

## **Sticky business - Why do beekeepers keep bees and what makes them successful in Tanzania?**

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### **Journal of Rural Studies**

DOI:  
[10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.01.022](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.01.022)

Published: 01/02/2019

Peer reviewed version

[Cyswllt i'r cyhoeddiad / Link to publication](#)

*Dyfyniad o'r fersiwn a gyhoeddwyd / Citation for published version (APA):*  
Wagner, K., Meilby, H., & Cross, P. (2019). Sticky business - Why do beekeepers keep bees and what makes them successful in Tanzania? *Journal of Rural Studies*, 66, 52-66.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2019.01.022>

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# 1 Sticky business - why do beekeepers keep bees and what makes them 2 successful in Tanzania?

## 3 4 **Abstract**

5 The estimated economic potential for the apiculture sector in Africa is currently unmet, and in part  
6 due to a lack of training in appropriate beekeeping techniques. Development agencies promote  
7 beekeeping widely in developing nations to alleviate rural poverty and simultaneously provide an  
8 incentive for forest conservation. There is little robust evidence to suggest that beekeeping  
9 interventions target the most suitable beneficiaries, or that training length and content are  
10 adequate to sustainably promote beekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa. This study aimed to determine  
11 predictors of both beekeeping adoption and levels of dependence on beekeeping. We also assessed  
12 whether the type and quantity of external assistance appeared to influence beekeeping success. We  
13 applied a mixed methods approach to identify beekeeper characteristics and identify key drivers  
14 and barriers to beekeeping in four communities in central Tanzania. Income and food provision  
15 were the main drivers for beekeeping adoption, but the effects of these were moderated by both the  
16 respondents' cultural background, and the perceived human health risks posed by African bees.  
17 Land ownership, technical knowledge, initial capital inputs and hive theft were important  
18 constraints to adopting beekeeping. We found that formal beekeeping training did not result in  
19 increased yields and propose that training provided by the majority of development agencies is  
20 inadequate to address the technical capacity requirements of local beekeepers. We also propose  
21 that the requirement to form associations to access project benefits creates divisions in  
22 communities and needs to be handled with more care than is currently done.

23 **Keywords:** *Apis mellifera*, honey, livelihood diversification, rural development, non-timber forest  
24 products, alternative livelihood projects

## 25 26 **Highlights**

- 27 1. We identified the predictors of beekeeping adoption, dependence and success in central  
28 Tanzania.
- 29 2. Farmers mostly adopt beekeeping for the income benefits from bee products.
- 30 3. Theft of hives and lack of land, capital and knowledge are major constraints for adoption.
- 31 4. Beekeeping training by the government organizations does not lead to increased yields.
- 32 5. Project delivery through beekeeping associations may cause conflict and inefficiencies.

## 34 **1. Introduction**

35 The elimination of extreme poverty and the reversal of forest degradation are prominent  
36 international development objectives (UN General Assembly resolution 70/1, 2015). Given the  
37 scale of interdependencies between poverty and forest loss, many governments and development  
38 agencies seek to address the two issues conjointly (UNDP, 2013, 2015; USAID, 2014, 2015; World  
39 Bank, 2013). Current conservation approaches aim to incentivize local communities by linking  
40 economic development and livelihoods with the protection of natural resources (Brandon and  
41 Wells, 1992; Roe et al., 2014; Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000).

42 Alternative livelihood projects are a prominent example of linked development and conservation  
43 strategies (APFIC, 2010; Roe et al., 2014; USAID, 2016). These approaches can link livelihoods and  
44 conservation indirectly by substituting local communities' reliance on natural resources with  
45 alternatives, e.g. reducing dependence on bushmeat by introducing domesticated sources of meat.  
46 Or they can give local communities an immediate stake in the preservation of natural resources by  
47 directly benefitting from biodiversity through biodiversity-based livelihood activities using non-  
48 timber forest products for example. The underlying idea is that income and subsistence derived  
49 from biodiversity provide an incentive to the community to protect and conserve natural resources.  
50 (Brandon and Wells, 1992; Roe et al., 2014; Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000). Beekeeping has been  
51 widely promoted as a successful example of an alternative livelihood project, with beekeeping  
52 products being important non-timber forest products due to their considerable commercial  
53 potential (Brown, 2001; FAO, 2011; ICIPE, 2013). Beekeeping is considered a suitable development  
54 activity by many governments and development agencies owing to relatively low initial economic  
55 investment, limited equipment and training needs, as well as minimal land requirements. The  
56 potential to generate additional income, whilst contributing to food security and delivering  
57 medicinal benefits to the rural poor, is thought to increase local resilience leading to incentives to  
58 conserve forest and tree resources (Bradbear et al., 2002; Drescher and Crane, 1982; FAO, 2011).

59 The Miombo woodland ecoregion extends over several countries in Southeast Africa and sustains  
60 extensive beekeeping and honey-hunting activities. (Campbell, 1996; Campbell, 2007; Mickels-  
61 Kokwe, 2006). Tanzania is the second largest honey-producer in Africa by volume (USAID, 2012),  
62 harvesting an estimated 30905 metric tons annually (FAO, 2017). Increased globalization and the  
63 opening of niche markets for organic and Fair Trade forest products has increased the potential for  
64 the expansion of the apiculture sector (Campbell, 2007; Shackleton, 2007). Improved in-country  
65 communication technology has facilitated linkages between rural entrepreneurs and urban-  
66 centered markets (Aker and Mbiti, 2010). This has the potential to connect beekeepers often living  
67 in remote locations with networks that could allow them to obtain cash income from their  
68 beekeeping products.

69 Despite these positive contributory factors, several authors have suggested that beehive product  
70 potential remains untapped across much of Southeast Africa (Carroll and Kinsella, 2013; Kihwele,  
71 1985; Mickels-Kokwe, 2006). While a potential yield gap in African beekeeping products has  
72 recently been contested (Bradbear, 2018), the Tanzanian Government and Non-Governmental  
73 Organizations (NGOs) have developed a series of policy and technical training initiatives to improve  
74 production efficiency and gross production in the national beekeeping sector (Hausser and Mpuya,  
75 2004; MNRT, 2016; United Republic of Tanzania, 2002). The majority of beekeeping interventions  
76 in sub-Saharan Africa comprise an admix of training, hive donation and occasionally protective  
77 equipment provision (Affognon et al., 2015; Anand and Sisay, 2011; Carroll et al., 2017; Hausser

78 and Mpuya, 2004). Several support organizations encourage the modernization of beekeeping  
79 through the distribution of frame hives (Carroll et al., 2017), which are thought to be less suitable  
80 for both the local honeybee sub-species and prevailing climatic conditions (Bradbear, 2009; Carroll  
81 and Kinsella, 2013). Beekeeping promoters aim to encourage existing beekeepers to intensify and  
82 modernize their honey production, whilst also incentivizing non-beekeepers to adopt beekeeping  
83 as a supplementary livelihood activity (FAO, 2014; World Vision, 2015). However, attrition of  
84 participants following the implementation of such projects is substantial (Brown, 2001; Carroll et  
85 al., 2017). Beekeeping projects tend to be delivered to groups of beekeepers rather than to  
86 individuals, in order to maximize economies of scale (Affognon et al., 2015; Anand and Sisay, 2011;  
87 Carroll et al., 2017). Project participants are frequently selected based on their relative poverty  
88 within a community, as such individuals are more likely to demonstrate greater value added  
89 (Amulen et al., 2017; SNV, 2016). Carroll et al. (2017), found that training provision within  
90 beekeeping projects often did not reflect the complex and practical skill-set required to manage  
91 Langstroth hives (frame hives). Beekeeping training within projects usually lasts only a few days  
92 and is often class-room based (Amulen et al., 2017), delivering techniques considered too advanced  
93 for the training time frame and lacking appropriate follow up extension services (Carroll et al.,  
94 2017). Whilst insufficient knowledge of beekeeping techniques appears to be a critical factor in  
95 explaining the honey yield gap in East Africa (Affognon et al., 2015; Nel et al., 2000; Carroll, 2013;  
96 Carroll et al., 2017), there is a lack of robust studies measuring the actual effect of capacity building  
97 for beekeeping on skills (Amulen et al., 2017). Such information is critical to inform effective policy  
98 and technical delivery.

99 Alternative livelihood projects, among which beekeeping projects feature prominently, remain  
100 pervasive conservation and development tools in the tropics despite criticism of their effectiveness  
101 (Roe, 2008). So much so, that the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)  
102 recently called for a critical review of alternative livelihood projects as evidence of their  
103 effectiveness has not grown at the same rate as their prominence (IUCN 2012). A subsequent  
104 systematic review, concluded, that we do not understand why most of alternative livelihood  
105 projects fail to achieve their goals (Roe et.al, 2015). This knowledge gap becomes all the more  
106 significant as efforts towards reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD)  
107 once again bring conservation and development agendas to converge by making alternative  
108 livelihood activities such as beekeeping fundable under the UNFCC REDD+ framework (Roe 2008,  
109 Blom et. al., 2010, UN-REDD 2012, United Republic of Tanzania 2013). This study is a step towards  
110 answering some of the questions regarding effectiveness of beekeeping interventions, by examining  
111 how the targeting and delivery of capacity building efforts could be improved to further beekeeping  
112 adoption and to increase yields of beekeepers.

113 For this, we identified the predictors, motivations and barriers of beekeeping adoption and  
114 characterized the relative dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and income generation. We  
115 characterized beekeeping adopters and non-adopters to identify any rural Tanzanian groups more  
116 likely to incorporate beekeeping into their livelihood activities. We also hypothesized that  
117 households with a higher dependence on beekeeping for subsistence, i.e. who use their harvested  
118 honey to supplement their calorific need, differed in location, social situation, history in beekeeping  
119 and livelihood strategies to those who were more dependent on beekeeping for income than  
120 subsistence. It is important to discriminate between beekeeper typologies as these divergent  
121 motivations to harvest bee products may also have implications for the motivation to participate in  
122 beekeeping support programs and for how participants may benefit from them. The study also

123 assessed whether and what type of support and training influenced beekeeping success, defined  
124 here as the quantity of honey harvested in the preceding twelve months. Since the aim of most  
125 external beekeeping training is to increase production (Hausser and Mpuya, 2004; MNRT, 2016;  
126 United Republic of Tanzania, 2002), we hypothesized that the more external training received, the  
127 greater the honey harvest. We hope that the results of this analysis can provide guidance for future  
128 alternative livelihood project planners intending to promote beekeeping in Tanzania and the wider  
129 Miombo-region. We did not assess conservation or socio-economic outcomes of beekeeping  
130 interventions as it was felt to be beyond the scope of this study.

131

## 132 2. Materials and methods

### 133 2.1. Study area and selection of sites

134 Study participants were recruited from two known beekeeping zones in central Tanzania (Dodoma  
135 and Singida). Within these two predominantly arid regions, four rural communities were selected  
136 as study sites. All communities were located at similar distances to major roads, large markets and  
137 forests where beekeeping was undertaken. Study communities had similar population sizes,  
138 including the presence of at least 30 beekeepers and non-beekeepers, respectively, as well as a  
139 history of having received external beekeeping support (Appendix A). For the purpose of this study,  
140 'beekeepers' were defined as those who kept bees at the time the study was undertaken or else  
141 were considered as 'non-beekeepers'. Participants who had previously kept bees but had given up  
142 the activity at the time the study was undertaken, were considered as 'non-beekeepers'.

### 143 2.2. Sampling and data collection

144 The study took place in the years 2015 and 2016. Both quantitative and qualitative data were  
145 collected. As a first step, separate focus group discussions were held with beekeepers, non-  
146 beekeepers and village leaders to elicit any themes that motivated beekeeping uptake and success.  
147 Participants were purposefully selected to generate the widest possible, representative range of  
148 socio-economic characteristics within each community. Village leaders were asked to invite  
149 representatives of both sexes, younger and older generations, immigrants and established village  
150 residents as well as representatives of all livelihood activities. Two focus-group discussions were  
151 held separately in each community with beekeepers and non-beekeepers. Topics discussed  
152 included motivation for or against beekeeping; perceived benefits of beekeeping; perceived changes  
153 over the past decade in forest and beekeeping resources; as well as any potential conflicts between  
154 community members in the context of beekeeping and other livelihood activities. Including non-  
155 beekeepers' perspectives on beekeeping was key to understanding potential barriers to the  
156 adoption of beekeeping. The discussions were recorded, transcribed and translated from Swahili to  
157 English.

158 The initial focus group discussions informed the development of the household survey, which was  
159 pretested in a community not included in the study but displaying the same general characteristics  
160 of the study communities in terms of population size, climate, predominant vegetation, land uses,  
161 distances to major roads, larger markets and forests. The survey followed the format of the  
162 Multidimensional Poverty Assessment Tool (Cohen, 2009; Saisana and Saltelli, 2010). The survey  
163 was coded by using the OpenDataKit (ODK) tool (Brunette et al., 2014). A stratified random  
164 sampling approach was applied to select approximately equal numbers of beekeepers and non-  
165 beekeepers from each village in each community (Bryman, 2015). Randomness was introduced by  
166 assigning random numbers to all households recorded in village registries and selecting a  
167 proportional number of beekeeping and non-beekeeping households from each sub-village of a  
168 village. The questionnaire elicited socio-economic as well as beekeeping related responses relating  
169 to motivation for or against beekeeping, family background in beekeeping, technical beekeeping  
170 capacities, participation in beekeeping support programs, problems experienced in beekeeping,  
171 beekeeping success measures and experiences as beekeepers. Beekeeping related questions to non-  
172 beekeepers concerned their family history, past experiences and possible external training received  
173 in beekeeping as well as reasons for non-adoption and conditions for potential adoption. Local

174 research assistants trained in questionnaire administration, key beekeeping terminology and the  
175 use of the ODK tool implemented the survey (Angelsen et al., 2011).

176 A total of 318 household questionnaires were completed (155 beekeepers and 163 non-  
177 beekeepers). Forty-five participants were invited to attend semi-structured interviews to present  
178 more detailed information on motivations for or against practicing beekeeping; status of  
179 beekeeping in the community; resource constraints; beekeeping-related conflicts; experiences in  
180 beekeeping groups as well as experiences with beekeeping training. These participants were  
181 selected based on their main livelihood activities, age, gender and beekeeping background. Lastly,  
182 semi-structured interviews were held with ten beekeeping support organizations active in the  
183 study communities and in Tanzania in general. Topics discussed included reasons for promoting  
184 beekeeping, selection criteria for program/project beneficiaries as well as indicators of success.

185 Ethical approval of the study was obtained through the Bangor University Research Ethics  
186 Committee (Ethical approval number: CNS2015kw1). Respondents' anonymity was maintained by  
187 assigning individual identifier codes to all research participants and storing questionnaire and  
188 interview responses under these codes. Sensitive and personal data could thus not be linked to  
189 individuals.

### 190 **2.3. Data**

191 Our analysis explored several potential predictors suggested in the relevant literature as  
192 determinants in the adoption of new agricultural technologies in least developed countries (Rahm  
193 and Huffman, 1984; Feder and Umali, 1993; Doss and Morris, 2000; Abdulai and Huffman, 2005).  
194 We hypothesized the following indicators to have significant associations with beekeeping  
195 adoption: age and education levels (as proxies for human capital), household size (as a proxy for  
196 labor availability), forest area owned (individual de facto and/or de jure use rights over natural and  
197 planted forests), distance to forest and livestock keeping (as proxies for access to input), distance to  
198 road (as a proxy for the relative ease of physically accessing non-local honey and wax markets used  
199 by the local population), length of residence (as a proxy for social capital), honey hunting activity  
200 and parental beekeeping (proxies for cultural proximity to beekeeping activities) (Appendix B) . For  
201 the continuous variables we applied two-sample t-tests to determine if the two population means  
202 (for beekeepers and non-beekeepers) were significantly different. Further, we used Pearson's chi-  
203 squared tests to determine whether the proportions for categorical variables in the beekeeping and  
204 non-beekeeping groups were equal. Finally, factors, which were found to be significantly different  
205 between the two populations, were analyzed using an ordinary binary logit model. The distribution  
206 of the residuals was used to validate the logit link function. An independence test between all  
207 variable combinations considered for the regression model was performed using standard  
208 Pearson's chi-squared test in order to exclude any moderated relationships. Model selection was  
209 based on the lowest Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) score. Model variables were tested for  
210 multicollinearity, random effects of sub-villages as well as interactions. Lastly, barriers and  
211 conditions for beekeeping uptake were analyzed using descriptive statistics. This analysis of  
212 predictors of beekeeping adoption was the only part of our study that included non-beekeepers.  
213 The analysis of predictors of levels of dependence and success in beekeeping only encompassed  
214 beekeepers' responses.

215 For the analysis of dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and for income we examined the  
216 same range of hypothesized predictor variables as for beekeeping adoption, as well as variables

217 representing the ex-ante motivation behind beekeeping adoption and the source of beekeeping  
218 training received (Appendix D). The dependent variables for dependence on beekeeping for  
219 subsistence and income were expressed in percentage shares and were thus bounded from above  
220 and below, i.e. assuming values between 0-100. They also showed highly asymmetric distributions  
221 towards the lower boundary (0) and a large proportion of zeros. Two-part binary and fractional  
222 regression models were used to determine predictor variables. For both dependent variables, the  
223 discrete components (determining whether values were equal to 0 or not) were modelled as binary  
224 logit models and the continuous components (determining actual levels where values were not  
225 equal to 0) as fractional regression models. For this percentage values were converted to fractional  
226 (0-1) values. The binary model component predicts the probability of the dependent variable being  
227 non-zero. The fractional component predicts the fractional value in case the dependent variable is a  
228 non-zero.

229 Lastly, for beekeeping success, defined here as liters of honey harvested in the 12 months prior to  
230 our survey in 2016 (obtained through recall and encompassing two honey flow seasons), we tested  
231 the same hypothesized predictor variables as for beekeeping adoption and dependence as well as  
232 additional variables representing technical capacity and individual training history (Appendix G).  
233 While “liters harvested” is a relatively narrow definition of beekeeping success, other possible  
234 indicators such as the number of hives owned, the level of dependence on beekeeping or marketing  
235 success had their own limitations (African beekeeping is an extensive form of beekeeping, i.e.  
236 beekeepers own many hives, but not all of these are occupied all the time; level of dependence and  
237 marketing success can both also be a result of other circumstances and might not directly indicate  
238 ‘success’). Liters harvested was felt to be an easily measurable proxy for how skilled a beekeeper  
239 was in beekeeping terms only. External factors such as droughts, fires or pests were not considered  
240 for the model as these factors would have had an impact on all local beekeepers and would not have  
241 explained any difference in liters harvested over a given time period. Since harvest quantities  
242 showed a skewed distribution with a high proportion of zeros we applied a two-part binary and  
243 fractional regression modelling approach here as well. For this, we divided the number of liters  
244 harvested by the maximum number of liters reported (600 liters) in order to get values between 0-  
245 1.

246 Variables tested as predictors for beekeeping adoption, dependence on beekeeping for subsistence  
247 and income as well as beekeeping success were selected based on previously assessed significant  
248 relationships or correlations (Appendix I) or because they were theoretically hypothesized to have  
249 relationships with the respective dependent variables, i.e. beekeeping adoption, beekeeping  
250 dependence for subsistence, beekeeping dependence for income and beekeeping success. Problems  
251 beekeepers experienced, aspects training was received on, source of training as well as existing and  
252 desired beekeeping skills were also analyzed using descriptive statistics. Interview and focus group  
253 transcripts were coded both deductively and inductively according to the main research questions  
254 and extracting additional themes as they occurred (Ritchie et al., 2013). The aim of the coding was  
255 to capture and interpret common sense, substantive meanings in the data. During the coding of the  
256 transcripts the coding framework was continuously revised to incorporate emerging themes. The  
257 focus of this paper is on the analysis of quantitative data and the results of the qualitative analysis  
258 are used here to annotate the result and discussion sections.

259



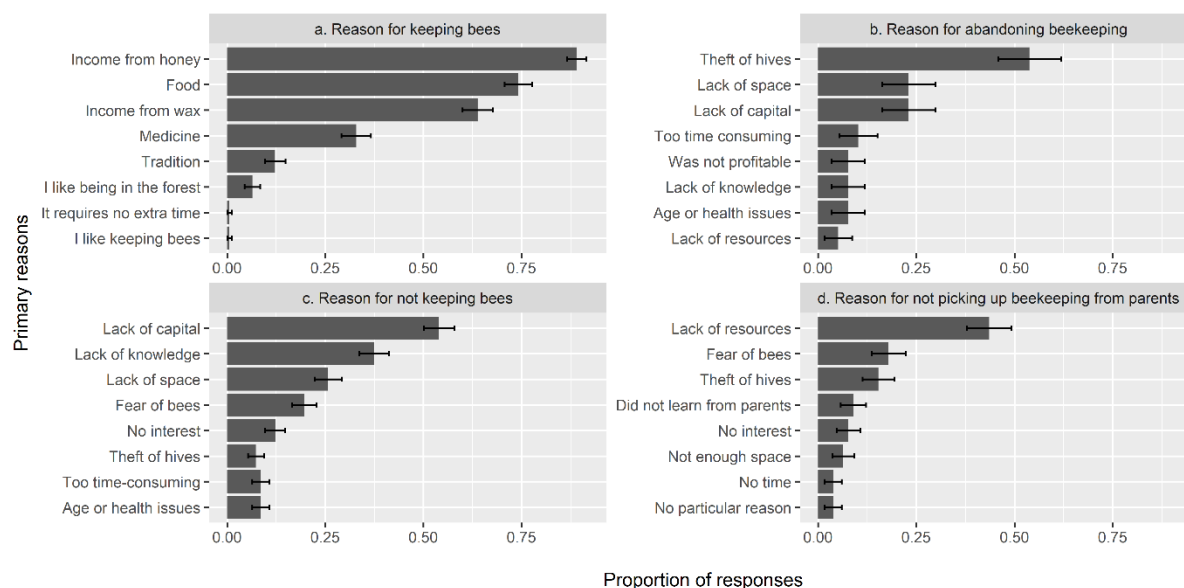
260 **3. Results**

261 **3.1. Determinants of beekeeping adoption**

262 Beekeepers (n = 155) cited income from honey (89%), provision of food (74%) and income from  
 263 wax (64%) as the main reasons for keeping bees (Figure 1a). Non-beekeepers (n = 163) identified a  
 264 lack of capital (54%), knowledge (37%) and space (26%) as the three most important reasons for  
 265 not adopting beekeeping (Figure 1c). Respondents who had previously practiced beekeeping, but  
 266 subsequently abandoned this activity (n = 39) indicated that theft of hives/honey (54%) and lack of  
 267 space and capital (both 9%) were the primary causes of activity cessation (Figure 1b). The most  
 268 frequently cited reasons for not adopting beekeeping by non-beekeeping respondents whose  
 269 parents used to keep bees (n = 78), were lack of access to necessary resources (43%), fear of bees  
 270 (18%) and theft of hives/honey (15%) (Figure 1d). The most frequently indicated conditions for  
 271 beekeeping uptake among non-beekeepers were access to capital (64%), to land/space for  
 272 beekeeping (38%) and provision of training and advisory support in beekeeping techniques (both  
 273 31%).

274

275



276

277 **Figure 1.** – Proportion of reported primary reasons for (a) and against (c) beekeeping adoption, for  
 278 abandoning beekeeping (b) and for not picking up beekeeping from parents (d).

279

280

281 In statistical tests, beekeepers came from a background of considerably higher forest ownership,  
 282 percentage of honey hunters, parental beekeeping and livestock keeping than non-beekeepers  
 283 (Table 1, Appendix B).

**Table 1.** – Continuous (t-test) and binary (chi-squared test) predictors of beekeeping adoption (sample size: 155 beekeepers, 163 non-beekeepers) (see Appendix B for all tested variables).

<b>Continuous predictors</b>	<b>Beekeepers mean (± SE)</b>	<b>Non-beekeepers mean (± SE)</b>	<b>t value</b>
HH size (Adult equivalent <sup>1</sup> )	2.79 (± 0.1)	2.50 (±0.1)	-2.35*
Age (years)	49.03 (± 1.2)	50.56 (±1.2)	0.90
Forested area owned <sup>2</sup> (acres)	5.08 (± 1.4)	1.14 (±0.3)	-2.70**
Distance to forest (min walking)	77.97 (± 0.53)	88.04 (± 0.49)	1.11
<b>Dichotomous predictors</b>	<b>% of beekeepers (± SE)</b>	<b>% of non-beekeepers (± SE)</b>	<b>χ<sup>2</sup> value</b>
Honey hunter (yes)	32.90 (± 0.46)	10.43 (± 0.26)	23.87***
Parental beekeeping (yes)	72.26 (± 0.68)	47.85 (± 0.55)	19.68***
Engaged in livestock keeping (yes)	80.65 (± 0.72)	53.99 (± 0.59)	25.53***
HH head having no formal education	18.07 (±0.03)	24.54 (±0.03)	0.16

284 1 Using the OECD-modified scale: Household head = 1, each additional adult = 0.5, each child = 0.3

285 (<http://www.oecd.org/eco/growth/OECD-Note-EquivalenceScales.pdf>)

286 2 Comprises natural and planted forest areas as well as orchards

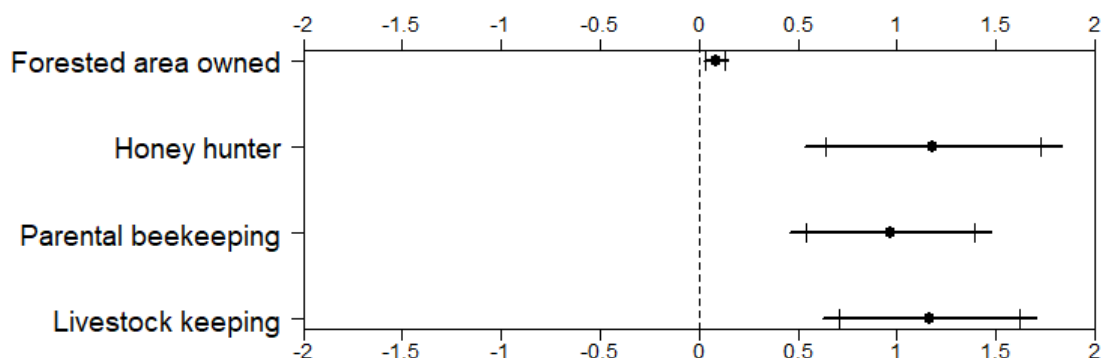
287 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

288

289

290 Stepwise backward binary logit regression identified significant relationships between beekeeping  
 291 uptake and the size of forest area owned, engagement in honey hunting, parental beekeeping and  
 292 engagement in livestock keeping (Figure 2, Appendix C). The pseudo R<sup>2</sup> (1- residual deviance/null  
 293 deviance) for our beekeeping adoption model was 0.248. The distribution of the residuals indicated  
 294 that the logit link function was a suitable choice. Random effects for subvillage affiliation as well as  
 295 2<sup>nd</sup> degree interactions were also tested for the model, but did not improve the model fit, i.e. did not  
 296 lower the AIC score by more than 2 points.

297



298

299 **Figure 2.** – Estimated coefficients, standard errors, 90% and 95% confidence intervals of binary  
 300 logit regression model of beekeeping adoption (Sample size: 155 beekeepers, 163 non-beekeepers)  
 301 (see Appendix C for model statistics).

302

303 Interviewed beekeepers and non-beekeepers also stated that tribal cultural tradition in beekeeping  
 304 (or the lack of) was an important driver (or inhibitor) of beekeeping adoption:

305 *“But here the Sandawe people used to be beekeepers for a long time and they used to hunt bees*  
 306 *from the trees. But I am Wagogo, we don’t have this culture from our grandfather, [we are]*  
 307 *not engaged in beekeeping.” (male non-beekeeper, 60)*

308 While the reasons for a link between beekeeping adoption and livestock keeping or honey hunting  
 309 respectively were not evident from our qualitative data, the inheritance of bee hives from parents  
 310 and grandparents as a reason for beekeeping adoption was a recurrent theme in interviews  
 311 conducted with beekeepers. The link between size of forested land owned and beekeeping adoption  
 312 is further supported by repeated mentions of shortage of land resources for beekeeping:

313 *“[...] there is no empty space where we can place beehives, we are supposed to go and look for*  
 314 *a place and find who owns that place and have to request or rent for placing hives.” (female*  
 315 *beekeeper, 46),*

316 as well as mentions of the lack of safety of hives on general land:

317 *“Placing hives only in the forest is not safe, because I am not sure who owns that place even*  
 318 *though it is community forest, but I am not sure of the security in that place. If I started*  
 319 *beekeeping I would put hives on my own land.” (male non-beekeeper, 44).*

320 Lastly, many interview respondents also indicated courage as a necessary character attribute of a  
321 beekeeper.

322 On examination of interview data on possible causes for theft being such a pervasive problem and  
323 the predominant reason for giving up beekeeping, we found emerging themes regarding a general  
324 lack of resources, unclear tenure arrangements, preferential treatment of beekeeping groups as  
325 well as added security modern hives. Respondents stated that insecure tenure rights of forested  
326 areas on central government owned unreserved land led to an increased occurrence of hive theft.  
327 The large distances to land reserved for beekeeping activities, where some level of protection  
328 against theft is provided by the local authorities, is an inhibiting factor for some beekeepers.  
329 Traditional hives were more likely to be stolen than modern hives (frequently donated by  
330 development organizations) as the latter were perceived to be 'official' and therefore more  
331 respected by the general public who were fearful of the authorities:

332 *“For the modern hives, is good, because people here respect when they see a modern hive, they*  
333 *regard it as a government property, so they cannot touch it because they are afraid of getting*  
334 *caught.” (male beekeeper, 77)*

335 Several respondents also reported that beekeepers who were organized in official beekeeping  
336 associations and had received modern hives from support organizations were extended increased  
337 protection by law-enforcers. This has led to increased protection from theft as well as improved  
338 access to land reserved for beekeeping, where other forest activities are excluded.

339

### 340 **3.2. Determinants of dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and income**

341 Given the relatively limited nutritional value of honey, it is perhaps not surprising that only 10%  
342 percent of beekeepers indicated a dependence on beekeeping products for subsistence of 30% and  
343 more. More unexpected however was that almost half of all the beekeepers in our study (45%)  
344 indicated zero dependence on beekeeping for subsistence. We found significant associations  
345 between dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and several potential predictor variables  
346 (Table 2, Appendix D), including length of engagement in beekeeping, honey hunting, motivation for  
347 beekeeping adoption as well as source of beekeeping training received. Only 23% of beekeepers  
348 indicated a dependence on beekeeping for income of 30% or more within their livelihood  
349 portfolios. Approximately the same number of beekeepers did not gain any income from  
350 beekeeping at all. We found significant associations between dependence on beekeeping as an

351 income source and several predictor variables, including length of engagement in beekeeping,  
 352 motivation for beekeeping adoption and beekeeping group membership.

353  
 354

**Table 2.** – Continuous (Pearson’s coefficient of correlation, r) and dichotomous (t-test) predictors for percentage of beekeeping dependence (subsistence and cash income) (see Appendix D for all tested variables).

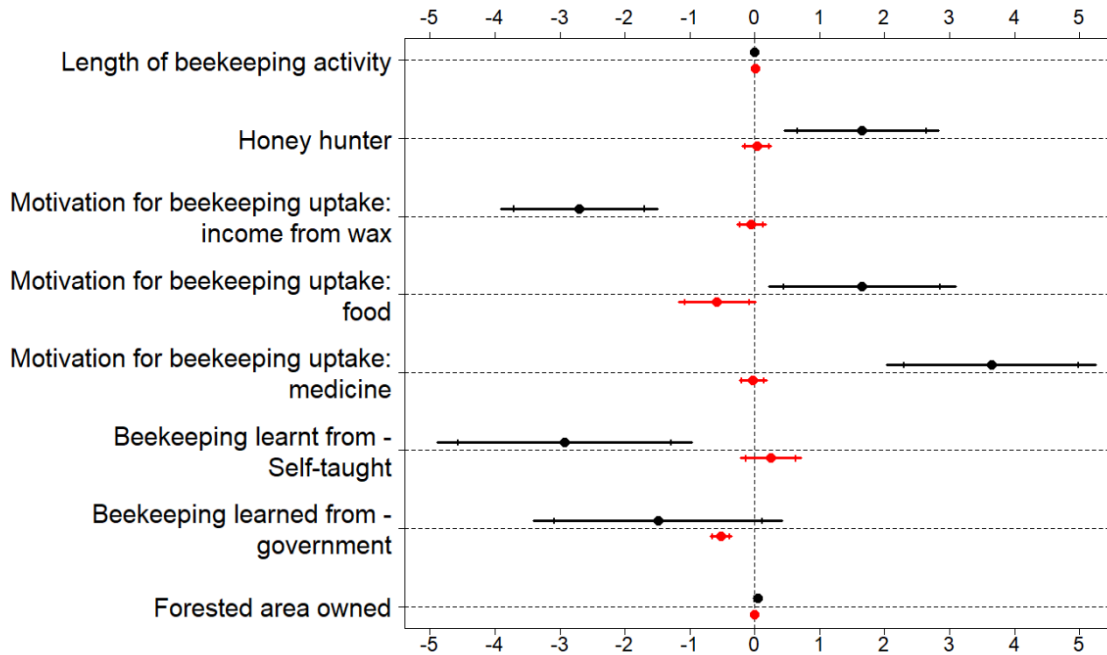
<b>Continuous predictor</b>	<b>Beekeeping dependence for subsistence (%) of all subsistence sources (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>Beekeeping dependence for cash income (%) of all income sources (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>
Length of beekeeping activity (years)	0.22	2.702**	0.20	2.485*
<b>Dichotomous predictors</b>	<b>Yes (No) mean</b>		<b>Yes (No) mean</b>	
Honey hunter	14.22 (8.10)	-3.427***	18.63 (21.97)	1.100
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from honey	10.56 (6.47)	-1.493	22.21 (10.00)	-3.003**
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from wax	7.55 (14.64)	4.124***	24.09 (15.18)	-3.127**
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – food	12.41 (3.50)	-4.612***	18.57 (27.50)	2.256*
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – medicine	16.71 (6.88)	-5.814***	16.47 (23.03)	2.364*
Beekeeping learned from – family member	11.88 (6.40)	-3.131**	21.67 (19.20)	-0.767
Beekeeping learned from – self-taught	4.21 (10.94)	2.945**	18.68 (21.18)	0.535
Beekeeping learned from – government training	3.00 (10.60)	4.232***	17.50 (21.10)	0.707
Member of beekeeping group	10.31 (10.02)	0.149	26.15 (18.51)	-2.412*

355 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

356  
 357

358 We analyzed the dependence on beekeeping for either subsistence and/or income in two separate  
 359 models. The binary component of a fractional regression model for subsistence dependence  
 360 determines if someone is to at least some degree (i.e. more than 0%) dependent on beekeeping for  
 361 subsistence (zero vs non-zero dependence proportion). We identified significant relationships  
 362 between non-zero dependence for subsistence and several variables. These included engagement in  
 363 honey hunting and income from wax as motivation for beekeeping uptake (negative relationship),  
 364 food and medicine provision as motivations for beekeeping uptake, as well as being self-taught in  
 365 beekeeping techniques (negative relationship) (Figure 3). The fractional model component explains  
 366 the distribution of non-zero levels of beekeeping dependence for subsistence. It revealed significant  
 367 relationships between level of dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and length of  
 368 engagement in beekeeping as well as external training received in beekeeping technical knowledge  
 369 by a government organization (negative relationship) (Figure 3, Appendix E).

370



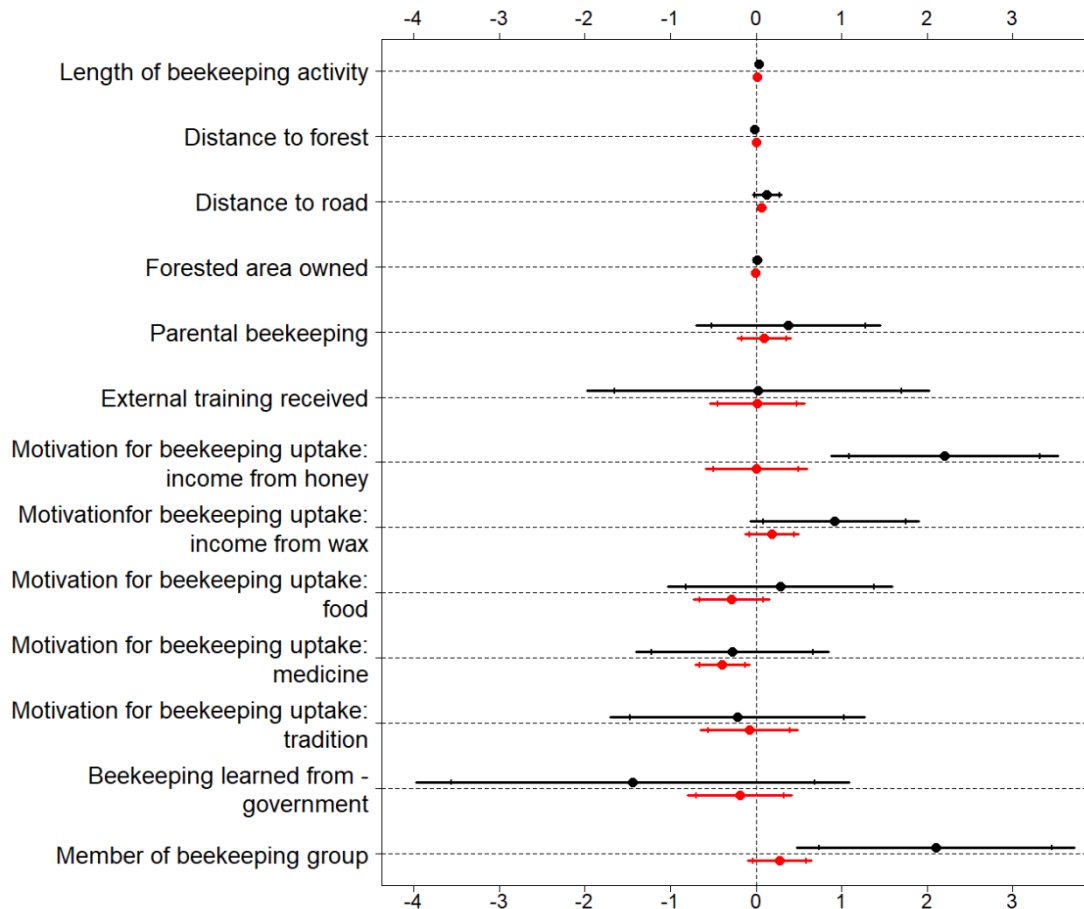
371

372 **Figure 3.** – Estimated coefficients, standard errors, 90% and 95% confidence intervals of binary  
 373 logit (black) and fractional (red) components of a two-part regression model for beekeeping  
 374 dependence for subsistence (Sample size: 155 beekeepers) (see Appendix E for model statistics).  
 375

376

377

378 Through fractional regression modelling of dependence on beekeeping as an income source, we  
 379 identified significant relationships between non-zero dependence for income (binary model  
 380 component) and the following variables: income from honey and wax being one of the motivations  
 381 for beekeeping uptake, beekeepers living closer to the forest (negative estimate implying that  
 382 beekeepers closer to the forest have a higher probability of non-zero dependence) as well as being  
 383 members of a beekeeping group (Figure 4, Appendix F). The fractional model component for the  
 384 regression model of beekeeping dependence for income, which explains the variability of non-zero  
 385 levels of dependence, showed significant relationships for increasing living distance from a major  
 386 road, with provision of medicine as a beekeeping uptake motivation (negative) as well as the length  
 of engagement in beekeeping (Figure 4, Appendix F).



387

388 **Figure 4.** – Estimated coefficients, standard errors, 90% and 95% confidence intervals of binary  
 389 logit (black) and fractional (red) components of a two-part regression model for beekeeping  
 390 dependence for income (Sample size: 155 beekeepers) (see Appendix F for model statistics).

391

### 392 3.3. Determinants of beekeeping success

393 Beekeepers (n = 155) cited drought (66%), theft (53%) and pests (44%) as the three most frequent  
 394 problems affecting success in their beekeeping activities. Interview respondents indicated that  
 395 harvest levels were generally very low compared to the period preceding the drought. They pointed  
 396 out that many recently trained beekeepers had abandoned beekeeping due to very low honey  
 397 production during the preceding drought years. In contrast, more experienced beekeepers were  
 398 more aware of climate-induced harvest fluctuations and were more likely to continue with  
 399 beekeeping activities despite temporary setbacks (Fisher, 1996).

400 *“Q: Why did you stop beekeeping? A: [Because of] climate change: nowadays you can go to*  
 401 *hives and you find no bees enter the hive. Q: And that is because the climate has changed? A:*  
 402 *Nowadays there are no more bees and sometime when I go there is brood but no honey, so that*  
 403 *discouraged me from beekeeping.” (male ex-beekeeper, 31)*

404 Correlation tests for a recall of harvest quantity (liters) per household in the preceding 12 months,  
 405 used here as a variable for success in beekeeping, and predictor variables revealed several

406 significant associations including source of training received and indication of no training required  
 407 (Table 3, Appendix G).

408

**Table 3.** – Continuous (Pearson’s r) and dichotomous predictors (two sample t-test of mean values of each outcome, i.e. yes/no) for beekeeping success measure (liters of honey harvested in the preceding 12 months) (Sample size: 155 beekeepers) (see Appendix G for all tested variables).

<b>Continuous predictors</b>	<b>Harvest quantities (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>
Age (years)	-0.139	-1.620
HH size (Adult equivalent)	0.019	0.220
Distance to road (km)	0.191*	2.261
Forest area owned (acres)	0.187*	2.216
Length of beekeeping activity (years)	0.078	0.897
<b>Dichotomous predictors</b>	<b>Yes (mean liters harvested)</b>	<b>No (mean liters harvested)</b>
Engaged in livestock keeping	11.960**	32.955
Beekeeping learned from – government training	30.612**	5.125
Does not require training	30.574**	5.750
Knowledge in hive placement	14.353*	31.217

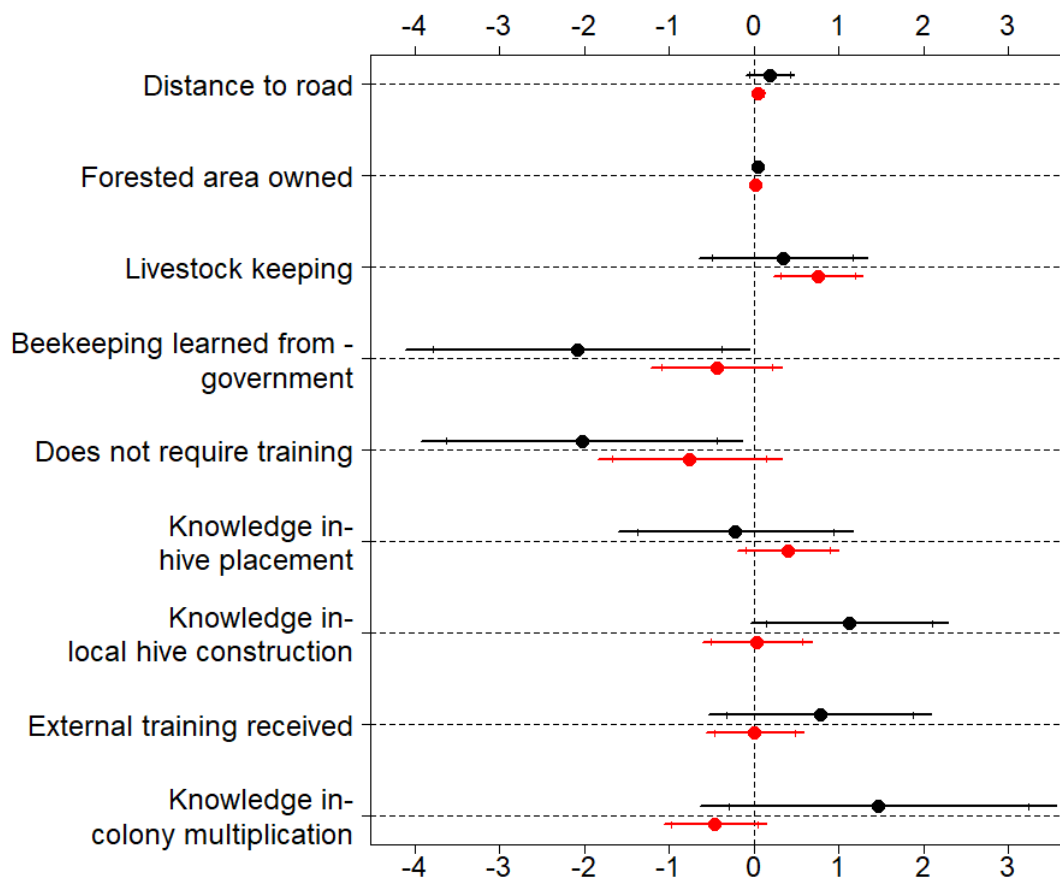
409 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

410

411

412 We identified a significant negative relationship (fractional regression modelling) between non-  
 413 zero harvest quantities and the beekeeper having been trained in beekeeping by a governmental  
 414 organization. While beekeepers taught by a governmental organization had been active beekeepers  
 415 for about half of the time than those taught by family/community members, the length of  
 416 engagement in beekeeping was not a significant predictor of beekeeping success. We also found a  
 417 significant negative relationship with the beekeeper indicating that they do not require further  
 418 training (Figure 5, Appendix H). The variation of harvest quantities larger than zero was  
 419 significantly positively affected by area of forests owned and engagement in livestock keeping  
 420 (Figure 5, Appendix H).





421

422 **Figure 5.** – Estimated coefficients, standard errors and 95% confidence intervals of binary logit  
 423 (black) and fractional (red) components of a two-part regression model for beekeeping success  
 424 (Sample size: 155 beekeepers) (see Appendix H for model statistics).

425

### 426 3.4. Existing technical capacities and needs

427 Farmers currently engaged in beekeeping recalled having received external technical beekeeping  
 428 training from a governmental or non-governmental organization mainly on the topics of honey  
 429 harvesting and processing (93%), hive placement (48%), construction of modern hives, proper hive  
 430 inspection and other beehive product processing (all 21%). Most active beekeepers learned  
 431 beekeeping from a family member (68%) followed by a neighbor or other village member (19%) or  
 432 were self-taught (12%). Only a small proportion of beekeepers learned beekeeping through  
 433 governmental or non-governmental capacity building organizations (6% and 3% respectively).  
 434 Most respondents who were engaged in beekeeping in the past, but have since given up, learned  
 435 beekeeping from their family members (67%). This training included hive placement (86%), honey  
 436 harvesting and processing (83%) and construction of traditional hives (79%). Beekeepers most  
 437 frequently named hive placement (88%), traditional hive construction and honey harvesting and  
 438 processing (both 81%) as the aspects of beekeeping they possess knowledge over. Technical  
 439 knowledge aspects, which were cited as desired but not yet owned by beekeepers were mainly

440 honey harvesting and processing (61%), modern hive construction (54%) and pest and disease  
441 control (48%).

442

### 443 3.5. Beekeeping associations

444 While we did not specifically set out to examine the dynamics of beekeeping associations, through  
445 inductive analysis of our interview data we found evidence of continued group cohesion after  
446 support ended in only one case. This was where yearly follow-up visits by the project team were  
447 carried out over several years. In interviews, beekeeping group members perceived little to no  
448 benefit from collective action. Whilst many interview respondents saw advantages in joining  
449 beekeeping associations in principle (i.e. improved market access; security; knowledge sharing;  
450 pooling of resources), they indicated that beekeeping groups face a multitude of internal problems  
451 related to lack of transparency, leadership, market knowledge, capacity to produce economies of  
452 scale and member buy-in to the associations' goals.

453 *"In a group it is easier to get training, get equipment from donors who want to support*  
454 *beekeeping activities. Also the bylaw operates more for the beekeeping groups than for*  
455 *individuals. So e.g. if they have hives in a group and someone goes and destroys them or steals*  
456 *the honey, if he is caught and sent to the government, the law is more acted on than if the*  
457 *person had destroyed an individual persons property. Also in a group, if there are several*  
458 *people, if he e.g. does not have time, it is possible that someone from the group can go and*  
459 *patrol. They can set up a timetable of who patrols when and that is good for security of the*  
460 *hives." (male beekeeper, 41)*

461 *"There is bad leadership, because the group was given responsibility of that forest to ensure no*  
462 *cows go there to graze, but other villagers they used to give money to the group leader and the*  
463 *leader allowed them to send their cattle to graze in the forest. It created a lot of conflict and*  
464 *the group collapsed." (male beekeeper, 51)*

465 Furthermore, interview data suggests that access to these associations is made difficult for those  
466 who are not able to pay the requested entry fee. While several interview respondents indicated that  
467 participants for beekeeping training were self-selected during village meetings, several other  
468 respondents reported instances of elite capture of project benefits as less well-connected  
469 community members or people living on the geographical edges of community boundaries were  
470 overlooked when invitations were issued to participate in the project and to join associations. They  
471 were subsequently precluded from access to training and possible equipment distribution.

472 *"I heard that there was beekeeping training, but I was not involved. Because here, when something*  
473 *like this happens the leaders call their own friends. Because sometimes you can get something else*  
474 *(i.e. equipment for example) from the training. So I was not part of the friends of the leaders."*  
475 *(male beekeeper, 38)*

476

## 477 **4. Discussion**

478 Given how widely promoted beekeeping as an alternative livelihood strategy is, there is very little  
479 empirical evidence of the effectiveness of these interventions aiming to integrate conservation and  
480 development goals (Roe et al. 2014, Brooks et al. 2006b). Blom et al. (2010) find that these projects  
481 often fail as the complexity of rural communities is ignored. This study is an attempt to begin to  
482 close the knowledge gap on how the targeting and delivery of beekeeping interventions need to be  
483 designed in order to take account of local circumstances and the reality of rural beekeepers in  
484 Tanzania. We identified key drivers influencing beekeeping uptake, dependence and success, which  
485 may be critical to the design of future beekeeping technical assistance programs. The appropriate  
486 targeting of beneficiaries and the nature of capacity building for beekeeping influence the long-term  
487 outcome of interventions as they become relevant to local communities and correspond to their  
488 motivations and needs.

### 489 **4.1. Adoption and abandonment of beekeeping as a livelihood activity**

#### 490 **4.1.1. Key factors influencing adoption of beekeeping**

491 Beekeeping adoption was contingent upon whether parents had previously kept bees as a  
492 livelihood activity. While the inheritance of hives from parents is a logical explanation for this,  
493 another conceivable explanation might be that through parental beekeeping younger generations  
494 can acquire beekeeping skills from a young age (Fisher, 2000). This also suggests that tradition is  
495 an important factor in the uptake of beekeeping – a point which was supported by our qualitative  
496 data analysis. Support organizations may wish to consider this when deciding on beneficiary  
497 selection criteria for beekeeping projects to avoid working against cultural preferences.

498 Adoption was also more likely if the respondent simultaneously practiced honey hunting i.e. the  
499 collection of honey from wild bees. The reason for this might be that honeyhunters are familiar with  
500 bees as well as the use of honeybee products. Whether an individual was a beekeeper or not was  
501 also contingent on them keeping livestock. An explanation for this phenomenon could be that  
502 livestock keepers spend more time in the forest while grazing their herds than farmers. This gives  
503 them the opportunity to locate and plunder wild bee nests, thus becoming more familiar with bees  
504 and aware of the benefits of honeybee products. Given that honey hunting and livestock keeping  
505 seem to be conducive to the adoption of beekeeping, selecting participants with these backgrounds  
506 for beekeeping promoting interventions could reduce project attrition and enhance adoption of  
507 beekeeping.

508 Lastly, beekeeping adoption was also predicted by the size of forested land owned, suggesting that  
509 beekeeping is not necessarily an activity that is without land requirements as purported by some  
510 authors (FAO, 2011; Jacobs et al., 2006). Planning beekeeping interventions in locations with  
511 limited access to forested land for participants could undermine project outcomes.

512 When asked about their individual motivation to become a beekeeper, the most important reasons  
513 were the expectation of income from honey sales, followed by supplementary food provision. This  
514 information may help guide NGOs and government organizations to target and promote the  
515 benefits of beekeeping to beneficiary communities more effectively.

#### 516 4.1.2. Key factors influencing rejection of beekeeping

517 Some respondents were dissuaded from adopting beekeeping due to a lack of capital, available land  
518 and relevant knowledge, indicating that the initial investment, space and technical knowledge  
519 requirements of beekeeping are non-trivial contrary to some authors' suggestions (Nel and Illgner,  
520 2004). The expectation that modern hive donation leads to trickle-down benefits, i.e. the adoption  
521 of modern hive technology by other community members over time, needs to be carefully managed,  
522 as a lack of capital to purchase modern hives can be inhibitive (Carroll et al., 2017; Tesfaye et al.,  
523 2017). Land availability is critical to increasing beekeeping uptake (Jayne et al., 2014), as hives  
524 located away from homesteads are often damaged or stolen. The consideration of respondent land  
525 access and tenure as a critical component of participant recruitment may reduce beekeeping  
526 project attrition. Access could for example be improved through the designation of beekeeping  
527 reserves, which are accessible to all beekeepers in the community. Finally, there was awareness  
528 among respondents of the significant challenges posed to successful beekeeping if the supporting  
529 technical assistance was absent. While some new activities might be adopted through a 'learning by  
530 doing' approach, our results indicate that this is not the case for beekeeping. This suggests that  
531 beekeeping project participants may benefit from a greater emphasis on building technical  
532 capacities appropriate to the specific context of each project location.

533 Fear of bees was one of the most frequently cited reasons for not adopting beekeeping by non-  
534 beekeeping respondents whose parents were beekeepers. Managing *Apis mellifera scutellata* (the  
535 most common honey bee sub-species in Central and Eastern Africa) is challenging due to its highly  
536 defensive behavior (Ellis and Ellis, 2008). Even when there is a family history in beekeeping, some  
537 offspring are unwilling to adopt the activity to boost their income. Interview data confirms  
538 beekeeping as a potentially perilous activity, particularly as African beekeeping is still largely  
539 practiced in forested environments, which can pose significant dangers to humans through contact  
540 with wildlife and insect transmitted diseases (Lawton, 1982). Successfully overcoming the  
541 apprehension of bees may be contingent on the level of training and protective equipment  
542 provided.

#### 543 4.1.3. Reasons for abandoning beekeeping

544 Theft of honey and hives was cited as the most common cause of beekeeping abandonment, due in  
545 part to the increasing value of honey as a commercial product and the growing difficulty in  
546 obtaining raw materials for the construction of hives. For example, obtaining whole tree stems  
547 necessary for the construction of traditional log hives is becoming more and more difficult due to  
548 increasing restrictions on forest resource use, as well as increasing levels of deforestation,  
549 according to several interviewed beekeepers. Theft is rarely addressed by beekeeping support  
550 organizations yet appears to be a significant concern of beekeepers. If organizations continue to  
551 ignore this aspect of beekeeping development, then there is the possibility that they will undermine  
552 their own project outcomes and fail to augment recruits to their programs. Secure access to  
553 forested areas for the sourcing of hive materials and increased protection of these areas by local  
554 authorities for beekeeping use could prove to be helpful in tackling the issue of theft.

555

556 **4.2. Factors influencing dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and as an income**  
557 **source**

558 We hypothesized that individuals with a higher dependence on beekeeping for subsistence differed  
559 in location, social situation, history in beekeeping and livelihood strategies than those who were  
560 more dependent on beekeeping as an income generating activity

561 4.2.1. Motivation for adopting beekeeping

562 The initial adoption of beekeeping was motivated by different factors for those more dependent on  
563 beekeeping for subsistence than for those more dependent on beekeeping as an income generating  
564 activity. Farmers who used beekeeping as an income generating activity were more likely to  
565 indicate income from honey and wax as a motivation, rather than for the provision of traditional  
566 medicine. Conversely, subsistence dependence demonstrated a significant negative relationship  
567 with income from beehive products as ex-ante adoption motivation and an increased tendency to  
568 engage in honey hunting. While recollection may limit the accuracy of the stated ex-ante motivation,  
569 this suggests that households that were more dependent on honey as a calorie source regarded the  
570 procurement and use of honey with a less commercial sense than households that were more  
571 dependent on honey as an income source. Further, we observed a negative relationship between  
572 the level of dependence on beekeeping for subsistence and having received initial training in  
573 beekeeping from a governmental organization. This suggests that those individuals who received  
574 formal training were more inclined to treat beekeeping as an income rather than a food source. We  
575 suggest that if typologies of divergent motivations to harvest bee products are taken into account  
576 during participant selection for beekeeping support programs a higher continuation rate of newly  
577 trained beekeepers could be achieved. Furthermore, honey harvesting techniques with the aim of  
578 commercialization of the end product might be more complex to those aimed for home  
579 consumption. Training participants who do not intend to sell their harvest in these more complex  
580 techniques may be of little use to them. All in all, more precise targeting of beekeeping  
581 interventions according to participants needs and wishes could improve the overall outcome.

582 4.2.2. Access to resources

583 Proximity to forests influenced the dependence on beekeeping as an income generating activity, as  
584 access to resources such as bee forage is an important factor in any beekeeping production system.  
585 When beekeeping is promoted by support organizations for income generation, the consideration  
586 of the question of sustainable access of project beneficiaries to forest resources may help ensure  
587 the necessary input factors.

588 4.2.3. Membership in a beekeeping association

589 Most external capacity building efforts require farmers to form informal collectives before receiving  
590 training and equipment provision (Affognon et al., 2015; Carroll et al., 2017). This may be done for  
591 one or more of the following reasons: to enable more efficient delivery of training, to allow  
592 knowledge sharing, to create economies of scale through marketing as a group as well as to share  
593 responsibilities around the apiaries. Beekeeping group membership was an important determinant  
594 of whether a respondent used beekeeping as an income generating activity. Membership was not a  
595 significant determinant of dependence on beekeeping for subsistence. Our interview data suggests  
596 a mismatch between expectations towards beekeeping associations and the reality they deliver.  
597 Evidence of long-term group cohesion was found only in the case where continued and regular  
598 follow-up support was provided from the intervening organization – in itself a phenomenon rarely

599 observed in beekeeping projects (Carroll et al., 2017). Elite capture of project benefits through  
600 better connected and more centrally living community members has left several community  
601 members missing out on the opportunity to receive training and equipment donations (Platteau,  
602 2004). Further, a lack of transparency within beekeeping groups has left several community  
603 members question the fairness of how benefits were distributed. The commonly applied project  
604 requirement of grouping together project beneficiaries in associations thus needs to be handled  
605 with care by beekeeping support organizations: transparency, members' buy-in and inclusiveness  
606 of groups might be enhanced by establishing clearly defined outcome indicators for both,  
607 participants and support organizations as well as advertising the possibility of training and access  
608 to a beekeeping group more thoroughly within communities; the promise of improved market  
609 access through economies of scale and value-added products requires an increased access to honey  
610 processing equipment as well as more thorough baseline studies of bee forage availability and thus  
611 potential to produce the quantities of bee products needed for larger markets; regular follow-up  
612 through more investment in local extension service providers may ensure overall group success  
613 and cohesion. In this context further research is needed to estimate the relative benefits of  
614 investing a part of project budgets into organizations that can provide extension services versus  
615 investing in the donation of more hives to beneficiaries. In summary, there is a large body of  
616 literature available on producer organizations and determinants of their sustainability (Fischer and  
617 Qaim, 2014; Markelova et al., 2009; Shiferaw et al., 2011), but our results suggest that the  
618 application of this knowledge by practitioners in the beekeeping sector is thus far lacking.

#### 619 4.2.4. Length of engagement in beekeeping

620 The level of dependence for both subsistence and income-motivated beekeepers was related to the  
621 number of years spent beekeeping, suggesting that experience is critical to an individual's intensity  
622 of engagement in beekeeping. If the goal is to promote the engagement in beekeeping, longer-term  
623 educational support provided over extended time-scales may be beneficial (Carroll et al., 2017).  
624 Beekeeping demands the knowledge of a range of different techniques throughout a beekeeping  
625 season. Conditions for beekeeping can vary significantly between seasons contingent upon regional  
626 weather patterns. Extension services tailored to the technical knowledge needs of beekeepers  
627 throughout several beekeeping seasons could thus contribute to the increased sustainability of  
628 interventions by adapting to the both the beekeepers needs and the contingencies of unpredictable  
629 weather conditions. This type of capacity building support could engage locally successful and  
630 experienced beekeepers as champions and trainers. These trainers could provide valuable  
631 knowledge of local conditions and are likely to enjoy acceptance and trust by local community  
632 members. The logistics of employing locally present personnel is also more cost-effective than  
633 externally sourced beekeeping experts.

### 634 4.3. **Success as a beekeeper**

635 The three years preceding this study were marked by severe drought conditions in the study  
636 region. During interviews, drought was also the most frequently cited challenge faced by  
637 beekeepers, in some cases even leading to giving up beekeeping altogether among less experienced  
638 beekeepers. This draws attention to the necessity of taking seasonal changes in local climate into  
639 consideration when designing beekeeping capacity building and support interventions in order to  
640 manage expectations of success of project participants (Fisher, 1996). An analysis of most  
641 frequently recalled topics taught in the context of such external interventions shows that only the  
642 very basic technical knowledge of hive placement and harvesting was passed on to the majority of

643 training beneficiaries. Most of the respondents in receipt of formal training (i.e. not by family or  
644 community members) had received a maximum of three days training. The brevity of such training  
645 fails to reflect the complex skill-set required for a successful beekeeper (Amulen et al., 2017; Carroll  
646 et al., 2017).

647 Whether a beekeeper managed to harvest any honey at all in the twelve months preceding our  
648 study, was negatively related to the individual having received beekeeping training by a  
649 government organization. This negative relationship suggests either that the quality of training  
650 provided was so low that it was insufficient to generate any harvest or that the targeting of project  
651 participants was not ideal or both. We propose that capacity building efforts by governmental  
652 organizations need to be more precisely targeted towards individuals whose livelihood strategies,  
653 proximity to the forest and family history are most conducive to beekeeping. We also suggest that  
654 beekeeping training is improved, in order to render the beneficiaries of such trainings capable of  
655 achieving at least the same beekeeping results as their family/community-trained peers. As  
656 discussed above, these improvements might entail: more intensive training on locally appropriate  
657 beekeeping systems and construction of hives based on locally available resources, subsequent  
658 extension services to provide follow-up support throughout several beekeeping seasons, training  
659 provided by locally successful and experienced beekeepers, while the need for protective  
660 equipment and land access of project beneficiaries are kept in consideration.

661 In our study communities, size of forested area owned was also an important predicting factor of  
662 beekeeping success. This supports our claim that beekeeping is not necessarily a suitable activity to  
663 be promoted as a solution to landless rural populations (Nel and Illgner, 2004).

664 Whilst the suitability of modern beehives for African bee species is disputed (Ingram and Njikeu,  
665 2011), a majority of surveyed beekeepers indicated a desire to learn how to construct such hives.  
666 We conclude that at least the promotion of this type of hives by governmental and non-  
667 governmental organizations among the rural populations of Central Tanzania, has been successful.  
668 Whether or not the expectations of higher yields and better-quality hive products raised in this way  
669 are justified, particularly without appropriate training support, remains to be determined.

670

## 671 **5. Conclusion**

672 In analyzing predictors of beekeeping uptake, dependence and success we have identified a range  
673 of factors that need to be considered during the planning of beekeeping interventions: 1.  
674 Beneficiary selection needs to be culturally sensitive in order to target those population groups that  
675 are most likely to incorporate beekeeping into their portfolio of livelihood activities. 2. Access to  
676 land, technical knowledge and capital to purchase hives determine farmers' decisions to adopt  
677 beekeeping. The consideration of these points may thus need to form the cornerstones of  
678 beekeeping projects. 3. The noticeable shift from beekeeping for food procurement to an income  
679 generating activity, with implications for the macro-economic output of beekeeping, is partly fueled  
680 by beekeeping training projects. This may have implications for the selection of future project sites  
681 and alignment with national beekeeping policy goals. 4. The distribution of hives by NGOs and the  
682 Government may be less critical to adoption than the provision of protective equipment. 4. The  
683 widespread theft of honey and hives is an issue that could undermine project outcomes, but for  
684 which no straightforward solution can be suggested. 5. The often-required group membership of  
685 projects tends to create division in project communities and needs to be handled with more care.  
686 Lastly, more comprehensive training, delivered by locally experienced beekeepers and regular  
687 technical follow-up support is needed to equip future beekeepers with the necessary skills to  
688 continue their beekeeping activities in the face of arising challenges. Our study attempted to start  
689 closing the knowledge gap around how beekeeping interventions need to be targeted and delivered  
690 in order to achieve better long-term adoption of locally appropriate beekeeping techniques. We  
691 believe that this will determine the overall livelihood and conservation outcomes of alternative  
692 livelihood projects, in which beekeeping seems to be playing a key role.

693 As beekeeping is widely promoted as an alternative livelihood activity that provides potential  
694 conservation incentives to the rural poor, future research should investigate the impacts of  
695 beekeeping on poverty alleviation as well as conservation behavior in beekeeping communities.

696



697 **6. Appendices****Appendix A. - Study communities**

	<b>Msemembo</b>	<b>Sasilo</b>	<b>Kwa Mtoro</b>	<b>Paranga</b>
<b>Region</b>	Singida	Singida	Dodoma	Dodoma
<b>District</b>	Manyoni	Manyoni	Kondoa	Chemba
<b>Population</b>	5 978	11 987	2 055	2 000
<b>Forest area (ha) per person</b>	2.3	unknown (60 ha owned by community + small private forest areas of unknown size)	unknown (20 ha in general use + reserved forest of unknown size)	1.3
<b>Participatory Forest Management in place</b>	Planned: Joint Forest Management of 11 536 ha	PFM for 100 ha shared with neighboring village	No	No
<b>Distance to district market</b>	33 km	72 km	65 km	50 km
<b>Reserved land for beekeeping (ha)</b>	730	60, but not enforced	Yes, size unknown	No
<b>Beekeeping projects in the past</b>	2007: District Gov.; 2013/14: World Vision, TFS; SIDO and TFF (unknown year)	1999 – 2004: NORAD	TSF, TASAF, World Vision, CREDEP, District Government (years unknown)	2012: TASAF
<b>Beekeeping group existent</b>	Yes, but shrinking	Yes, but not functional	2 functional groups	Yes

698

699

Appendix B. – Table of two-sample comparisons of the means of possible predictors (continuous and dichotomous) of beekeeping adoption

<b>Continuous predictors</b>	<b>Beekeepers mean (± SE)</b>	<b>Non-beekeepers mean (± SE)</b>	<b>t value</b>	<b>p value</b>
Age	49.03 (±1.7)	50.56 (±1.2)	0.90	0.367
HH size (Adult equivalent <sup>1</sup> )	2.79 (± 0.1)	2.50 (±0.1)	-2.35	0.020
Distance to forest (min walking)	77.97 (± 0.5)	88.04 (±0.5)	1.11	0.268
Distance to road (km)	1.10 (± 0.2)	1.17 (±0.2)	0.22	0.826
Forested area owned <sup>2</sup> (acres)	5.08 (± 1.4)	1.14 (±0.3)	-2.70	0.008
Length of stay in community (years)	40.51 (± 1.3)	39.03 (±1.3)	-0.78	0.439

<b>Dichotomous predictors</b>	<b>Beekeepers % (± SE)</b>	<b>Non-beekeepers % (± SE)</b>	<b>χ<sup>2</sup> value</b>	<b>p value</b>
HH head education (no formal education)	18.07 (± 0.34)	24.54 (± 0.40)	1.98	0.159
HH head education (secondary/techn. school)	3.65 (± 0.15)	10.00 (± 0.25)	2.39	0.123
Honeyhunter (yes)	32.90 (± 0.46)	10.43 (± 0.26)	23.87	<0.001
Parental beekeeping (yes)	72.26(± 0.68)	47.85 (± 0.55)	19.68	<0.001
Engaged in livestock keeping (y)	80.65(± 0.72)	53.99 (± 0.59)	25.53	<0.001

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<sup>1</sup> Using the OECD-modified scale: Household head = 1, each additional adult = 0.5, each child = 0.3 (<http://www.oecd.org/eco/growth/OECD-Note-EquivalenceScales.pdf>)

<sup>2</sup> Comprises natural and planted forest areas as well as orchards

702 Appendix C. – Estimated parameters of a binary logit regression model of beekeeping adoption

	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>z value</b>
Intercept	-1.844	0.298	-9.199***
Forested area owned (acres)	0.082	0.031	2.686**
Honey hunter (yes)	1.182	0.331	3.573***
Parental beekeeping (yes)	0.968	0.260	3.726***
Livestock keeping (yes)	1.165	0.277	4.213***

703 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

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Appendix D. – Table of [1] correlation coefficients for possible continuous predictors (Pearson’s r), [2] correlation coefficients for possible ordinal predictors (Spearman’s rho), [3] variation of means of possible categorical predictors as well as [4] two-sample t-tests for possible dichotomous predictors of proportion of beekeeping dependence for subsistence and income (dependent variables; measured as % of the contribution of beekeeping to individual households’ subsistence and income)

<b>[1] Continuous predictors</b>	<b>Beekeeping dependence for subsistence (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p value</b>	<b>Beekeeping dependence for income (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p value</b>
Age	0.008	0.097	0.923	0.017	0.210	0.834
HH size (Adult equivalent)	-0.076	-0.941	0.349	0.078	0.964	0.337
Distance to forest (min walking)	-0.111	-1.383	0.169	0.076	0.944	0.347
Distance to road (km)	-0.089	-1.111	0.268	0.140	1.746	0.083
Forested area owned (acres)	0.130	1.615	0.108	0.048	0.528	0.598
Length of stay in community (years)	0.017	0.215	0.830	0.077	0.923	0.358
Length of beekeeping activity (years)	0.215	2.702	0.008	0.198	2.485	0.014
<b>[2] Ordinal predictor</b>	<b>rho</b>	<b>S-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>rho</b>	<b>S-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Length of beekeeping training received	-0.1364	705270	0.0906	0.0585	584320	0.4697
<b>[3] Categorical predictors</b>	<b>Mean Sq</b>	<b>F-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>Mean Sq</b>	<b>F-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Village	223.25	1.803	0.1491	69.48	0.1934	0.9008
Subvillage	152.77	1.2526	0.2259	381.76	1.0918	0.3661
<b>[4] Dichotomous predictors</b>	<b>μ Yes (No)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p value</b>	<b>μ Yes (No)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p value</b>
Household head has no formal education	10.714 (9.976)	-0.323	0.749	22.857 (20.433)	-0.522	0.605
Household head has secondary/technical school education	7.500 (10.179)	0.550	0.618	33.750 (20.530)	-0.946	0.413
Honeyhunter	14.215 (8.096)	-3.427	<0.001	18.628 (21.971)	1.100	0.274
Parental beekeeping	10.777 (8.372)	-1.232	0.221	22.366 (16.977)	-1.781	0.078
Engaged in livestock keeping	9.496 (12.667)	1.125	0.268	20.760 (21.333)	0.146	0.885
External training received	7.069 (10.810)	1.902	0.063	23.448 (20.278)	-0.788	0.4352
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from honey	10.558 (6.471)	-1.493	0.1504	22.210 (10.000)	-3.003	0.007
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from wax	7.546 (14.643)	4.124	<0.001	24.091 (15.179)	-3.127	0.002
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – food	12.409 (3.500)	-4.612	<0.001	18.565 (27.500)	2.256	0.028

Motivation for beekeeping uptake – like being in the forest	13.000 (9.910)	-0.983	0.3471	18.000 (21.069)	0.584	0.5711
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – medicine	16.706 (6.875)	-5.814	<0.001	16.471 (23.029)	2.364	0.020
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – tradition	5.263 (10.787)	1.814	0.0834	23.684 (20.478)	-0.630	0.5351
Beekeeping learned from – family member	11.876 (6.400)	-3.131	0.002	21.667 (19.200)	-0.767	0.445
Beekeeping learned from – village member	12.400 (9.560)	-1.415	0.163	17.833 (21.600)	1.088	0.2819
Beekeeping learned from – self-taught	4.211 (10.939)	2.945	0.007	18.684 (21.177)	0.535	0.598
Beekeeping learned from – government training	3.000 (10.600)	4.232	<0.001	17.500 (21.104)	0.707	0.494
Member of beekeeping group	10.313 (10.019)	-0.149	0.882	26.146 (18.505)	-2.412	0.018

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707 Appendix E. – Estimated parameters of binary logit and fractional components of a two-part  
 708 regression model for beekeeping dependence for subsistence

	<b>Binary component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Fractional component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>
Intercept	-0.45	0.849	-1.178***	0.343
Length of beekeeping activity (years)	-0.001	0.019	0.013**	0.004
Honeyhunter (yes)	1.647**	0.605	0.034	0.111
Motivation for beekeeping uptake - income from wax	-2.705***	0.612	-0.052	0.109
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – food	1.653*	0.732	-0.582	0.303
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – medicine	3.642***	0.820	-0.026	0.104
Beekeeping learned from – self-taught	-2.929**	0.998	0.244	0.235
Beekeeping learned from –government training	-1.491	0.974	-0.524***	0.081
Forest area owned	0.043	0.029	0.002	0.001

709 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1

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711 Appendix F. – Estimated parameters of binary logit and fractional components of a two-part  
 712 regression model for beekeeping dependence for income

	<b>Binary component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Fractional component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>
Intercept	-1.674	0.966	-1.264***	0.340
Length of beekeeping activity (years)	0.035	0.021	0.010*	0.005
Distance to forest (minutes walking)	-0.012**	0.004	0.001	0.001
Distance to road (km)	0.129	0.087	0.062*	0.026
Forest area owned (acres)	0.013	0.026	-0.005	0.004
Parental beekeeping (yes)	0.378	0.548	0.097	0.159
External training received (yes)	0.027	1.020	0.013	0.283
Motivation for beekeeping uptake - income from honey	2.204***	0.677	-0.001	0.302
Motivation for beekeeping uptake - income from wax	0.918	0.504	0.183	0.159
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – food	0.281	0.668	-0.288	0.223
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – medicine	-0.277	0.573	-0.394*	0.163
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – tradition	-0.220	0.759	-0.081	0.289
Beekeeping learned from –government training	-1.439	1.290	-0.191	0.311
Member of beekeeping group	2.100**	0.828	0.276	0.190

713 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

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Appendix G. – Table of [1] correlation coefficients (Pearson’s r) for possible continuous predictors of beekeeping success measure (liters of honey harvested in the preceding 12 months) and [2] two-sample t-test of mean values of beekeeping success measure for its possible dichotomous predictors

<b>[1] Continuous predictors</b>	<b>Harvest quantities (r)</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p value</b>
Age	-0.139	-1.620	0.108
Household size (Adult equivalent)	0.019	0.220	0.826
Distance to forest (min walking)	0.019	0.220	0.826
Distance to road (km)	0.191	2.261	0.025
Forested area owned (acres)	0.187	2.216	0.371
Length of stay in community (years)	-0.046	-0.537	0.593
Length of beekeeping activity	0.078	0.897	0.371
Length of beekeeping training received	-0.059	-0.686	0.494
<b>[2] Dichotomous predictors (y/n)</b>	<b>Yes (mean liters harvested)</b>	<b>No (mean liters harvested)</b>	<b>p-value</b>
Household head has no formal education	26.060	46.048	0.494
Household head has secondary and technical school	29.179	26.667	0.902
Honeyhunter	27.710	32.114	0.603
Parental beekeeping	25.529	30.311	0.577
Engaged in livestock keeping	11.960	32.955	0.002
External training received	30.455	23.704	0.444
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from honey	20.000	29.399	0.567
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – income from wax	26.364	30.430	0.617
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – food	19.462	32.969	0.082
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – like being in the forest	29.648	21.667	0.342
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – medicine	29.652	28.044	0.850
Motivation for beekeeping uptake – tradition	30.636	19.737	0.157
Beekeeping learned from – family member	19.325	33.165	0.083
Beekeeping learned from – village member	30.523	23.679	0.399
Beekeeping learned from – self-taught	29.355	26.923	0.792
Beekeeping learned from – government training	30.612	5.125	0.001
Member of beekeeping group	30.879	25.652	0.539
Received modern hives	30.342	18.429	0.197
Requires training in modern hive construction	32.475	26.590	0.596
Requires training in hive placement	28.408	31.294	0.736
Requires training in capturing swarms	30.461	26.646	0.659
Requires training in pest management	22.443	36.105	0.175
Requires training in harvesting process	28.434	29.560	0.926
Requires training in hive inspection	28.496	32.083	0.695
Requires training in colony multiplication	24.942	42.303	0.356
Does not require training	30.574	5.750	0.002
Requires training in forage calendar	32.772	18.889	0.063



Requires training in feeding	29.651	27.071	0.742
Requires training in other processes	31.370	23.054	0.291
Received training in hive placement	29.887	21.846	0.392
Received training in harvesting process	29.946	25.440	0.619
Knowledge in marketing	29.365	26.364	0.762
Knowledge in local hive construction	19.360	31.304	0.220
Knowledge in hive placement	14.353	31.217	0.032
Knowledge in harvesting process	22.429	30.844	0.286
Knowledge in hive inspection	26.320	36.703	0.529
Knowledge in colony multiplication	28.825	32.546	0.783
Knowledge in feeding	29.630	22.700	0.472
Knowledge in pest control	30.025	21.800	0.333
Knowledge in capturing swarms	30.439	22.609	0.307

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718 Appendix H. – Estimated parameters of binary logit and fractional components of a two-part  
 719 regression model for beekeeping success

	<b>Binary component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>Fractional component Estimate</b>	<b>SE</b>
Intercept	-0.546	0.731	-3.715***	0.385
Distance to road (km)	0.189	0.146	0.049	0.042
Forest area owned (acres)	0.039	0.030	0.009**	0.003
Livestock keeping (yes)	0.338	0.505	0.752**	0.267
Beekeeping learned from –government training	-2.081*	1.035	-0.445	0.397
Does not require training	-2.033*	0.966	-0.762	0.554
Knowledge in hive placement (yes)	-0.222	0.704	0.401	0.303
Knowledge in local hive construction (yes)	1.122	0.595	0.033	0.328
External training received (yes)	0.777	0.667	0.007	0.292
Knowledge in colony multiplication (yes)	1.465	1.073	-0.462	0.310

720 \* significance at 5%, \*\* significance at 1%, \*\*\* significance at 0.1%

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722 Appendix I. – Overview of statistical analysis undertaken for each dependent variable

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<b>Dependent variable</b>	<b>Statistical tests</b>	<b>Regression model</b>
Beekeeping adoption (i.e. beekeeper vs non-beekeeper)	Two-sample t-test of the means for possible continuous  Two-sample chi-squared test of the means for possible dichotomous predictors	Binary logit regression
Dependence on beekeeping for subsistence (measured as % of the contribution of beekeeping to individual households' subsistence)	Pearson's r correlation coefficients for possible continuous predictors  Spearman's rho correlation coefficients for possible ordinal predictors  Variation of means of possible categorical predictors  Two-sample t-tests for possible dichotomous predictors	Two-part fractional model
Dependence on beekeeping for income (measured as % of the contribution of beekeeping to individual households' income)	Pearson's r correlation coefficients for possible continuous predictors  Spearman's rho correlation coefficients for possible ordinal predictors  Variation of means of possible categorical predictors  Two-sample t-tests for possible dichotomous predictors	Two-part fractional model
Beekeeping success (measured as liters of honey harvested in the 12 months preceding the study)	Pearson's r correlation coefficients for possible continuous predictors  Two-sample t-test of the mean for possible dichotomous predictors	Two-part fractional model

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979 **Acknowledgements**

980 The authors would like to acknowledge Saida Hussein, Jacqueline Kajembe and Juhudi  
981 Mfaume for their efforts in survey administration and translation of interviews and focus  
982 group discussions. The authors would like to thank Dr Remi d'Annunzio for his support  
983 with the use of the statistics software R. We would also like to express our thanks to  
984 Professor Dos Santos Silayo at the Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation of Sokoine  
985 University of Agriculture, who facilitated administrative and logistical steps for the data  
986 collection in the field. We would further like to thank the District governments of Manyoni,  
987 Kondo and Chemba for allowing us to collect data in the study communities. We sincerely  
988 thank the three anonymous reviewers whose suggestions helped to improve and clarify  
989 this manuscript. Lastly, we would like to extend our gratitude towards the men and women  
990 of Msemembo, Sasilo, Kwa Mtoro and Paranga for their warm welcome and generosity.

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