

This is a repository copy of *Examining the impact of forest protection status on firewood sufficiency in rural Africa*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:

<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/114232/>

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Latham, Julia Evelyn, Sallu, Susannah, Loveridge, Robin et al. (1 more author) (2017) Examining the impact of forest protection status on firewood sufficiency in rural Africa. Environmental conservation. pp. 1-36. ISSN 0376-8929

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0376892917000066>

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

ENVIRONMENTAL
CONSERVATION



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

**Examining the impact of forest protection status on
firewood sufficiency in rural Africa**

Journal:	<i>Environmental Conservation</i>
Manuscript ID	EC-17-01-02
Manuscript Type:	Research Paper
Date Submitted by the Author:	03-Jan-2017
Complete List of Authors:	Latham, Julia; CIRCLE, University of York, Environment Department Sallu, Susannah; University of Leeds, School of Earth and Environment Loveridge, Robin; CIRCLE, University of York, Environment Department Marshall, Andrew; CIRCLE, University of York, Environment Department; Flamingo Land, Conservation Science
Keywords:	Participatory Forest Management (PFM), Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs), Landscape approach, Payments for Ecosystem Services (PES), REDD+, Wellbeing

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

1 **Summary**

2 Millions of people living in poverty depend on non-timber forest products (NTFPs),
3 yet forest protection causes displacement, replacement or reduction of NTFP
4 extraction activities, with implications for human welfare. Here, we assess the impact
5 of forest protection on a novel measure of wellbeing that incorporates both objective
6 and subjective components of people's lives. In five villages near forests with mixed
7 protection status in Tanzania, household perceived need for firewood is compared
8 with actual consumption to provide a simple metric of firewood sufficiency. Firewood
9 sufficiency varied with forest protection status, with non-compliance inferred by
10 household ability to meet firewood needs despite forest access restrictions. Fuel-
11 efficient stove ownership improved perceived ability to meet firewood needs,
12 however actual consumption remained unchanged. Firewood sufficiency was
13 significantly lower for those sourcing firewood outside forests, and increased
14 household awareness of the management authority significantly reduced firewood
15 consumption. In a forest landscape of mixed protection status, pressure will likely be
16 displaced to the forest with the least active management authority, affecting their
17 efficiency as non-extractive reserves. Our findings reinforce the need for a landscape
18 approach to forest management planning that accounts for local needs, to avoid
19 leakage to other less well-protected forests and detriment to household welfare.

20 Introduction

21 More than 800 million people worldwide depend on forests for food, fuel and income
22 (TEEB 2010). Traditional woodfuels, including firewood and charcoal, account for
23 55% of harvested wood (FAO 2013). Between 27% and 34% of pan-tropical
24 traditional woodfuels are harvested unsustainably (Bailis *et al.* 2015). Forest
25 protection necessitates restrictions on non-timber forest product (NTFP) extraction,
26 with resulting welfare implications for local communities and trade-offs between
27 conservation and human wellbeing (Hosonuma *et al.* 2012, McShane *et al.* 2011,
28 Schelhas & Pfeffer 2009).

29 Economic valuation of the total value of forests at multiple scales can improve
30 understanding of these trade-offs, enabling calculation of the cost-benefit ratio of
31 protection at both global and local levels (Naidoo & Ricketts 2006). Appreciating the
32 economic contribution of NTFPs to wellbeing is essential if compensation is to be
33 provided for restricted extraction, such as through payments for ecosystem services
34 (PES) initiatives (Wunder 2013). However, wellbeing is multi-faceted, and may be
35 defined as 'a state of being with others, which arises where human *needs are met*,
36 where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one can enjoy a
37 satisfactory quality of life' (McGregor 2008). There is growing consensus that
38 evaluating the impacts of conservation interventions on wellbeing should include
39 both objective and subjective components of people's lives (Agarwala *et al.* 2014,
40 Lange *et al.* 2016, Woodhouse *et al.* 2015). Here, we present a novel approach to
41 the assessment of forest protection trade-offs that incorporates these linked material
42 and perception based indicators of wellbeing, by comparing perceived need for
43 firewood with actual usage.

44 Examination of forest protection trade-offs must also incorporate concerns for
45 leakage, when the benefit of protecting one forest area is negated by the
46 displacement of resource extraction elsewhere (Ewers & Rodrigues 2008). Robinson
47 and Kajembe (2009) identify four possible effects of forest access restrictions at the
48 village-level: (1) villagers displace extraction elsewhere (leakage), (2) villagers
49 replace extraction with increased purchase from markets, potentially intensifying
50 pressure on other forests supplying those markets, (3) villagers reduce extraction
51 quantities, with potentially negative welfare impacts, and (4) villagers cultivate more
52 resources on their own or village land. In addition to these, we identify two further
53 possible effects whereby (5) villagers do not comply with management and continue
54 extraction activities, and (6) in the case of extraction for fuel, villagers switch to
55 alternatives where available (e.g. gas). To predict these effects and inform
56 management decisions, spatial-temporal models of NTFP use help to define a
57 landscape that does not solely account for ecological characteristics, but includes
58 interactions between these and socioeconomic conditions (Robinson *et al.* 2011).
59 Models indicate that if labour and resource markets function efficiently, then
60 extraction restrictions will not lead to leakage, however imperfect and costly markets
61 will lead to displacement of activities into unprotected areas (Robinson *et al.* 2011;
62 Albers & Robinson 2013).

63 In this paper, we present a novel method for examining the impact of protected
64 status on wellbeing and the implications for leakage. We do this by analysing
65 household ability to meet NTFP needs in the vicinity of forests of mixed protected
66 status in rural Tanzania. NTFPs, such as firewood and charcoal, account for over
67 90% of total energy consumption in Tanzania (Felix & Gheewala 2011). Fuel-efficient
68 stoves can increase cooking efficiency by 30-75%, and a range of development

69 efforts promote the use of such stoves in Tanzania (Jetter & Kariher 2009, Still *et al.*
70 2011). However, on average the population of Tanzania and its largest city Dar es
71 Salaam has increased annually by 2.7% and 5.6% respectively between 2002 and
72 2012 (NBS 2013). Such population growth is predicted to increase pressure on
73 forest resources, acting as a major driver of forest degradation (Felix & Gheewala
74 2011, Hosier *et al.* 1993).

75 Tanzania is now piloting methods for policies aimed at reducing emissions from
76 deforestation and degradation (REDD+) linked to its existing participatory forest
77 management (PFM) programme (Burgess *et al.* 2010). Early lessons from REDD+
78 pilot projects indicate new challenges have emerged, with trade-offs between long-
79 term protection and short-term needs, as well as concerns for leakage (Blomley *et al.*
80 2016). With high dependence on firewood for energy in our study villages, we
81 compare household perceived need for firewood with actual consumption to provide
82 a simple metric of ability to meet firewood needs (henceforth: firewood sufficiency).
83 The effect of household variables and forest protection status on firewood sufficiency
84 is analysed, and the implications for wellbeing and leakage in this landscape of
85 forests with mixed protection status assessed.

86

87 **Methods**

88 *Study Area*

89 Data were collected in five forest-adjacent villages in the Kilombero and Kilosa
90 districts (Morogoro region; Fig. 1), neighbouring the biodiversity-rich Eastern Arc
91 Mountains (Burgess *et al.* 2007). Villages were selected to maximise variation in
92 protected status whilst minimising geographic spread, to avoid high variation in

93 ecological and social factors. To preserve household anonymity, villages were
94 identified by number and adjacent forests by their protection status: one forest
95 protected as a National Park (NP), one under JFM, two under CBFM (CBFM1;
96 CBFM2) and the remaining forest in management transition (transition forest; Table
97 1).

98 One year prior to NP gazettelement in 1992, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)
99 and the Tanzanian National Park Authority (TANAPA) began a ten-year project
100 promoting tree nurseries and fuel-efficient stoves in villages on the eastern border of
101 the park, to reduce dependence on the forest (Harrison 2006). During this time
102 TANAPA allowed villagers weekly entry to extract dead firewood. This concession
103 continued until June 2011, when it was banned given concerns for the impact on
104 biodiversity (Rovero *et al.* 2008). All five study-villages occur in this area east of the
105 NP. Agriculture is the predominant livelihood activity in these districts, and pressure
106 on resources is high (Gorenflo & Orland 2013).

107

108 [FIGURE 1 HERE]

109 [TABLE 1 HERE]

110

111 *Data Collection*

112 Between March and December 2011, 500 household questionnaires were
113 administered across study-villages to gauge NTFP use and household-level socio-
114 economic and demographic variables. In each village, focus groups were used to
115 jointly identify village-specific wealth indicators, such as asset ownership, and
116 households assigned to either a high-income or low-income wealth category with the

117 assistance of village councils. Total village household lists were then stratified by
118 sub-village and wealth (after Lund *et al.* 2008), and random number generation used
119 to select 100 household heads/village as respondents. This number of
120 questionnaires was chosen to maximise variability in responses whilst maintaining a
121 logistically viable sample size.

122 Questionnaires were administered by enumerators local to each village in the wet
123 (May-June) and dry (November) season to capture seasonal variation in NTFP use.
124 The geographic coordinates of all 500 households were recorded. Multiple questions
125 relating to NTFP use were asked to facilitate triangulation of data. Households were
126 asked to identify their major source of cooking energy, how this was obtained and
127 the monthly quantity consumed. Households were asked to identify all nearby
128 forests, whether they extracted from that forest, and products extracted. Households
129 were also asked to recall their NTFP use each month in that season. Specifically, for
130 each product, households were asked to recall the quantity extracted per month, the
131 frequency of extractions and the extraction location. Households were also asked to
132 recall the quantities purchased, sold and consumed per month. Finally, households
133 were asked the perceived quantity needed per month. The aim of this data collection
134 method was to compare like-for-like quantities, rather than econometric valuation.
135 Rapid assessment methods, such as those employed here, have been shown to
136 have good congruence with more detailed assessment in comparison of interview-
137 based methods (Jones *et al.* 2008).

138 *Data Analysis*139 *NTFP utilisation and protected area compliance*

140 Households were coded into those that either solely extracted NTFPs, solely bought
141 NTFPs or both extracted and bought NTFPs. Extraction location for each product
142 was coded by the forest protection status (NP, CBFM1, CBFM2, JFM, transition) or
143 household agricultural fields or private woodlot (Fields/Private) or purchase (Buy).
144 The percentage of households extracting each NTFP was calculated by extraction
145 location. Compliance with management rules and regulations was inferred through
146 reporting of number of NTFPs extracted, being firewood only or multiple products.
147 This measure of compliance is susceptible to under-reporting, as despite best efforts
148 to elicit truthful answers through data triangulation and use of local enumerators,
149 some households may have under-reported their NTFP use, or indicated extracting
150 from non-forest areas for fear of repercussions.

151 *Firewood Sufficiency*

152 The mean quantities of firewood extracted, bought, sold, consumed and needed per
153 household were calculated across both wet and dry seasons to provide average
154 monthly rates (bundles/month). Reported household firewood consumption was
155 cross-validated via calculation of quantities extracted, bought and sold. Household
156 firewood sufficiency was calculated by deducting household perceived mean quantity
157 of firewood needed/month from mean quantity consumed/month. This method builds
158 on other household-scale approaches to define firewood sufficiency by going beyond
159 a purely qualitative understanding (Dovie *et al.* 2004). Whilst moving towards a more
160 rigorous quantitative approach, the method explicitly retains a subjective component
161 common to recent definitions of wellbeing by allowing respondents to estimate their
162 own need (Agarwala *et al.* 2014, Milner-Gulland *et al.* 2014). Negative sufficiency

163 indicated a deficit in household firewood needs, zero values indicated that needs
164 were met and positive values indicated a surplus of firewood. Households were then
165 grouped by extraction location, and one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and
166 Tukey posthoc tests used to compare differences in mean household firewood
167 sufficiency between extraction locations.

168 Between wet and dry season surveys, the aforementioned firewood collection ban
169 commenced in the NP and also JFM. If households indicated a switch in extraction
170 location from either NP or JFM between surveys, the difference between mean wet
171 season firewood sufficiency and mean dry season firewood sufficiency was tested
172 using Student's t-tests. All statistical analyses were carried out using R (version
173 3.0.0; <http://cran.r-project.org>).

174 *Determinants of Firewood Sufficiency*

175 Further analysis was carried out to determine what factors might predict household
176 firewood need, consumption and sufficiency independently. A broad set of 16
177 household-level demographic, wealth and environmental predictor variables were
178 chosen based on previous investigations into NTFP consumption correlates (e.g.
179 Foerster *et al.* 2012; Table 2). All variables were coded from household
180 questionnaire data. Dependence on NTFPs for energy was represented by whether
181 households used firewood alone as their major energy source, or in combination with
182 charcoal. Previous analysis found variation in household awareness of each forest
183 management authority in this study sample, with clear awareness of NP status, yet
184 no awareness of JFM and low engagement in PFM (Latham 2013). Given this,
185 awareness was also included as a binary variable in all models.

186

187 [TABLE 2 HERE]

188

189 Covariation between predictor variables was assessed using Pearson correlation
190 and Variance Inflation Factors, and all variables were retained (Pearson $P \leq 0.7$
191 and/or $VIF \leq 5$; Zuur *et al.* 2010). Variables with uneven spread (occupation, 98%
192 farmer) were excluded from models. Before modelling, variables with a strong skew
193 were transformed as follows: age, hhsiz, assets (square root), land (cube root) and
194 response variables firewood need, firewood consumption (log10) and firewood
195 sufficiency (cube root).

196 Generalised linear models (GLMs) with a Gaussian error function were used to
197 investigate the influence of the same predictor variables on (1) firewood need, (2)
198 firewood consumption, and (3) firewood sufficiency. Spline correlograms (ncf
199 package; Bjornstad 2012) were used to test for spatial-autocorrelation as
200 observations of households facing equivalent socio-economic and environmental
201 factors might not be independent. Significant spatial auto-correlation was present at
202 short lag-distances of 3km, 4km and 4km for need, consumption and sufficiency
203 data, respectively. With only five villages sampled, it was not appropriate to include
204 village as a random factor using generalised linear mixed models (e.g. Crawley
205 2002). However, spline correlograms of the Pearson residuals suggested spatial
206 correlation was successfully accommodated by each GLM through the inclusion of
207 the extraction_location variable.

208 Minimum adequate models were obtained using backwards-forwards selection
209 based on the Akaike Information Criterion (Murtaugh 2009). Some levels within the
210 categorical variable extraction_location did not contribute to final models, and so
211 seven independent binary variables ('True' or 'False') were created ('Buy',

212 'Fields/Private', 'Transition', 'CBFM1', 'CBFM2', 'JFM' 'NP'), and backwards-forwards
213 selection repeated. Final models were validated through observation of residual
214 spread. Analyses of deviance were used to test the probability that the amount of
215 deviance explained was not significantly reduced from the full (unreduced) model
216 (p[D]; Zuur et al. 2010). The probability that the slope estimate of each variable was
217 significantly different from zero was determined, based on a *t* distribution (Quinn &
218 Keough 2002). The False Discovery Rate (FDR; Benjamini & Hochberg 1995)
219 correction of alpha values for repetitive testing was employed on slope estimates for
220 each model in turn, resulting in 95% significance alpha cut-offs of 0.05, 0.039 and
221 0.025 for need, consumption and sufficiency models, respectively.

222

223 **Results**

224 *NTFP Utilisation and protected area compliance*

225 All households were dependent on NTFPs as their main source of energy; 48%
226 stated use of both firewood and charcoal, 47% stated firewood only and 5% charcoal
227 only. Of the 500 households surveyed, 434 (86.8%) indicated extracting NTFPs, of
228 which 166 (38.2%) households supplemented with additional purchases, and 59
229 households (11.8%) only purchased NTFPs (Fig. 2; 1.4% unanswered). Over half of
230 households extracting NTFPs obtained these from a forest (n=263; 60.6%); of which
231 60.8% (32% of total sample) were non-compliant with forest management by
232 indicating extraction of more than just dead firewood. The remainder of households
233 extracting NTFPs did so from agricultural fields or private woodlots (n=156; 35.9%;
234 3.5% unanswered).

235

236 [FIGURE 2 HERE]

237

238 Households indicated extracting multiple NTFPs from the PFM forests (JFM, CBFM1
239 & CBFM2; Fig. 3). All households using these forests, except for one using the
240 CBFM1 forest and two using the CBFM2 forest, indicated non-compliance with the
241 rules and regulations. Households using the transition forest stated similar extraction
242 of NTFPs, although given this forest was not formally protected this type of use could
243 not be categorised for compliance. Of the households extracting from the NP, 95.5%
244 stated extraction of firewood only before the ban was implemented, in line with
245 management.

246

247 [FIGURE 3 HERE]

248

249 *Firewood Sufficiency*

250 Household perceived firewood sufficiency varied from -99.0 to +40.0 bundles/month,
251 with mean household sufficiency of -6.43 (± 12.71) bundles/month across all villages.
252 Sufficiency varied significantly between extraction locations (Fig. 4). Households with
253 very low sufficiency (< -10 bundles/month, $n=82$) all reported modest consumption
254 quantities based on the sample average, yet excessively high perceived need for
255 firewood. The opposite was true for households with very high sufficiency ($> +10$
256 bundles/month, $n=5$), which reported similarly modest quantities of firewood needed
257 yet consumed exceedingly high quantities. Households extracting from JFM had the
258 highest mean sufficiency (0.21 ± 0.83 bundles/month), indicating household firewood
259 needs were on average met. Households extracting from all other locations had
260 negative mean sufficiency, indicating an inability to meet firewood needs, with lowest
261 mean sufficiency in households extracting from CBFM1 (-2.9 ± 0.65 bundles/month).

262 Households extracting from fields or private areas had significantly lower sufficiency
263 than households extracting from all forests except for transition forest and CBFM1,
264 suggesting difficulty in meeting needs when extracting from outside forested areas.

265

266 [FIGURE 4 HERE]

267

268 All households extracting firewood from NP in the wet season indicated a switch in
269 extraction location to fields or private areas after the ban was enforced, between
270 surveys. Despite this, no significant difference in firewood sufficiency was found
271 between seasons (mean wet season= -2.49 ± 4.65 bundles/month, mean dry season=
272 2.84 ± 6.54 bundles/month, $t=0.30$, $p=0.78$), although any long-term impacts of the
273 ban might not be reflected within the short timeframe of the study. No such switch
274 was reported by households extracting from JFM in the dry season.

275 *Determinants of Firewood Need, Consumption and Sufficiency*

276 Extraction location and household demographic, wealth and environmental variables
277 best-predicted firewood need, consumption and sufficiency (Table 3). Household
278 perceived need for and consumption of firewood were significantly reduced if
279 sourced from markets or extracted from CBFM2. Households extracting from fields
280 or private areas, transition forest and CBFM1 had significantly higher perceived need
281 for firewood. Indeed, sufficiency of households extracting from field or private areas
282 and CBFM1 were significantly lower yet not retained in the consumption model,
283 signifying this increased need was not met by quantities consumed from these
284 areas. Households extracting from JFM consumed significantly more firewood, and
285 were significantly more capable of meeting firewood needs.

286

287 [TABLE 3 HERE]

288

289 Larger households had significantly increased perceived need for and consumed
290 more firewood, while those with more valuable assets perceived a greater need for
291 but consumed less firewood (Table 4). Households owning a fuel-efficient stove had
292 significantly improved ability to meet firewood needs, with significantly lower
293 perceived need for firewood although consumption quantities were unchanged.
294 Household awareness of the forests' management authority significantly reduced
295 firewood consumed, indicating a positive relationship between awareness of
296 protection status and compliance with management.

297

298 [TABLE 4 HERE]

299

300 **Discussion**

301 Household NTFP extraction provides a general indication of low compliance with
302 forest protection in the study area, with the exception of households extracting from
303 NP. Awareness of NP status was high, and this is reflected by most households
304 extracting firewood only from this forest and the stated switch in extraction location
305 post-ban. The mean deficit in firewood sufficiency of households extracting from NP
306 also reflects compliance, as the restrictions in place limit the quantity households can
307 extract regardless of their perceived need. The opposite is true for households
308 extracting from JFM, as no households were aware of JFM status and findings
309 reflect non-compliant NTFP extraction and no switch in extraction location post-ban.
310 Households extracting from JFM were significantly more likely to meet their resource

311 needs, indicating household extraction was unrestricted by management and use of
312 this forest was as required. Findings indicate support for previous research that
313 found compliance increased with awareness of the forest rules and regulations in
314 Uganda (Nkonya *et al.* 2008). However, a direct relationship between awareness
315 and compliance cannot be inferred here, and compliance will be influenced by
316 numerous factors such as the status and enforcement of protection in each area
317 (e.g. Rovero 2007).

318 Households extracting from CBFM1 and CBFM2 also indicated low compliance
319 given high reporting of extracting more than firewood. Unlike JFM households, the
320 majority of CBFM households were aware of these forests' community-based
321 authority; however, very few were actively engaged in management. Interestingly,
322 perceived need for and consumption of firewood was significantly reduced in
323 households extracting from CBFM2. This may indicate some level of success of
324 community-led management in this village, with households more conscious of
325 firewood quantities consumed. Conversely, households extracting from CBFM1 were
326 significantly less likely to meet their firewood needs. The condition of CBFM1 or its
327 distance from the village may have limited the perceived ability of this forest to
328 supply household needs (e.g. Robinson *et al.* 2002). Indeed, most households in the
329 CBFM1 village reported extraction from the NP, stating access was easier due to
330 distance and firewood extraction permitted before the ban. However, further
331 investigation is required to deduce the reasons for the observed differences in
332 sufficiency between the two CBFM forests. This would necessitate information
333 relating to the ecological condition of each forest, as well as quantitative and
334 qualitative assessment of management effectiveness.

335 *Determinants of Firewood Utilisation*

336 NTFP dependence has previously been associated with low wealth (Adhikari *et al.*
337 2004). Interestingly, we found that increased assets resulted in higher perceived
338 need for firewood whilst actual consumption decreased, perhaps due to a switch to
339 alternative, non-forest sources of energy. Decreased consumption was also
340 observed in households solely purchasing firewood. These households also
341 indicated a lower perceived need for firewood, perhaps reflecting the influence of a
342 financial transaction on perceived firewood need as opposed to extracting the
343 resource at no monetary cost. Nevertheless, findings suggest that perceived
344 firewood need and sufficiency are indeed influenced by subjective characteristics of
345 wellbeing not directly linked to objective fuel requirements; exemplified here by
346 wealthier households aspiring towards greater fuel use than they in fact consumed
347 each month. This highlights the value of our methodology which explicitly
348 incorporates subjective components of wellbeing, firstly by allowing respondents to
349 define their own perceived need and secondly by comparing these perceptions with
350 actual consumption. The excessive firewood deficits and surfeits observed in some
351 households illustrates the degree to which these perceptions can be exaggerated,
352 warranting further examination into the factors influencing both the need for NTFPs
353 and their actual use. For example, the higher perceived need for firewood among
354 households extracting from certain sources might reflect the difficulty in obtaining
355 fuel from those areas, with this increased difficulty creating the sense that more is
356 needed than in fact would actually be used.

357 Our observed relationship between firewood sufficiency and fuel-efficient stove use
358 presumably resulted from a perception of improved fuel efficiency within these
359 households. It could be argued that households owning stoves might be more

360 engaged in sustainability discussions in the area (e.g. Harrison 2006), and that stove
361 ownership alone has improved perceived wellbeing whilst actual consumption
362 remains unchanged. It has been recommended that policies to conserve tropical
363 forests be conducted in parallel with projects aimed at enhancing fuel-efficiency,
364 such as through the use of modified stoves (Fisher *et al.* 2011). However, our
365 findings indicate that the actual efficiency-savings of stoves needs careful
366 examination if any perceived benefits are to be realised in practise (e.g. Hanna 2012,
367 Bailis *et al.* 2015). Such examination would benefit future efforts to enhance more
368 sustainable fuel use in the area. In addition, improving local-awareness of forest
369 protection status and methods in agroforestry is recommended, given the positive
370 relationship indicated between awareness and compliance and the observed
371 decrease in sufficiency when firewood is extracted from agricultural areas.

372 *Implications for Leakage and Wellbeing*

373 The difficulty of the non-forest firewood sources to meet household needs presents
374 long-term concern for leakage. This is especially significant in this area given the
375 firewood ban, and the observed non-compliance within less-well protected forests
376 such as JFM or transition forest. The specific challenges impeding household ability
377 to meet resource needs outside forest areas need to be measured, however land
378 availability for tree planting and alternative energy opportunities in the area are
379 limited (Gorenflo & Orland 2013, pers. obs.). Considering the six effects of resource
380 access restriction previously outlined, the potential for either (1) displacement, (3)
381 reduction or (5) non-compliance are most significant. This has serious implications
382 for either long-term forest protection in the area given leakage or non-compliance, or
383 detriment to local welfare through inability to meet fuel and food demands. This
384 welfare impact is significant given restricted NTFP access in Tanzania is likely to hit

385 the poorest the hardest (Schaafsma *et al.* 2014), while the potential for leakage
386 presents concern for the area's important biodiversity (Burgess *et al.* 2007). Such
387 outcomes are especially significant in areas containing forests of mixed protection
388 status. The presence of multiple independent forest authorities creates potential for
389 locally-based management decisions that might not take the larger socio-ecological
390 landscape into consideration. With local-dependence on NTFPs unaddressed, such
391 decisions can have serious implications for forest protection or human wellbeing
392 within the landscape. Within our study area long-term monitoring of household NTFP
393 utilisation is needed to assess the impact of the firewood ban on both household
394 welfare and leakage, given the proximity of other, less-well protected forests. Indeed,
395 considerable leakage of NTFP extraction activities into more distant forests has been
396 observed after PFM implementation in Tanzania (Robinson and Lokina 2011). Thus,
397 findings lend empirical support to growing theory behind the need for a landscape
398 planning approach to forest conservation policies (Robinson *et al.* 2011).

399 *Wider Implications*

400 Understanding and addressing the issue of leakage is particularly important for PES
401 and REDD+ if carbon benefits are to be meaningful and permanent. REDD+ in
402 particular is expected to provide poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation
403 benefits additional to climate change mitigation. Thus, local welfare costs of
404 restricted NTFP use ought to be assessed alongside the global benefit of addressing
405 climate change. Such spatial ecosystem valuation can help evaluate the trade-offs
406 between local and international communities to inform policy (e.g. Schaafsma *et al.*
407 2012). In addition, carbon accounting at the national level will need to include the
408 potentially offsetting emissions of displaced NTFP extraction activities (Robinson *et*
409 *al.* 2013). Fisher *et al.* (2011) estimate that the implementation costs of measures to

410 alleviate forest dependency, such as raising agricultural yields and increasing stove
411 use, remain feasible within REDD+ policies despite exceeding the opportunity costs
412 of carbon conservation. However, household energy needs will still need to be met
413 despite compensation through PES or REDD+, and the source of this energy will
414 need to be considered at multiple scales and by multiple forest authorities.

Proof for Review

415 **Figure Legends**

416

417 Figure 1. Location of the five study-villages and adjacent forests. Adapted using data
418 on Eastern Arc Mountain boundaries and forests from Platts et al. (2011), Protected
419 Area boundaries from UNEP-WCMC (2010), transition forest and Selous Game
420 Reserve boundary with the assistance of the Udzungwa Forest Project, and Village 1
421 Forest boundaries from WWF (2006). Data on spatial infrastructure with the
422 assistance of the Valuing the Arc project (<http://www.valuingthearc.org>).

423

424 Figure 2. Schematic representation of NTFP use by all households, including
425 extraction location (NA=question unanswered, FW=Households extract firewood
426 only, M=Households extract multiple NTFPs (>1), Bold boxes=non-compliant
427 resource extraction according to rules and regulations defined in Table 1.

428

429 Figure 3. Percentage of households extracting each NTFP by extraction location
430 (n=Number of households).

431

432 Figure 4. Mean household monthly firewood sufficiency, and 95% confidence
433 intervals based on the t distribution, by extraction location in order of increasing
434 protection status. Letters indicate significant differences in sufficiency between
435 associated extraction locations based on one-way analysis of variance and
436 subsequent Tukey's honest significant differences (Tukey's HSD *** $p < 0.001$,
437 ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$).

438 **References**

439 Adhikari, B., Di Falco, S. & Lovett, J.C. (2004) Household characteristics and forest
440 dependency: evidence from common property forest management in Nepal.

441 *Ecological Economics* **48**(2): 245-257.

442 Agarwala, M., Atkinson, G., Fry, B.P., Homewood, K., Mourato, S., Rowcliffe, J.M.,

443 Wallace, G. and Milner-Gulland, E.J. (2014). Assessing the relationship between

444 human well-being and ecosystem services: a review of frameworks. *Conservation*

445 *and Society*, **12**(4): 437-449.

446 Albers, H.J. & Robinson, E.J.Z. (2013) A review of the spatial economics of non-

447 timber forest product extraction: Implications for policy. *Ecological Economics* **92**(0):

448 87-95.

449 Bailis, R., Drigo, R., Ghilardi, A., & Masera, O. (2015). The carbon footprint of

450 traditional woodfuels. *Nature Climate Change* **5**(3), 266-272.

451 Benjamini, Y. & Hochberg, Y. (1995) Controlling the false discovery rate: a practical

452 and powerful approach to multiple testing. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society.*

453 *Series B (Methodological)*: 289-300.

454 Bjornstad, O.N. (2012) ncf: spatial nonparametric covariance functions. *R package*

455 *version 1.1-4*. <http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=ncf>.

456 Blomley, T, Edwards, K, Kingazi, S, Lukumbuzya, K, Mäkelä, M and Vesa, L (2016)

457 REDD+ hits the ground: Lessons learned from Tanzania's REDD+ pilot projects.

458 *Natural Resource Issues No. 32*. IIED, London.

- 459 Burgess, N.D., Bahane, B., Clairs, T., Danielsen, F., Dalsgaard, S., Funder, M.,
460 Hagelberg, N., Harrison, P., Haule, C., Kabalimu, K., Kilahama, F., Kilawe, E., Lewis,
461 S.L., Lovett, J.C., Lyatuu, G., Marshall, A.R., Meshack, C., Miles, L., Milledge,
462 S.A.H., Munishi, P.K.T., Nashanda, E., Shirima, D., Swetnam, R.D., Willcock, S.,
463 Williams, A. & Zahabu, E. (2010) Getting ready for REDD+ in Tanzania: a case study
464 of progress and challenges. *Oryx* **44**(03): 339-351.
- 465 Burgess, N.D., Butynski, T.M., Cordeiro, N.J., Doggart, N.H., Fjeldså, J., Howell,
466 K.M., Kilahama, F.B., Loader, S.P., Lovett, J.C., Mbilinyi, B., Menegon, M., Moyer,
467 D.C., Nashanda, E., Perkin, A., Rovero, F., Stanley, W.T. & Stuart, S.N. (2007) The
468 biological importance of the Eastern Arc Mountains of Tanzania and Kenya.
469 *Biological Conservation* **134**(2): 209-231.
- 470 Crawley, M.J. (2002) *Statistical computing: an introduction to data analysis using S-*
471 *Plus*. Wiley, Chichester, UK.
- 472 Dovie, D. B., Witkowski, E. T. F., & Shackleton, C. M. (2004). The fuelwood crisis in
473 southern Africa—relating fuelwood use to livelihoods in a rural
474 village. *GeoJournal*, **60**(2): 123-133.
- 475 Ewers, R.M. & Rodrigues, A.S.L. (2008) Estimates of reserve effectiveness are
476 confounded by leakage. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution* **23**(3): 113-116.
- 477 FAO (2013). FAOSTAT Forestry Production and Trade;
478 http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/download/F/*/E
- 479 Felix, M. & Gheewala, S.H. (2011) A Review of Biomass Energy Dependency in
480 Tanzania. *Energy Procedia* **9**(0): 338-343.

- 481 Fisher, B., Lewis, S.L., Burgess, N.D., Malimbwi, R.E., Munishi, P.K., Swetnam,
482 R.D., Turner, R.K., Willcock, S. & Balmford, A. (2011) Implementation and
483 opportunity costs of reducing deforestation and forest degradation in Tanzania.
484 *Nature Climate Change* **1**(3): 161-164.
- 485 Foerster, S., Wilkie, D.S., Morelli, G.A., Demmer, J., Starkey, M., Telfer, P., Steil, M.
486 & Lewbel, A. (2012) Correlates of bushmeat hunting among remote rural households
487 in Gabon, Central Africa. *Conservation Biology* **26**(2): 335-344.
- 488 Gorenflo, L.J. & Orland, B. (2013) Human Resource Demand and Biodiversity
489 Conservation at Udzungwa Mountains National Park, Tanzania: Challenges and
490 Opportunities through Community Design. In: *Proceedings of the Ninth TAWIRI*
491 *Scientific Conference, 4th-6th December 2013, Tanzania.*
- 492 Hanna, R., Duflo, E., & Greenstone, M. (2012) Up in Smoke: The Influence of
493 Household Behavior on the Long-Run Impact of Improved Cooking Stoves. *MIT*
494 *Department of Economics Working Paper No. 12-10.*
- 495 Harrison, P. (2006) *Socio-economic baseline survey of villages adjacent to the*
496 *Vidunda Catchment Area, bordering Udzungwa Mountains National Park.* WWF,
497 Tanzania.
- 498 Hosier, R. H., Mwandosya, M. J., & Luhanga, M. L. (1993) Future energy
499 development in Tanzania: the energy costs of urbanization. *Energy policy*, **21**(5):
500 524-542.
- 501 Hosonuma, N., Herold, M., De Sy, V., De Fries, R.S., Brockhaus, M., Verchot, L.,
502 Angelsen, A. & Romijn, E. (2012) An assessment of deforestation and forest

503 degradation drivers in developing countries. *Environmental Research Letters* **7**(4): 1-
504 12.

505 Jan, I. (2012) What makes people adopt improved cookstoves? Empirical evidence
506 from rural northwest Pakistan. *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* **16**(5):
507 3200-3205.

508 Jetter J. J., Kariher P. (2009) Solid-fuel household cook stoves: characterization of
509 performance and emissions. *Biomass Bioenergy*; **33**(2): 294–305.

510 Jones, J.P.G., Andriamarivololona, M.M., Hockley, N., Gibbons, J.M. & Milner-
511 Gulland, E.J. (2008) Testing the use of interviews as a tool for monitoring trends in
512 the harvesting of wild species. *Journal of Applied Ecology* **45**(4): 1205-1212.

513 Lange, E., Woodhouse, E., & Milner-Gulland, E. J. (2016). Approaches Used to
514 Evaluate the Social Impacts of Protected Areas. *Conservation Letters*.

515 Latham, J.E. (2013) Evaluating Failures In Tropical Forest Management:
516 Incorporating Local Perspectives Into Global Conservation Strategies. *Unpublished*
517 *Ph.D. thesis*. Environment Department, University of York.

518 Lund, J.F., Larsen, H.O., Chhetri, B.B.K., Rayamajhi, S., Nielsen, Ø., Olsen, C.S.,
519 Uberhuaga, P., Puri, L. & Córdova, J.P.P. (2008) When theory meets reality—how to
520 do forest income surveys. In: *Forest & Landscape Working Papers No. 29/2008*:
521 Hørsholm: Forest & Landscape Denmark.

522 Marshall, A.R. (2008) *Ecological Report on Magombera Forest*. WWF Tanzania.

523 McGregor, J.A. (2008) Wellbeing, Poverty and Conflict. *WeD Policy Briefing 01/08*.

- 524 McShane, T.O., Hirsch, P.D., Trung, T.C., Songorwa, A.N., Kinzig, A., Monteferri, B.,
525 Mutekanga, D., Thang, H.V., Dammert, J.L. & Pulgar-Vidal, M. (2011) Hard choices:
526 Making trade-offs between biodiversity conservation and human well-being.
527 *Biological Conservation* **144**(3): 966-972.
- 528 Milner-Gulland, E.J., McGregor, J.A., Agarwala, M., Atkinson, G., Bevan, P.,
529 Clements, T., Daw, T., Homewood, K., Kumpel, N., Lewis, J. and Mourato, S.,
530 (2014). Accounting for the Impact of Conservation on Human Well-
531 Being. *Conservation Biology*, **28**(5): 1160-1166.
- 532 Murtaugh, P.A. (2009) Performance of several variable-selection methods applied to
533 real ecological data. *Ecology Letters* **12**(10): 1061-1068.
- 534 Naidoo, R. & Ricketts, T.H. (2006) Mapping the Economic Costs and Benefits of
535 Conservation. *PLoS Biol* **4**(11): 2153–2164.
- 536 NBS. (2013) *Population and Housing Census. Population Distribution by*
537 *Administrative Areas*. National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Dar es
538 Salaam, Tanzania and Office of Chief Government Statistician, President's Office,
539 Finance, Economy and Development Planning, Zanzibar.
- 540 Nkonya, E., Pender, J. & Kato, E. (2008) Who knows, who cares? The determinants
541 of enactment, awareness, and compliance with community Natural Resource
542 Management regulations in Uganda. *Environment and Development Economics*
543 **13**(01): 79-101.
- 544 Platts, P.J., Burgess, N.D., Gereau, R.E., Lovett, J.C., Marshall, A.R., McClean, C.J.,
545 Pellikka, P.K.E., Swetnam, R.D. & Marchant, R.O.B. (2011) Delimiting tropical
546 mountain ecoregions for conservation. *Environmental Conservation* **38**(03): 312-324.

- 547 Quinn, G.G.P. & Keough, M.J. (2002) *Experimental design and data analysis for*
548 *biologists*. Cambridge University Press.
- 549 Robinson, E.J.Z., Albers, H.J., Meshack, C. & Lokina, R.B. (2013) Implementing
550 REDD through Community-Based Forest Management: Lessons from Tanzania.
551 *Natural Resources Forum* **37** (3): 141–152.
- 552 Robinson, E.J.Z., Albers, H.J. & Williams, J.C. (2011) Sizing reserves within a
553 landscape: The roles of villagers reactions and the ecological-socioeconomic setting.
554 *Land economics* **87**(2): 233-249.
- 555 Robinson, E.J.Z. & Kajembe, G.C. (2009) Changing access to forest resources in
556 Tanzania. *EfD Discussion Paper 09-10. Joint publication of Environment for*
557 *Development Initiative and Resources for the Future. Washington DC.*
- 558 Robinson, E.J.Z. & Lokina, R.B. (2011) A spatial-temporal analysis of the impact of
559 access restrictions on forest landscapes and household welfare in Tanzania. *Forest*
560 *Policy and Economics* **13**(1): 79-85.
- 561 Robinson, E.J.Z., Williams, J.C. & Albers, H.J. (2002) The influence of markets and
562 policy on spatial patterns of non-timber forest product extraction. *Land economics*
563 **78**(2): 260-271.
- 564 Rovero, F. (2007) Conservation status, connectivity, and options for improved
565 management of southern Forest Reserves in the Udzungwa Mountains, Tanzania:
566 urgent need for intervention. *Unpublished report to the Critical Ecosystem*
567 *Partnership Fund, Washington, D.C.*

- 568 Rovero, F., Nyundo, B.A. & Kitegile, A.S. (2008) *The impact of human disturbance*
569 *(especially deadwood collection) on the biodiversity of Mwanihana forest, Udzungwa*
570 *Mountains National Park: a re-assessment following the 2005 study*. World Wide
571 Fund for Nature, Tanzania Programme Office, Tanzania.
- 572 Schaafsma, M., Morse-Jones, S., Posen, P., Swetnam, R.D., Balmford, A., Bateman,
573 I.J., Burgess, N.D., Chamshama, S.A.O., Fisher, B., Freeman, T., Geoffrey, V.,
574 Green, R.E., Hepelwa, A.S., Hernández-Sirvent, A., Hess, S., Kajembe, G.C.,
575 Kayharara, G., Kilonzo, M., Kulindwa, K., Lund, J.F., Madoffe, S.S., Mbwambo, L.,
576 Meilby, H., Ngaga, Y.M., Theilade, I., Treue, T., van Beukering, P., Vyamana, V.G. &
577 Turner, R.K. (2014) The importance of local forest benefits: Economic valuation of
578 Non-Timber Forest Products in the Eastern Arc Mountains in Tanzania. *Global*
579 *Environmental Change* **24**: 295-305.
- 580 Schaafsma, M., Morse-Jones, S., Posen, P., Swetnam, R.D., Balmford, A., Bateman,
581 I.J., Burgess, N.D., Chamshama, S.A.O., Fisher, B., Green, R.E., Hepelwa, A.S.,
582 Hernández-Sirvent, A., Kajembe, G.C., Kulindwa, K., Lund, J.F., Mbwambo, L.,
583 Meilby, H., Ngaga, Y.M., Theilade, I., Treue, T., Vyamana, V.G. & Turner, R.K.
584 (2012) Towards transferable functions for extraction of Non-timber Forest Products:
585 A case study on charcoal production in Tanzania. *Ecological Economics* **80**(0): 48-
586 62.
- 587 Schelhas, J. & Pfeffer, M.J. (2009) When global environmentalism meets local
588 livelihoods: policy and management lessons. *Conservation Letters* **2**(6): 278-285.
- 589 Schreckenberg, K., Luttrell, C. & Moss, C. (2006) *Participatory forest management:*
590 *An overview*. Overseas Development Institute.

- 591 Still D., MacCarty N., Ogle D., Bond T., Bryden M. (2011) *Test results of cook stove*
592 *performance*. Aprovecho Research Center, Shell Foundation and U.S.
593 Environmental Protection Agency. Washington DC.
- 594 TEEB. (2010) *The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity: Mainstreaming the*
595 *Economics of Nature: A synthesis of the approach, conclusions and*
596 *recommendations of TEEB*.
- 597 UNEP-WCMC. (2010) *The World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA)*.
- 598 Woodhouse, E., Homewood, K. M., Beauchamp, E., Clements, T., McCabe, J. T.,
599 Wilkie, D., & Milner-Gulland, E. J. (2015). Guiding principles for evaluating the
600 impacts of conservation interventions on human well-being. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc.*
601 *B*, **370**: 20150103.
- 602 Wunder, S. (2013) When payments for environmental services will work for
603 conservation. *Conservation Letters* **6**(4): 230-237.
- 604 WWF. (2006) *Mpango wa matumizi bora ya ardhi ya kijiji: Kijiji cha Tundu, wilaya ya*
605 *Kilosa*. Halmashauri ya kijiji cha Tundu.
- 606 Zuur, A.F., Ieno, E.N. & Elphick, C.S. (2010) A protocol for data exploration to avoid
607 common statistical problems. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution* **1**(1): 3-14.

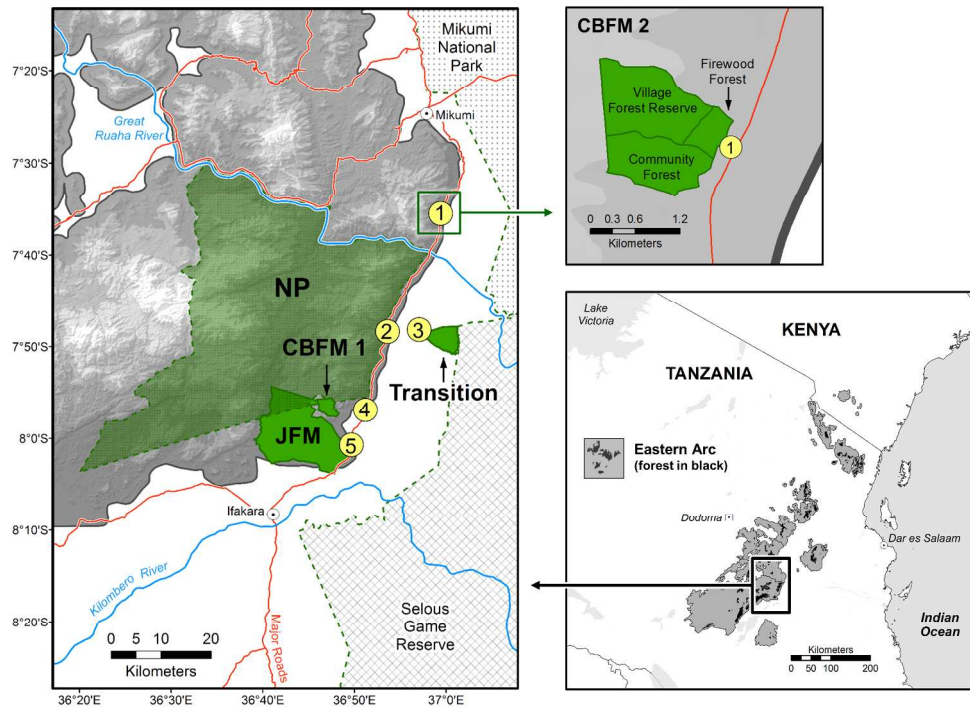


Figure 1. Location of the five study-villages and adjacent forests. Adapted using data on Eastern Arc Mountain boundaries and forests from Platts et al. (2011), Protected Area boundaries from UNEP-WCMC (2010), Transition forest and Selous Game Reserve boundary with the assistance of the Udzungwa Forest Project, and Village 1 Forest boundaries from WWF (2006). Data on spatial infrastructure with the assistance of the Valuing the Arc project (<http://www.valuingthearc.org>).

Fig. 1

254x190mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Table 1. Description of study-villages and adjacent forests. *NP = National Park, CBFM = Community-Based Forest Management, JFM = Joint Forest Management, TANAPA = Tanzania National Park Authority, R&R = Rules and Regulations, VFR = Village Forest Reserve, FWF = Firewood Forest, CGF = Community Group Forest.* ^aNumber of households; ^bNumbers in parenthesis indicate distance to forest from central village meeting place; ^cDefined through interview with forest authority representatives.

Village	Village Size ^a	Mean House-hold Size	Dominant Tribe(s)	Forest Protected Status ^b	Forest Authority	Rules and Regulations ^c
1	757	4.2	Vidunda	CBFM 2; Village Forest (0.2km)	Village 1	Village forest divided into three areas: VFR – no resource extraction allowed FWF – only dead firewood extraction allowed two days a week CGF - no resource extraction allowed
2	259	4.8	Ngindo Pogoro Ndamba	NP; IUCN category II (0.3km)	TANAPA	Women allowed entry once a week to extract dead firewood, no cutting tools allowed. Ban enforced in July 2011 after which no resource extraction allowed.
3	289	3.1	Hehe Pogoro Ngindo	Transition; No formal protection (0.7km)	None	No formal R&R regarding resource use
4	1275	4.1	Pogoro Ngoni Bunga Hehe	CBFM 1; Village Forest (5.4km)	Village 4	Only dead firewood extraction allowed (i.e. no cutting tools)
5	576	5.5	Pogoro Ngindo	JFM; Forest Reserve IUCN category IV (1.4km)	Kilombero District Council & Village 5	Only dead firewood extraction allowed (i.e. no cutting tools). Ban introduced in July 2011 after which no resource collection allowed

Table 2. Description of household predictor variables. *M = Male, F = Female, Y = Yes, N = No. 1TZS was equal to mean 0.000635USD during the period of data collection (March-December 2011).*

Type	Variable	Description
Demographic	age	Age of household head
	gender	Gender of household head (M or F)
	education	Number of years household head in formal education
	occupation	Occupation of household head
	born	Household head born in village (Y or N)
	hsize	Size of household (number of residents)
	hhwomen	Proportion of female residents
Wealth	land	Area of land attributed to household (hectares)
	hse_material	Main material of household (brick or mud)
	assets	Total household material asset value (*1000 Tanzanian shilling)
	incomes	Number of household income sources
Environmental	stove	Presence/absence of fuel-efficient stove (Y or N)
	woodlot	Household planted trees/woodlot (Y or N)
	energy	Household source of energy (Firewood alone or firewood and charcoal)
	aware	Household awareness of forest authority (Y or N)
	extraction_location	Household source of firewood (Buy, Fields/Private, Transition, CBFM1, CBFM2, JFM, NP)

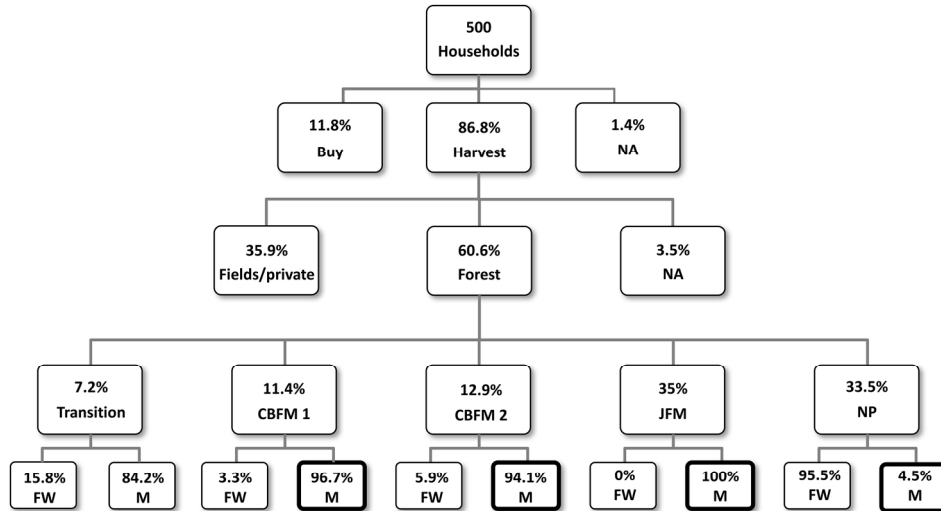


Figure 2. Schematic representation of NTFP use by all households, including extraction location (NA=question unanswered, FW=Households extract firewood only, M=Households extract multiple NTFPs (>1), Bold boxes=non-compliant resource extraction according to rules and regulations defined in Table 1.

Fig. 2

90x67mm (600 x 600 DPI)

view

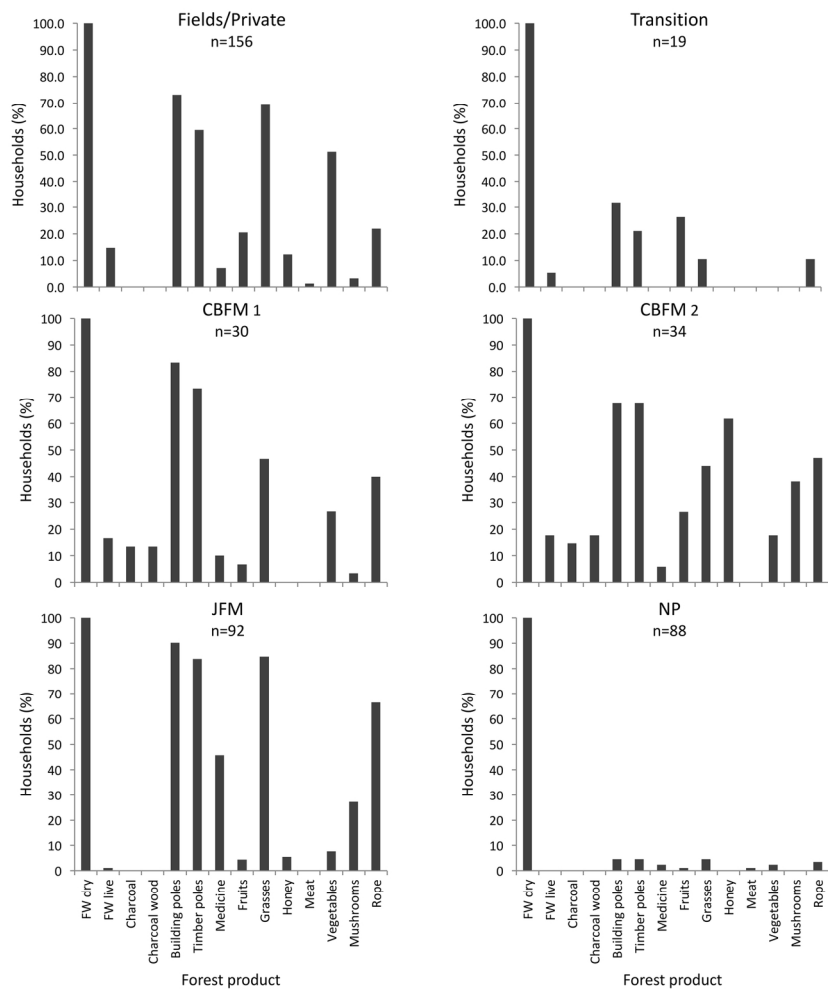


Figure 3. Percentage of households extracting each forest product by extraction location (n=Number of households).

Fig. 3

83x82mm (600 x 600 DPI)

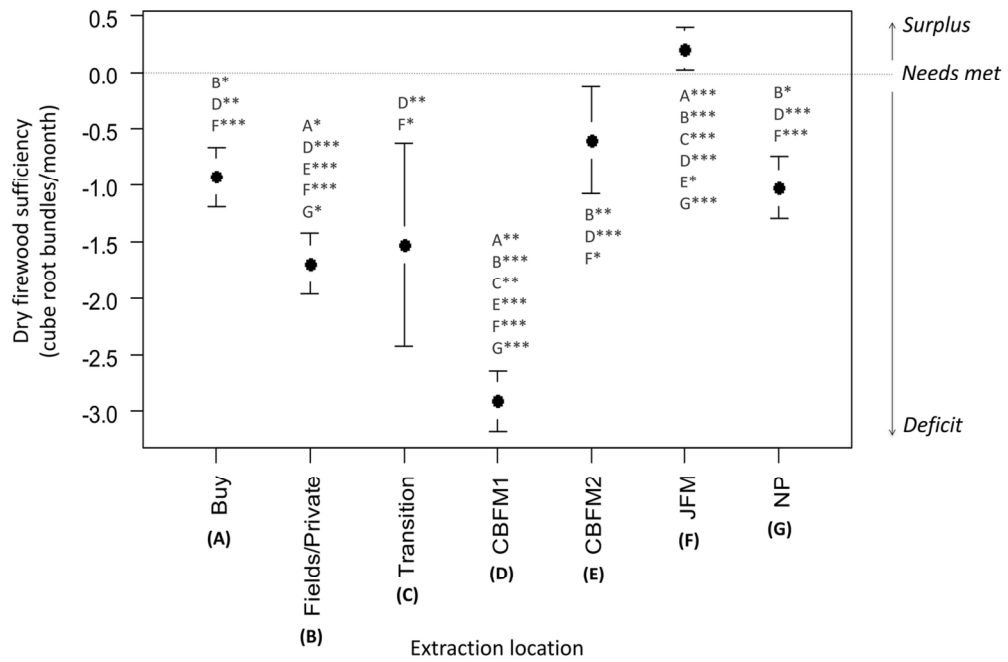


Figure 4. Mean household monthly firewood sufficiency, and 95% confidence intervals based on the t distribution, by extraction location in order of increasing protection status. Letters indicate significant differences in sufficiency between associated extraction locations based on one-way analysis of variance and subsequent Tukey's honest significant differences (Tukey's HSD ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05).

Fig. 4

59x41mm (600 x 600 DPI)

Review

Table 3. Linear regression models, based on backward-forward selection using AIC, of household firewood (1) Need, (2) Consumption (log10 bundles/month) and (3) Sufficiency (cube root bundles/month) versus demographic, wealth and environmental predictor variables. Statistics include the probability of deviation from a slope of zero (p), direction of the trend (positive⁺, negative⁻), the percent deviance explained by each variable (% D_V), AIC, the percent deviance explained by the model (% D) and the probability of decreased deviance explained from the full model ($p[D]$), following analysis of deviance. Bold type indicates significant variables following FDR correction for repetitive testing ('Need' $\alpha_{FDR}=0.05$, 'Consumption' $\alpha_{FDR}=0.039$, 'Sufficiency' $\alpha_{FDR}=0.025$).

Model	Predictor Variables	Model Statistics
Need (AIC = - 24.305, % D = 48.2, $p[D]$ = 0.93)	Extraction Location: CBFM 1⁺	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 8.67)
	Extraction Location: Buy⁻	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 6.50)
	Extraction Location: CBFM 2⁻	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 4.89)
	Extraction Location: Fields/Private⁺	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 4.02)
	Extraction Location: Transition⁺	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 2.54)
	Fuel-efficient stove ownership⁻	$p = 0.0038$ (%D_V = 1.30)
	Household size⁺	$p = 0.0062$ (%D_V = 1.17)
	Total asset value⁺	$p = 0.015$ (%D_V = 0.92)
Consumption (AIC = -159.82, % D = 39.2, $p[D]$ = 0.95)	Extraction Location: Buy⁻	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 6.25)
	Extraction Location: JFM⁺	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 3.23)
	Extraction Location: CBFM 2⁻	$p = 0.00022$ (%D_V = 2.51)
	Household size⁺	$p = 0.00043$ (%D_V = 2.28)
	Total asset value⁻	$p = 0.0058$ (%D_V = 1.39)
	Extraction Location: Transition⁺	$p = 0.027$ (%D_V = 0.88)
	Aware of authority⁻	$p = 0.039$ (%D_V = 0.77)
	Area land owned ⁺	$p = 0.058$ (% D_V = 0.65)
	Household head age ⁻	$p = 0.059$ (% D_V = 0.64)
Sufficiency (AIC = 1052.4, % D = 41.8, $p[D]$ = 0.93)	Extraction Location: CBFM 1⁻	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 8.35)
	Extraction Location: Fields/Private⁻	$p < 0.0001$ (%D_V = 3.08)
	Fuel-efficient stove ownership⁺	$p = 0.0021$ (%D_V = 1.65)
	Extraction Location: JFM⁺	$p = 0.0046$ (%D_V = 1.4)
	Extraction Location: Transition ⁻	$p = 0.035$ (% D_V = 0.77)
	Household head age ⁻	$p = 0.051$ (% D_V = 0.66)
	Aware of authority ⁻	$p = 0.055$ (% D_V = 0.64)
	Planted trees/woodlot ⁺	$p = 0.068$ (% D_V = 0.58)

Table 4. Demographic, wealth and environmental variables that best predicted household firewood need, consumption and sufficiency based on linear regression models. Arrows indicate the direction of the relationship between explanatory and response variables (black arrows indicate significant relationships following FDR correction, grey arrows non-significant relationships ($p > \alpha_{FDR}$), and *NA* indicates that variable was not retained in that minimum adequate model after backwards-forwards AIC selection. See Table 3 for model details).

Variable	Need	Consumption	Sufficiency
Buy	↓	↓	NA
Fields/Private	↑	NA	↓
Transition	↑	↑	↓
CBFM 1	↑	NA	↓
CBFM 2	↓	↓	NA
JFM	NA	↑	↑
Stove	↓	NA	↑
Aware	NA	↓	↓
Assets	↑	↓	NA
Household size	↑	↑	NA
Age	NA	↑	↓
Land	NA	↑	NA
Woodlot	NA	NA	↑