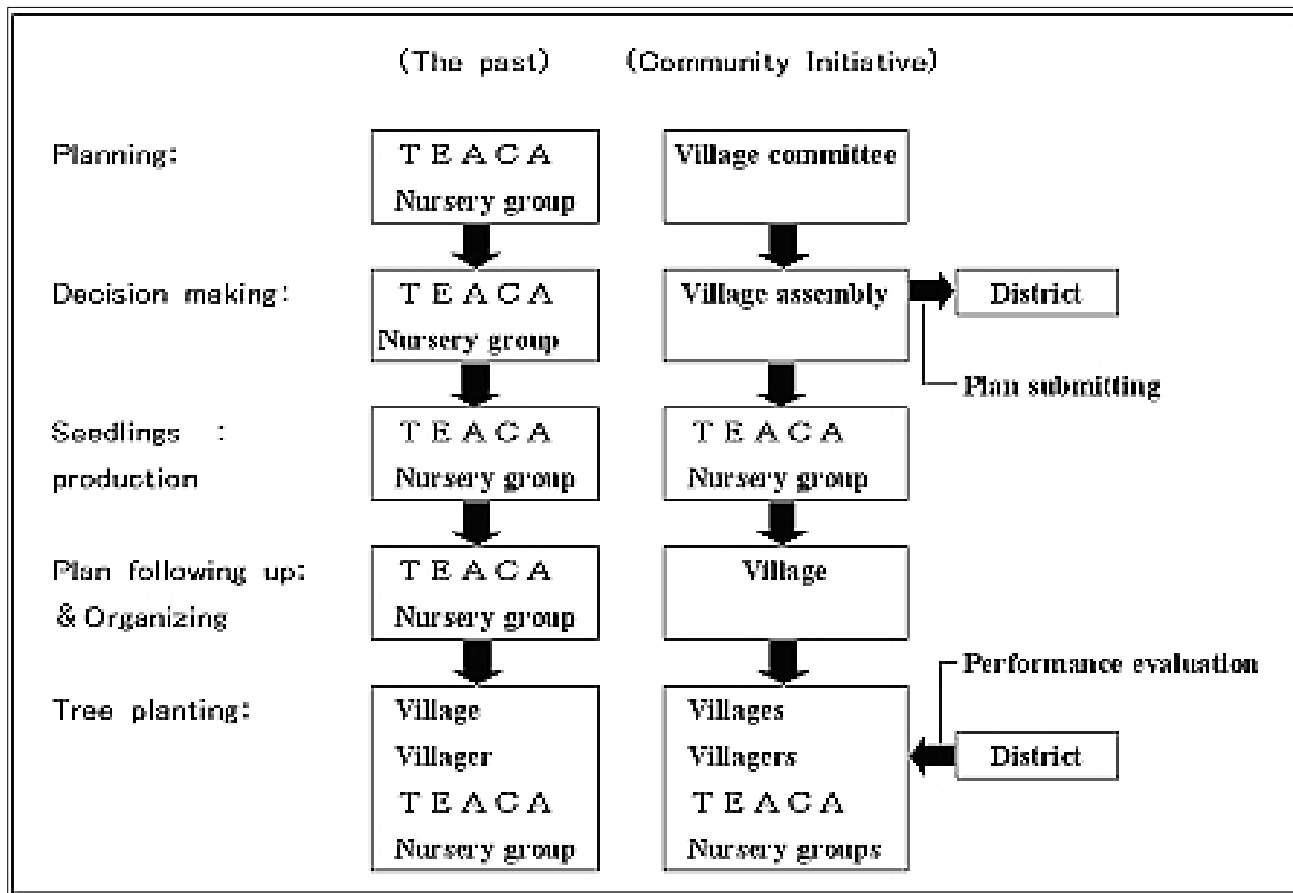
Under the recognition mentioned above, the action for the community initiative forest management had already launched at two villages of Tema and Kidia, As per discussed earlier, in order to concrete the practical management system, it is the best involving the residents who understands necessity of the forest closest to them to hold discussion, and establish consensus which is necessary to place as a part of the formal rules of the villages. Because it is no meaning if the rule was like former government (unfeasible) management that residents could not follow, hardly practiced, or like those various other projects by other organizations that had dispersed like mist.

The process structuring the bottom-up system start, first of all, the village council (30) to decide significant agendas to be discussed at the village assembly. In other words, the importance and necessity of the forest management conducted by the villages and residents are to be asked in the village council..

Those agendas recognized with high importance are then discussed at the village assembly, which is the highest decision-making body of the village comprising all member villagers both male and female over the age 18. Further those agreed agendas passed by majority are to be the formal decision of the village.

During Tema village council, raised by one of Kitongojis located apart from HMFS was the concern whether "community residents can handle the management of this vast forest by themselves". But the final consistent view of the all participants was "users stand to reason for owing management responsibility". Hence the decision was made that the village assembly is to hold a discussion with the residents.

In Kidia village council, the desire to the forest management by themselves was shown in sequence. The discussion went very enthusiastically that the room temperature of the



[Implementation flow after the transfer to the community initiative forest management]

small village office felt even hotter. Some topics like “what kinds of rule are good to be established at the village” were discussed. Many even commented “nothing like this council meeting with such fruitful discussions has ever been made before”.

As a result of the council, the village assembly was held at the both villages. Involving the local residents, once again the pros and cons of the forest management and its means and method were discussed. Unexpectedly, the way that HMFS got merged as a part of National Park has taught a lesson to the local residents to realize how much the forest means to them. There is no objection as to managing the forest by themselves. Although the concrete rules like that once conducted by Chagga council will take time to be fully-equipped with further discussion among the villagers, their vision towards HMFS management and direction in the bigger picture were made clear. The below is the list of their decisions (based upon the assumption HMFS is detached from the national park):

- a. All Kitongojis are to organize a forest

patrol groups in cooperation with the village environment committee.

- b. The patrol group is to conduct daily HMFS patrol, and enforce an order all out to the residents to follow the forest management rules.
- c. The villages and the patrol groups are to conduct their activities following the appropriate instruction and advice by the district.
- d. In order to keep the sustainable use of the forest, the villages and the environment committee are to make and submit the annual afforestation/tree planting plan to the district..
- e. The villages are to report the result of tree planting annually.
- f. Under the instruction by the village and the committee, the local residents are to work on afforestation/tree planting activity, and to take care of planted trees and planting sites each year.

- g. TEACA is responsible for supplying seedlings.
- h. With regard to the forest management, the village and the district are to make agreements.
- i. In case of failure in forest management, the village agrees that the district to take over the forest.

The catchy part that makes these decisions boldly is item i. It comes from the idea of give and take: by simply listing the wants for removing HMFS from the national park would not fully convince the government without showing their commitment how serious they are. And even though it happened for real, it is unlikely to believe that the district would transfer the management right to them freely with 100% trust. The villagers drive oneself into the all out effort, and it may be said that they showed own resolution of protecting forest by their own hands. And this decision was submitted to the district.



[Photo: Mr. Mcharo of a vice-chairperson TEACA speaking in a village council]



[Photo: Discussion with Tema villagers concerning community initiative forest management]

[Summary and Further Challenges]

Explained above is the status to date. Therefore, Tanzania Pole Pole Club is to work on the following actions on the Mt. Kilimanjaro as the top priorities. Further challenges are also summarized in conclusion.

1. Further Actions

I. Cancellation of National Park from HMFS

A case assuming the existence of local residents as a precondition, this is the major prerequisite as well as the absolute condition in order to carry on the sustainable forest management on Mt. Kilimanjaro. There is a movement for re-consideration about this within the government, nevertheless we will further continue our advocacy activities against the government to make it ascertain. Particularly significant is the appeal to the director of the head office of the Forestry and Beekeeping under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism.

II. Transfer the Forest Management Right to the Local Villages

We will continue the cross-organizational conference with the forest-related departments of the government and further expand the recognition for the Community Initiative forest management. Through this we intend to gain them more idea about community initiative approach as alternative policy against the forest management with the traditional top-down approaches so that they could propose it by themselves in the case of the national park cancellation. ,

III. Shaping the Means of Community Initiative Forest Management

The current plan of the village is yet in a framework on the whole. So the detailed regulations with regard to the forest use, the settlement on the management plan, organizing the forest patrol groups and the committee, the definition of the duty etc., need to be discussed with villagers and take concrete shape in future. However, it is pointless that to put activity weight on speed than quality, especially at this stage where no promise is given whether HMFS is returned. Rather we aim to offer support to help tree planting activity by the community Initiative within the village area where is outside of the HMFS, in order to empower ability of the village.

IV. Restoring the Villagers' Pride and Self-Confidence

The villagers have stood up for taking action to realize the Community Initiative management. However, the past two decades of their effort has not received the slightest attention in the light of global forest protection: the government labeled them as destroyers of the forests and the fact it had forced the strict regulation against them had hurt their feelings very deeply, and had driven them into despair. The scar has not healed as of yet, and their distrust against the government is deep-rooted

From now on, the above items I to III are our most important focuses. However, at the same time, such program also need to be provided for those villagers who have been through deep disappointment and about to loose the sense of purpose, that is to find the valuable meaning in their activities, and to regain their pride and confidence. It is because no rules or measures would hold any practical effect nor sustainability without their spontaneous intention.

In this regard, we intend to start the program incorporating historical and cultural aspects which villagers and children can learn and understand easily the significance of existence of the forest, and how it is included and linked with their living systems.

Although the program does not take effect quickly, it will lead them to more deeply understanding about the impact and the meaning of their activity, and also to work with self-confidence, through providing an opportunity to look back and appreciate the familiar forest and their history of life.

2. Challenges

As you can see in our past achievements, the forest management of Mt. Kilimanjaro (HMFS) by Community Initiative had been more effective than by the government.

For instance, during the past two decades from 1941 when the right of HMFS management was left to Chagga Council, until 1961 when the right was deprived, the total area afforested by them was 450.4ha (about 23ha/year). On the other hand, it is 116ha (about 13ha/year) that it was afforested by the district in nine years from 1962 to 1971 when the management right was moved to district council.. What it was worse, the deforested area during the same period is said to have been larger than that of afforested. Management was returned to the district again in

1987 after the management right had been moved from 1972 afterwards to 1986 to the central government. And, for the following 3 years until 1990, the district carried out planting of 129.1ha (about 43ha/year). However, the cut of timber had exceeded the afforestation area again because it had valued earnings as the commercial forest. Since then, afforestation was hardly practiced.

During the Community Initiative forest management led by Chagga Council, they puted the person in charge for management by themselves and local residents supported the afforestation activity. Eventually they had become to employ the forest workers of the working full time by paying their own expenses.

The fund supported their forest management as such was sourced from the sales profit of forest resources, but three fourth of which had gone to the government. Aside of this, they had also collected use fee from the forest users. Thus, all of the costs of the forest management were covered by these limited earnings by themselves.

However, when it comes to the future forest management by community initiative in the future, ,it seems difficult to secure even such limited original source of income that chagga council once earned. It is because the forest of HMFS was utterly devastated while it was under the management of the district, and earning income from the forest resources is extremely difficult.

Meanwhile, in order for tree planting activity, the cost is required just for growing the seedlings, and how to cover the cost for sustainable forest management including caring for trees after the planting and patrolling planting sites, etc. becomes bottleneck, (though still it seems far better cost than the government management and cost-effectiveness is also higher).

In order to solve this issue, we will need to propose the following. In other words, the traditional Participatory Approach policies (i.e. JFM) had provided funds as economic incentives mostly focused on pulling the local residents away from the forest as an alternative solution (it did not work as expected though). We propose that this fund to be allocated as the fund to support Community Initiative Forest Management by the respective villages, so that secure its budget continuously. Further, by removing HMFS from the national park, the social development program (CCS) implemented by TANAPA (KINAPA) would become no longer be offered in

theory. But the part of the national park revenue should be returned to the adjacent communities for the purpose of protecting the national park in the long run.

The government, therefore, is responsible to transform JFM into not “participatory”, but the true meaning of the residents-owned forest management, namely the program to support forest management by “Community Initiative”; meanwhile CCS is to be positioned and continued as the program for supporting the social development in the local community. By doing so, those existing programs and policies, which positioning and functions are vague and duplicated for similar purposes, executed here and there up to now by deferent organizations within the same government, should be fine-tuned and the confusion of residents will be able to be avoided.

Also, we suggest that the various international organizations and NGOs should pay closer attention to the local people’s opinions and viewpoints and help them promoting their spontaneous activities as a supporter, instead of bringing their own Participatory Approach project independently like a social experiment,

(Reported by S. Fujisawa)



[Photo: Trees planted by villagers growing at HMFS on Mt. Kilimanjaro (both short and tall ones by Tema)]

REFERENCES

- (1) Tanzania Pole Pole Club Newsletter. No. 30-32.
- (2) Hemp, A. (2005). Climate change-driven forest fires marginalize the impact of icecap wasting on Kilimanjaro: *Global Change Biology*, vol. 11.
- (3) Population and housing census - Village and street statistics. Vol. VII. Total population of three districts: Moshi rural; Hai; Rombo. (2002). National Bureau of Statistics, Tanzania.
- (4) About 900 kinds of plants are found in the forest reserve, comprising 41% of the entire plants (nearly 2200 kinds) across Mt. Kilimanjaro. 87 out of more less 140 mammals (62%) also live in the forest reserve.
- (5) The subsidiary legislation of National Parks Act. (2005).
- (6) The subject policy in this context is with the application of subsidiary legislation of National Parks Act 2005 that aimed to exclude residents from forest reserve particularly on Mt. Kilimanjaro.
- (7) For more details of the historical transition of the forest policies and control reinforcement, see our Newsletter No. 31.
- (8) Limits the local residents' access to the forest.
- (9) The buffer zone issue was taken up for discussion at the 16th UNESCO general assembly for Man and Biosphere (MAB) program in 1971.
- (10) The concepts of "Game reserve" and "forest reserve" introduced to Africa by Westerners are originated not by the true protection of such lives, but by the purpose for creating a recreational sanctuary for the few wealthy privileged Westerners (by Mackenzie 1988, Wanitzek and Spippel 1998, and Grove 1990).
- (11) Especially at those villages located along the forest reserve, lifestyle of villagers have traditionally and largely depended on the forest resources for collecting firewood, fodder, building materials, etc. This makes contrast with that of those who live at the lower foot and the mid part of the mountain far away from the forest reserve as they hold the common land in their area for getting those resources. Likewise, the social and living structure of the neighbor villages along the forest reserve is critically dependent on the forest, and on the assumption that depending on the forest, they had been able to secure their farmland in village area. Namely, newly developing the common land within a village cannot work without depending on those forests in the forest reserve. And what's more, at Chagga villages where land productivity supporting their people have already saturated with its maximum capability. Scarcely there is any more common land available in the village area that is vast enough to cover the grassland for fodder.
- (12) Development and Climate Change Project. (2003). OECD.: "Among the more immediate adaptation responses identified by this report are institutional measures such as the inclusion of the forest belt into the Kilimanjaro National Park and the creation of a paramilitary ranger group to deter logging, as well as better investments in early warning systems, particularly the purchase of one or two aircraft for aerial surveillance."
- (13) However, the purpose of the law was not informed to the residents, and HMFS management which had already confused the situation bad enough made the outcome even worse than ever before.
- (14) Durrant, M. B. (2004). Communities, place, and conservation on Mt. Kilimanjaro.
- (15) Despite these policies, on the other hand, local residents were still prohibited to use the forest resources within the forest reserve. Also as to JFM, as well as CCS, local residents were not informed either. Hence the subject policy could not effectively arrive at the goal as expected.
- (16) Countries forest facts by country. (2004). FAO, Forestry institutions and major programmes, Tanzania.
- (17) Supplemental sources:
*Adams, W. & D. Hulme. (2001). Conservation & Community: Changing narratives, policies & practices in African conservation. *African Wildlife & Livelihoods*.
*Western, D., & R. M. Write. (1994). The background to community-based conservation: Natural connections: Perspectives in community-based conservation.
- (18) The jurisdictional authority at Mt. Kilimanjaro is KINAPA (Kilimanjaro National Park).
- (19) Meramari, L. (1995). The need for a community-based conservation policy in Tanzania: TANAPA's perspective: *Community-based conservation in Tanzania*
- (20) Barrow, E., & Murphree, M. (2001). Community conservation: From concept to practice": *African Wildlife & Livelihoods*

- (21) Supplemental sources:
United Nations Development Program (UNDP). (2004). GEF Small Grants Programme (GEF SGP). Partnerships for conservation: Lessons from the "COMPACT approach" for co-managing protected areas and landscapes
- (22) NORAD. (2007). Management of natural resources programme, Tanzania TAN-0092.
- (23) Supplemental sources:
*Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation Project (COMPACT) by UNDP / United Nations Foundation (UNF) / Global Environment Facility (GEF)
*Management of Natural Resources Programme (MNRP), Catchment Forestry Project in Kilimanjaro by the Norwegian / Tanzanian governments.
- (24) Nevertheless the use of the forest resources remained as completely prohibited.
- (25) Tanzania Association of Forestry (TAF) , mainly organized by the retired forest officers. During the period 2002-2004, they took over Small Grant COMPACT Project from UNDP, and redefined the borderline of the forest reserve and HMFS at Tema's neighbor villages: Mowo, Kidia, and Tella, respectively. Based upon Kenya's forest conservation practice at Mt. Kenya, TAF's viewpoint supports Mt. Kilimanjaro's forest protection by turning it to the national park. Hence therefore, their work of redefining the borderline could be regarded as an outpost of the national park expansion.
- (26) Between 1941 and 1961, the present area of HMFS used to be called "Chagga Local Authority Strip" and its sustainable use and management was well controlled by Chagga people. It is known that the scale of afforestation during the period was larger than that of the government (the subject area was put under the government administration in 1962 and renamed as HMFS. The government's focus was on commercial logging rather than afforestation)
- (27) The jurisdictional authority is District Forestry and Bee-keeping Department.
- (28) Even in such case, the jurisdiction right is desired to remain under the government control as the function to perform management audit and evaluation.
- (29) Mt. Kilimanjaro draws the world's attention not only as the world heritage, but also as facing the crisis of losing its mountaintop glacier related to the global warming. The cause of such phenomena carries several views besides the global warming, and its major cause has not been identified as of yet.
- One of the well-grounded arguments touches on the diminishing amount of vapor due to deforestation of the mountain. It reduces the formation of clouds over the mountaintop, which in theory increases the glacial sublimate phenomena (i.e. glacial disappearance) by sun radiation, as well as the diminishing amount of snowfall (i.e. hindered glacial formation). Likewise the concerns for the deforestation at Mt. Kilimanjaro and the external pressure for its protection from other countries and international organizations will continue throwing warning against Tanzanian government. At present, majority of such criticisms supports the idea of "Fortress Conservation" (as a national park). Further, Dr. James Wakibara, the senior ecological researcher of TANAPA, who visited Japan recently has commented "the best possible solution for protecting Mt. Kilimanjaro forests is to turn them entirely into the national park."
- (30) The village council is an administrative organ responsible for settling plans on participatory development as well as protecting the residents' lives. Determined at this council also is the list of agenda being discussed at village assembly. Generally, the council consists of about 25 members including the village chairman as the chairperson, the village secretary who belonging to the district, the leaders of respective "Kitngojis", and the elected members through the village assembly. A Kitongoji is a sub unit of a village comprising about 100 households, taking the bottom part of an organization forming the village. Moreover, a quarter of the entire council is composed of female members.