

Assessing and improving the social impacts of protected areas

Case studies from Kenya and Uganda

Phil Franks, Francesca Booker, Rob Small, Josephine Nzilani,
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Summary

Context

The Social Assessment for Protected and Conserved Areas (SAPA), launched in 2014, responded to a need for a standardised, low-cost and relatively simple approach to assessing social impacts of protected or conserved areas (PCAs). SAPA can help identify positive and negative social impacts of PCAs, understand the underlying causes of problems related to governance and identify actions that could improve the situation. The methodology can also be used to establish a baseline for social impacts and their overall contribution to human wellbeing against which changes can be tracked over time.

SAPA is a multi-stakeholder assessment methodology for use by site-level stakeholders. The methodology is based on a standardised process that can be replicated across PCAs while remaining flexible enough for tailoring to local needs and contexts.

Relevance

To date, SAPA has been used at 23 PCAs in 9 countries in Africa. SAPA uses community meetings, workshops and a household survey to identify and validate social impacts and governance issues related to PCAs. The methodology is also used to plan follow-up actions to help reduce negative social impacts, and to boost positive ones in a more equitable way.

This research report describes the results of SAPA's application in six protected area (PA) sites: Ruma National Park (RNP), Marsabit National Reserve (MNR) and Kisite Marine Park (KMP) in Kenya; and Mgahinga Gorilla National Park (MGNP), Kibale National Park (KNP) and Murchison Falls National Park (MFNP) in Uganda. It also integrates outcome harvesting to assess whether SAPA has made a difference at four of the six sites. More broadly, the report demonstrates how SAPA can help enhance the equity and effectiveness of PCA management and governance.

Key findings

Positive social impacts

Most positive social impacts across the six case studies fall under five main categories:

- 1) Ecosystem service benefits
- 2) PA-related employment
- 3) PA-supported development projects
- 4) Reduced human-wildlife conflict, and
- 5) Improved security

Across all PAs, ecosystem services featured as the top positive social impact. This included regulating services such as increased rainfall, regulation of water supply, better soil quality and improved local micro-climate. Conservation of wildlife for future generations (at KNP) and wildlife sightings (at RNP) were also reported as important. Provisioning ecosystem services of importance included various resources for household use and support of livelihoods.

Lower down the list of social impacts were material benefits provided by PA management. Respondents from Kenya reported few such benefits (school infrastructure; benefits related to tourism; and emergency transport). Ugandan respondents had far more of these benefits, due in part to the long history of community conservation, including tourism revenue sharing.

Two PAs in Kenya (RNP and KMP) and one PA in Uganda (KNP) mentioned the presence of law enforcement as an important benefit (improved security). At MGNP and KNP in Uganda and RNP in Kenya, respondents also mentioned less human-wildlife conflict due to actions by PA management.

Negative social impacts

Most negative social impacts across the six case studies fall under four main categories:

- 1) Human-wildlife conflict
- 2) Reduced access to resources
- 3) Unfair law enforcement, and
- 4) Unfair distribution of benefits

Human-wildlife conflict dominates the negative impacts of all six PAs, including the marine park where monkeys inhabit woodland near the coastline. Across the three PAs in Kenya, human-wildlife conflict concerns included the damage to crops and other property; injury and death of people; and lack of compensation for damage and injury. At RNP in Kenya, this impact also included high infestation of tsetse flies. In Uganda, the main issue at all three parks was crop damage.

Unfair or improper law enforcement appears frequently in SAPA results. At KNP in Uganda, respondents reported being fined for accidentally grazing their livestock in the park. In Kenya, respondents at KMP reported harassment of fisherfolk and boat confiscation on suspicion of illegal fishing as important negative impacts.

Respondents in all six sites, to varying degrees, said that PA-related benefits are unfairly shared. In Kenya, the main concerns were limited employment opportunities and lack of any plan to share tourism revenue. The Ugandan sites had issues with unfair allocation of projects funded by tourism revenue sharing.

In Uganda, permitting harvesting of certain resources from PAs was widely perceived as a positive social impact. But KNP respondents also cited delays in finalising resource use agreements as a negative impact. All three PAs in Kenya reported insufficient access to resources, including water, timber or fish catch.

Overall contribution to wellbeing

At four of the six PAs, at least half of respondents reported the PA contributed positively overall to wellbeing. The exceptions were two sites with high rates of human-wildlife conflict – MGNP in Uganda with buffaloes and RNP in Kenya with tsetse flies.

Initial interpretation suggests that ecosystem service benefits dominate at all sites. Other important factors include benefits from community development and employment.

Governance

SAPA covers four principles of good governance: participation in decision making, transparency and access to information, mitigation of negative impacts and equitable benefit-sharing processes. No site saw much difference between the overall responses for transparency, impact mitigation and benefit-sharing statements. But levels of agreement with participation statements differed from this general pattern at three sites.

At RNP in Kenya, the percentage of agreement with participation statements (44%) is much higher than for other principles. This may be because PA staff regularly meet and discuss PA-related concerns and plans with community members. This is more consultation than true participation but considered good by Kenyan standards. At KNP and MFNP in Uganda, the focus of participation statements was recent management planning processes rather than participation in PA-related decisions more broadly. Because of this narrow focus we cannot conclude that community participation in decision making is generally good or better than at other sites.

Differentiation based on gender and wellbeing status

SAPA can help explore differences in opinions of different social groups. For example, women agreed less often with positive statements about governance at all six PAs. At RNP in Kenya, 53% on average agreed they could share issues and concerns with Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), but more men (61%) than women (46%) agreed. Similarly, at MNR, 48% on average reported human injury and death caused by wild animals as a high negative impact, but more respondents from households with lower wellbeing (61%) than respondents from households with higher wellbeing (48%) reported this. These differences, in turn, can have major implications for PA management and governance.

What difference has SAPA made?

To answer this key question, outcome harvesting was used at the first four sites that completed SAPA: MGNP and KNP in Uganda and RNP and KMP in Kenya. Outcomes are changes in behaviour, relationships, policies, practices or actions caused by stakeholders in their response to the SAPA. In all, 50 different outcomes were harvested with 12–13 from each site.

PA management was the largest category of outcomes influenced by the SAPAs (59% of outcomes). It included actions related to boundary demarcation, education, communication and law enforcement. These actions were led by both PA managers and communities. Although SAPA does not emphasise governance, half of the outcomes included aspects of it, especially increasing “respect for actors”.

Only 12–18 months had elapsed since the assessment so it is not surprising that no conservation outcomes were harvested. However, 34% of outcomes included a social impact element. Most of these were PA-related development activities to mitigate human-wildlife conflict. Few outcomes related to increasing ecosystem service benefits despite requests to extend resource use programmes.

Policy implications

Informing policy development has become increasingly relevant to SAPA for two reasons. First, the UN Post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework includes important developments in global conservation policy, notably in the reference to equity in the theory of change and Target 2 on PCAs. Second, the Sustainable Development Goals clearly pay attention to social inequality and the principle of leaving no one behind.

The expectation that conservation can reduce poverty is rarely realistic. All too often the negative impacts of conservation have contributed to poor rural communities being left behind. But PA managers working with other key actors at site level can reduce and even eliminate negative impacts on these communities and enhance the contribution of conservation to their wellbeing. The results of using SAPA described in this report demonstrates that this is a realistic policy objective.

Evidence is growing that better social outcomes and improvements in the quality of PA governance can deliver better conservation outcomes, but there will be trade-offs. This report shows how SAPA can contribute to the more effective and equitable management of these trade-offs: this is essential to achieve Target 2 of the Global Biodiversity Framework.

1

Introduction

This chapter introduces the methodology used to assess social impacts and governance quality of six protected areas in Uganda and Kenya. It describes the evolution of the approach from the first to second edition. Finally, it provides a brief overview of the entire report.

Overview

This report presents the impact of conservation and development activities on the wellbeing of communities living within and around six protected or conserved areas (PCAs) in Kenya and Uganda. To that end, it uses a revised version of the Social Assessment for Protected and Conserved Areas (SAPA) methodology (Franks, Small and Booker 2018).

Earlier research (Franks and Small 2016) applied the first edition of SAPA at four protected areas (PAs) in Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Gabon. PA managers and other stakeholders (henceforth 'actors'¹) used community meetings, workshops and a household survey to identify and validate social impacts and governance issues related to the PAs. They recommended monitoring and other actions to help reduce negative social impacts, and to extend positive ones in a more equitable way.

¹ In the context of a PCA, stakeholders are individuals and groups with interests and concerns related to the management and governance of the area and any related activities. Rightsholders are individuals and groups with legal or customary rights to resources within or around a PCA. Some contexts distinguish between stakeholders and rightsholders. In other cases, the two are combined, using the term 'actors' to make for easier reading.

Learnings from this research led to refinements in the methodology (see Franks, Small and Booker 2018). SAPA now includes expanded sections on assessing governance quality. It has also extended the 'taking action' phase to increase uptake of ideas for action generated by an assessment. As well, SAPA has been adapted for use at other conserved areas that have not been formally designated as PAs.

This research report presents results and outcomes from six sites² across Uganda and Kenya that have used this second edition of SAPA. Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the approach. Cross-site analyses from case studies are presented in Chapter 3 (Kenya) and Chapter 4 (Uganda). Chapter 5 describes outcome harvesting results from four of the six PCAs, demonstrating how SAPA can be used to enable improvements in social impacts and governance. Finally, through critical reflection of our experience with SAPA, Chapter 6 presents broad learnings from the six SAPAs relevant to conservation practice at the site level, as well as national and international policy goals for improving the effectiveness and equity of PCA management and governance.

²All six sites are state-managed and 'governance by government' (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2013) PAs.

2

The SAPA approach

This chapter provides more context to SAPA. It identifies the weaknesses of earlier methodologies that led to its development, and the different uses for SAPA. It also illustrates the analytical framework for how SAPA can identify different social impacts. It ends with a discussion of its methods and tools.

What is SAPA?

Numerous studies on the social impacts of PAs have appeared since the 1990s (eg Brockington and Igoe 2006; Andam et al. 2010; Blomley 2013; Canavire-Bacarreza and Hanauer 2013; Clements et al. 2014; WWF 2014; Gilmour 2016). Many use complex and costly research methodologies, which are not practical for most PCA managers.

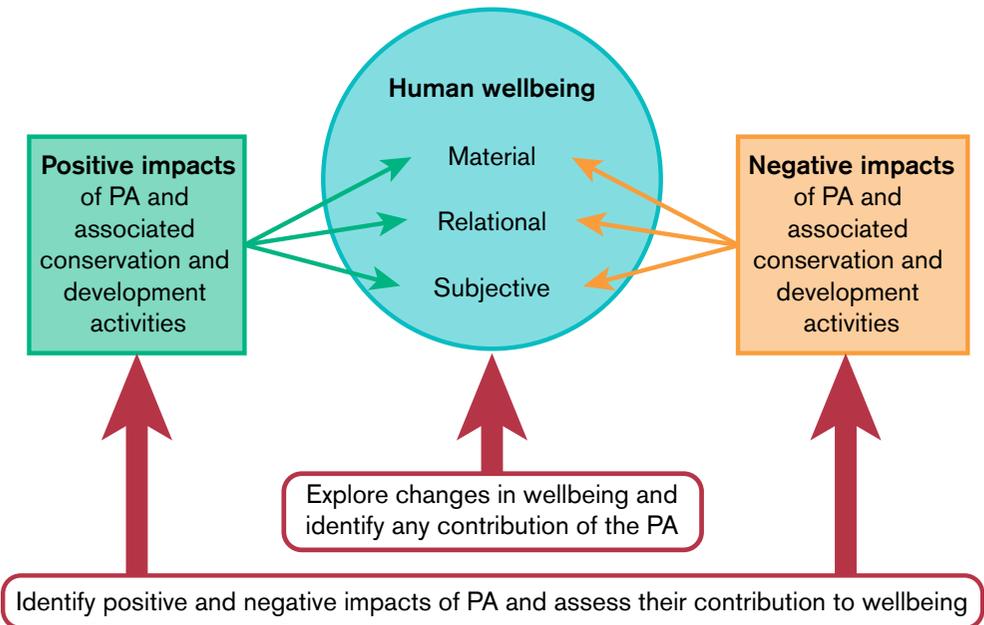
Moreover, the use of different methodologies means that assessments of social impacts can be different for similar PCAs, or even the same one. This makes it difficult for robust comparisons across PCAs. It also makes it challenging to generate political will to address concerns related to these impacts (Schreckenberget al. 2010).

SAPA, launched in 2014, responded to this need for a standardised, low-cost and relatively simple approach to assessing social impacts of PCAs. Rather than determining the actual contributions to wellbeing of a PCA, SAPA identifies ways to reduce negative impacts and increase the positive ones. It also shows how positive impacts can be shared within the community more equitably.

To date, SAPA has been used at 23 PCAs in 9 countries in Africa. It can be used:

- As a health check, to identify positive and negative social impacts that need some attention,
- As a diagnostic, to understand the underlying causes of problems and identify actions that could improve the situation, and
- For monitoring and evaluation, to establish a baseline for social impacts and their overall contribution to human wellbeing against which changes can be tracked over time.

Figure 2.1. SAPA analytical framework: key concepts and their inter-relationship



SAPA uses an analytical framework (Figure 2.1) that describes the three-dimensional way in which wellbeing is conceived, the different types of social impacts and the relationship between these (for more, see McGregor and Sumner 2010). The positive and negative social impacts include those that are wholly attributable to the PCA and/or related conservation and development activities, and those also caused by other factors.³

³SAPA uses a 'reflexive counterfactual' approach, which means the control or counterfactual situation is what respondents believe it to be. This can vary depending on the type of impact, eg what they imagine the situation would be without the PCA or, if the PCA was recently established, the situation before its establishment.

The framework also shows the two complementary ways of assessing social impacts used in SAPA. The first explores how wellbeing has changed over a given period (improved, deteriorated, no change) and the more significant factors that have contributed to this change. The second explores the main positive and negative impacts of the PCA on wellbeing and their significance over the same period.

SAPA uses a set of standard assessment questions directly related to social impacts and governance quality (Box 2.1). It also includes a process of developing site-specific questions that respond to specific information needs of actors. This combination of standard questions and site-specific questions enables comparison and aggregation across sites, as well as tailoring of the assessment to the needs of a specific site.

Box 2.1. SAPA standard assessment questions

Social impact

1. What is the overall contribution to human wellbeing of the PCA and related conservation and development activities?
2. What are the more significant negative impacts of the PCA and related conservation and development activities?
3. What are the more significant positive impacts of the PCA and related conservation and development activities?

Governance

4. **Rights:** To what extent are any PCA-related rights of local women and men recognised and respected?
5. **Participation:** To what extent are local women and men able to participate in PCA-related decision making?
6. **Transparency:** To what extent do local women and men have timely access to relevant information?
7. **Mitigation of negative impacts:** To what extent are there effective measures to mitigate negative impacts on local women and men?
8. **Benefit sharing:** To what extent are PCA-related benefits equitably shared within and between local communities?

The inclusion of a governance and equity assessment in the second edition of SAPA strengthens the results and action planning processes. Governance is distinct from management and pays attention to who defines objectives and how. It also looks at allocation of responsibility and accountability for delivering on these objectives. Governance quality measures how well a PCA performs in terms of good governance principles (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2013). In the context of conservation, equity principles are of three main types – recognition, procedure and distribution (Pascual et al. 2014). These principles are considered a subset of good governance (Franks, Small and Booker 2018).

As another important strength, SAPA can distinguish between how a positive or negative impact differs among people according to various factors. These include food security, ethnicity, age, gender and their residential proximity to the PCA. This is important because an overall positive impression of the social impacts of conservation often hides serious inequities in their distribution. Negative impacts tend to fall on poorer people, particularly women. Meanwhile, benefits tend to go to the less poor, particularly men, who often have more influence on decision making.

Methods and tools

SAPA uses a classic mixed methods approach that combines different tools to gather information, assess results and generate ideas for action in response to the results. Table 2.1 shows a timeline for the 19 activities of SAPA spread over five phases, along with corresponding outputs.

The methods are all linked to a stakeholder analysis designed to ensure that all key actors are engaged effectively in the assessment. This process ranges from design and analysis to interpretation of results and actions that can improve the situation.

The multi-stakeholder nature of the process increases the accuracy and credibility of results. It enhances transparency and ownership of the assessment. And it builds support for action and accountability for implementation.

But the resistance of key actors can compromise the effectiveness of SAPA. Care and sensitivity are needed to manage the process and develop a sense of shared problem-solving, while avoiding conflict. More details about the methodology, the analytical framework, research design and process can be found in the SAPA manual (Franks, Small and Booker 2018).

SAPA uses descriptive analysis (frequencies and cross tabulations) rather than statistical analysis. This reflects the typical capacity and resource constraints among PCA actors. It thus takes a cautious approach to identify and draw conclusions about differences in opinion according to gender, wellbeing and other key social characteristics.

Table 2.1. SAPA process, timeframe and outputs

Phases and main activities		Timeframe	Outputs
PHASE I – PREPARING			
1.1	Feasibility check	Week 1	» Decision to go ahead or not
1.2	Planning the assessment	Week 1	» Assessment plan
1.3	Community mapping	Weeks 2-3	» Community map
1.4	Reviewing existing information	Weeks 2-3	» Site profile
1.5	Doing stakeholder analysis	Week 4	» Stakeholder analysis
1.6	Facilitation team selection and training	Week 4	» Facilitation team trained
PHASE II – SCOPING			
2.1	First community meetings	Week 5	» Priority impacts identified
2.2	First stakeholder workshop	Week 6	» Site-specific assessment questions
PHASE III – INFORMATION GATHERING			
3.1	Planning information gathering and sampling	Week 6	» Information gathering and sampling plan
3.2	Developing the household survey questionnaire	Week 7	» Draft questionnaire
3.3	Enumerator training	Week 7	» Trained enumerators
3.4	Conducting the household survey	Weeks 8-9	» Survey data in Excel spreadsheet
3.5	Analysing household survey data	Week 10	» Survey results in PowerPoint
PHASE IV – ASSESSING			
4.1	Second community meetings	Week 11	» Social impacts and related governance challenges clarified and validated
4.2	Second stakeholder workshop	Week 12	» Practical ideas for action
PHASE V – TAKING ACTION			
5.1	Communicating results	Months 4–12	» Results report shared with assessment participants and other key actors
5.2	Action planning	Months 4-15	» Social impact action plan (optional) » Results presented at planning meetings of key actors
5.3	Monitoring progress	Months 4-onwards	» Monitoring and learning systems of key actors strengthened
5.4	Progress review workshop	Months 9-15	» Progress report shared with assessment participants and other key actors

3

SAPA results from Kenya

This chapter presents results from the three SAPAs at PAs in Kenya. Drawing on the results of household surveys, it identifies positive and negative social impacts. Subsequently, it looks at governance quality related to these social impacts. Finally, it assesses the overall impact of the PAs on wellbeing.

Overview

The three SAPAs in Kenya took place between September 2018 and March 2020 at state-managed PAs. They were facilitated by Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), FFI and IIED. Kenya Forest Service (KFS), Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Mkwiro Beach Management Unit, community representatives from sub-locations⁴ adjacent to these PAs and a boat operating company also facilitated the assessments.

The three PAs each have distinct ecosystems, livelihood activities and governance challenges.

- Ruma National Park (RNP), formerly Lambwe Valley Game Reserve, was established in 1983 as a refuge for the last remaining population of the Roan Antelope in Kenya. The RNP covers 120 km² and is bordered by villages growing maize and grazing livestock.
- Marsabit National Reserve (MNR), established in 1948, covers an area of 157.8 km². Many pastoral and farming communities live within and around its borders.

⁴A sub-location is a type of administrative region in Kenya consisting of many villages.

- Kisite Marine Park (KMP), established in 1973, lies adjacent to the Mpunguti Reserve. KMP, which covers 28 km², is a 'no take zone', prohibiting harvesting of resources from within its boundaries. But Mpunguti Reserve permits sustainable fishing.

The assessments used random sampling for RNP and KMP, and purposive sampling in the larger and more sparsely populated area around MNR. The surveys involved 303 households in 6 sub-locations around RNP; 303 households in 5 sub-locations around KMP; and 324 households in 7 sub-locations at MNR.

Figure 3.1. Map of the three PAs in Kenya



Source: IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2021

Each assessment ended with a one-day planning workshop. This workshop reviewed ideas for action, prioritised key actions and developed a workplan for each of these actions. Six months later, participants reviewed progress at another workshop.

The results in this chapter are based on responses to household surveys. They pay attention to differences in responses from men and women, respondents who regularly and rarely skipped meals (as a proxy for food insecurity and thereby wellbeing) and how close respondents lived to the PA. In Figures 3.2 and 3.3, social impacts are colour-coded using a slightly modified version of the typology developed for a previous report of SAPA results (Franks and Small 2016).

Positive social impacts

This section identifies positive social impacts in the areas of community development, ecosystem services and security (see Figure 3.2).

Community development

Around many PAs in Kenya, KWS administers a variety of community development projects that address social needs such as education, healthcare, transport and employment.

Around KMP, SAPA identified positive impacts of projects that helped build schools, provide education programmes (including training on swimming and rescue skills) and offer transport in emergencies. But access to these projects often depended on regular interactions with KWS and available budgets. For example, sub-locations closer to the park headquarters or KWS offices were most often populated by project recipients. Therefore, they reported them as key positive social impacts.⁵

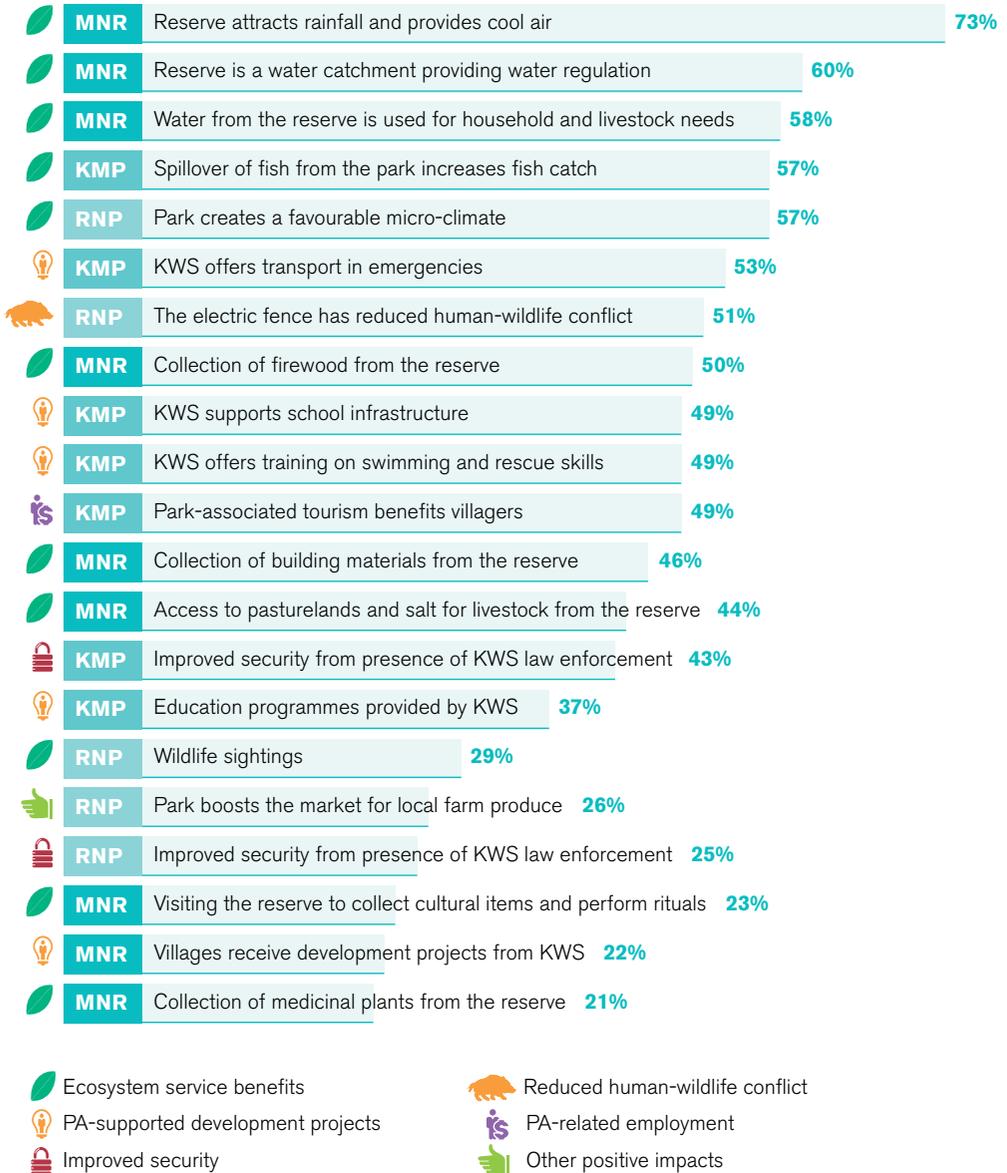
While similar initiatives at MNR and RNP had positive impacts, fewer respondents reported them as of high importance. Around MNR, 22% of respondents noted community development projects had a positive impact. At RNP, only 16% reported KWS-provided transport during emergencies as a positive social impact.

At KMP, 49% of respondents considered benefits from tourism-related jobs associated with the park to be important. But 44% also reported “inadequate employment” as a negative social impact. Similarly, at RNP, the construction of an electric fence to reduce human-wildlife conflict was an important positive social impact. But in some sub-locations, wild pigs, monkeys and baboons continued to enter fields and destroy crops, which negatively impacted wellbeing (see Figure 3.3).

⁵ Overall, at KMP, those living closer to the headquarters and park considered all benefits from the PA to have a higher impact on their wellbeing.

Another key impact at RNP was the provision of markets for local farm produce: 35% of men and 18% of women reported this as an impact of high importance.

Figure 3.2. Positive social impacts reported as of high importance to household wellbeing at the three PAs (percentage)



Ecosystem services

Around MNR, many residents visit the reserve to collect food, firewood, medicinal plants, building materials, salt, cultural items, gum and resin for household use, and water for household use and livestock, and to access pasturelands and ritual sites. Both men and women reported these ecosystem services as important positive impacts. On average, respondents from households with lower wellbeing were more likely to highlight these provisioning ecosystem services as important social impacts.

Similarly, around KMP, 57% considered the park to provide an important provisioning service. They considered the park to be a breeding ground for fish, which enabled better catch for fisherfolk (ie spillover effects).

Many respondents from MNR and RNP also reported regulating ecosystem services as important. At MNR, respondents cited a positive impact from the regulation of water, rainfall and “cool air” or climate moderation. But few respondents (16%) from the sub-location farthest from the reserve agreed they benefited from the regulation of water.

Around RNP, 57% of respondents perceived the park had created a favourable micro-climate for crop production, mainly by associating the park with good rainfall distribution. This positive social impact was reported by 63% of men and 52% of women. In addition, 29% of respondents mentioned wildlife sightings as an important benefit, while 59% of respondents from the sub-location nearest the park boundary cited it as an important impact.

Security

Respondents at RNP and KMP noted improved security from the presence of law enforcement staff as a positive social impact. Nearly half (43% of respondents, 48% of whom were from the two sub-locations nearest the park boundaries), rated this as an impact of high importance. Similarly, 25% of all respondents at RNP considered this to be an important impact; of those, 53% lived in the sub-location nearest the park border.

Negative social impacts

This section describes negative social impacts in terms of benefit sharing, law enforcement, insecurity and conflict, human-wildlife conflict, access to resources and health (see Figure 3.3).

Benefit sharing

Across all three parks there is concern over what is seen as uneven/unfair distribution of benefits controlled by KWS and local governments. KWS does not share income generated by parks with local residents. At KMP, more than half (52%) of respondents

considered this lack of benefit sharing to have a high negative impact on their wellbeing. This was reported by 60% of men and 43% of women, with some suggesting KWS should share 10% of park income.

At RNP, 65% of respondents cited a lack of support from KWS for community development projects as highly impacting their wellbeing. In particular, 48% were seeking projects that enabled access to water. Overall, 73% of respondents with lower wellbeing highlighted the lack of such projects as having a high negative impact on their wellbeing. In 2018, KWS helped establish a primary school in one of the sub-locations surveyed. This resulted in fewer respondents overall (37%) reporting this as a key negative impact.

At RNP and KMP, 66% and 44% of respondents, respectively, reported inadequate prospects for permanent employment. Residents around both PAs looked to KWS for such opportunities, but because of national recruitment procedures most KWS employees were from other parts of Kenya. At RNP, 71% of respondents with lower wellbeing noted lack of job prospects as a high negative impact; 59% with higher wellbeing said the same thing.

At both parks, the question of job prospects was more prevalent among male respondents. At RNP, 72% of men and 61% of women reported concern about low job prospects. At KMP, the ratio was 52% of men and 35% of women.

Law enforcement

At KMP, law enforcement was reported as a significant negative impact. In all, 60% of respondents reported harassment of fisherfolk by KWS law enforcement staff as a negative impact. Even more (68%) said the same about confiscation of fishing boats on suspicion of illegal activities. Both men (68%) and women (51%) reported these as key negative impacts. Similarly, 72% of men cited the impounding of fishing boats as having a high negative impact on their wellbeing, with 63% of women reporting the same. Of the 41% of respondents who reported minimal consultation about the location of park boundaries as a high negative impact, 48% were men and 33% were women.

Insecurity and conflict

Ethnic clashes often occur around MNR. Insecurity from armed groups travelling through the forest to avoid detection by law enforcement staff was a related negative impact. This insecurity and fear of violence was reported by 68% of respondents as negatively affecting their wellbeing. In addition, 37% of respondents reported tenurial land conflicts between people living around the reserve as a negative impact. These conflicts were described as an impact of high importance by 49% of respondents with lower wellbeing and 38% of those with higher wellbeing.

Human-wildlife conflict

Respondents at all PAs reported human-wildlife conflict with three types of negative impacts: damage to crops, infrastructure and property, and injuring domestic animals; injury to people; and lack of compensation for damage and injury from KWS.

At KMP, 68% of respondents noted a high impact from monkeys, baboons and wild pigs, with 74% reporting crop damage in the previous year. The presence of these wild animals is not directly linked to the park. However, 47% of respondents (57% of men and 35% of women) considered KWS responsible to prevent or respond to these issues. They said a lack of response from KWS negatively impacted their wellbeing.

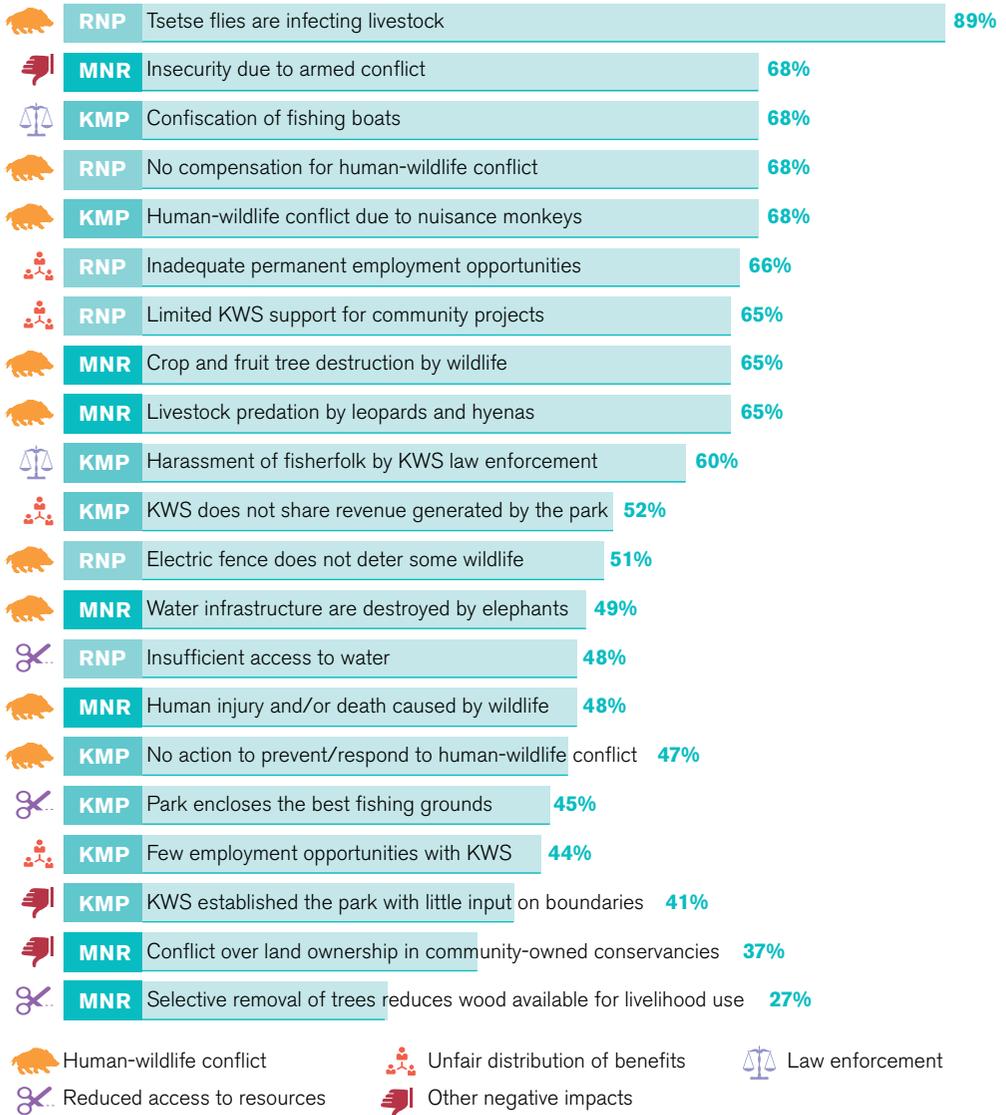
Similarly, at RNP, 59% of men and 44% of women reported that crop damage highly impacted their wellbeing. KWS installed an electric fence to mitigate this issue, but monkeys, baboons or wild pigs continued to destroy crops. In some of the sub-locations, respondents said that elephants, buffaloes and duikers also damaged crops. More than two-thirds (75% of men and 62% of women) considered lack of compensation for these damages to be an important negative impact.

At MNR, respondents noted several important negative impacts from wildlife. These included livestock predation, destruction of water infrastructure, raiding of crops and fruit trees, and human injury and death by wildlife (see Figure 3.2). Damage to crops and fruit trees was considered a key impact for respondents with varying levels of wellbeing. The other negative impacts were most often reported as important by respondents with lower wellbeing. For example, human injury and death caused by wild animals was a high impact for 61% of respondents with lower wellbeing and for 48% with higher wellbeing.

Access to resources

Another key impact that affected respondents at the three PAs was reduced resource access. At KMP, 45% of respondents reported the best fishing grounds were enclosed within the park, which is a 'no take zone', and that this had a high negative impact on their households. Just over half (52%) of respondents lived in the two sub-locations closest to the park borders. At RNP, 48% stated that living by the park meant insufficient access to water, which highly impacted their wellbeing. This is mainly because fencing of the park cut off people's access to water sources inside RNP. KWS also provides water to ranger outposts, but these sources of water are inaccessible to residents of the area. Around MNR, 27% said the selective removal of tree species reduced the availability of wood for various uses. These included producing charcoal and biomass, and building spears, walking sticks and tradeable wood carvings, as well as shelters for livestock.

Figure 3.3. Negative social impacts reported as of high importance to household wellbeing at the three PAs (percentage)



Health

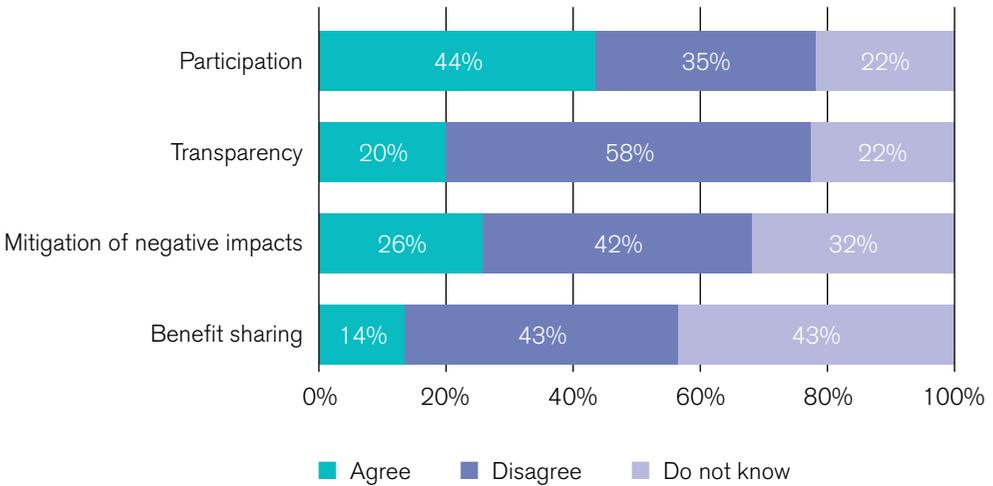
A key negative social impact unique to RNP was the health impact of tsetse flies on livestock. This was the most prominent social impact, with 89% of respondents reporting it as highly important. Almost all men (95%), who often oversee cattle, highlighted this issue (as did 85% of women). In Figure 3.3, this impact is considered a human-wildlife conflict issue because tsetse flies thrive on wildlife within RNP. They have been largely eradicated in most parts of Kenya that have little to no wildlife.

Governance quality

This section covers governance issues related to social impacts at the three PAs. The survey asked respondents if they agree, disagree, do not know or would rather not say about several governance issues. This included site-specific governance quality related to participation in decision making, transparency and access to information, mitigation of negative impacts and equitable benefit-sharing processes.⁶ The survey typically includes site-specific statements on recognition and respect for rights. But as respondents did not possess any resource rights, no such statements were included.

Ruma National Park

Figure 3.4. Responses to statements about governance quality at RNP (percentage)



Participation

At RNP, 44% of survey respondents agreed there were avenues to participate in decision making. For example, they agreed they could share issues and concerns about the PA with KWS (53%), and that traditional leaders helped to share these concerns (56%). Men (64%) were more likely to agree with these statements than women (48%).

Many respondents with lower wellbeing (61%) agreed they could share their concerns with KWS. But 57% of all respondents disagreed that KWS consults their communities on how to tackle tsetse flies. On this issue, respondents with lower wellbeing (67%) were more likely to disagree than those with higher wellbeing (48%).

⁶ The option "rather not say" was added at a later stage and therefore not included in surveys at RNP.

Transparency

Many respondents (58%) disagreed with statements about transparency, including that KWS shares information on how people can receive compensation for human injury or death, and livestock predation. Just over half (54%) also disagreed that KWS holds regular village meetings to discuss RNP-related issues, while 34% disagreed that women are invited to attend meetings about RNP. For the latter two statements, men (37%) tended to agree more than women (22%).

Additionally, 61% of respondents with lower wellbeing disagreed that KWS holds regular village meetings. As well, 61% of all respondents disagreed that KWS shares information on measures used to eradicate tsetse flies (71% with lower wellbeing and 52% with higher wellbeing).

Mitigation of negative impacts

With respect to mitigation of negative impacts, 62% of respondents disagreed that KWS has a transparent information-gathering system on compensation for incidences of human-wildlife conflict. But 41% agreed that KWS responds quickly to incidences of predation, with 35% disagreeing and 25% reporting they did not know. Of those that disagreed with this statement, 51% were respondents with lower wellbeing. Respondents from sub-locations that reported human-wildlife conflict as a key negative impact were also less likely to agree with this statement.

Benefit sharing

Overall, 14% of respondents considered benefits from the park to be equitably shared. Still, 58% disagreed that community development projects run by KWS are distributed fairly between villages. Men (65%) disagreed with the statement more than women (53%).

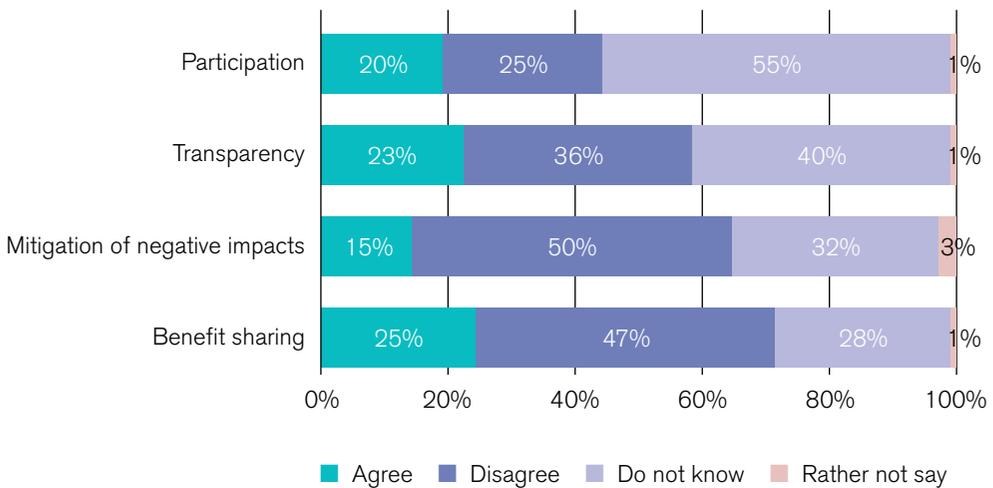
Additionally, 48% disagreed that both men and women can access casual employment opportunities provided by KWS. Residents of sub-locations closer to park headquarters were more likely to disagree with the statement, and men more likely to agree than women. These differences are likely linked to the expectations of men and women regarding employment opportunities provided by KWS.

Kisite Marine Park

Participation

At KMP, most respondents said they “did not know” about the quality of participation in decision making. For example, 63% did not know if issues raised by the Beach Management Unit (BMU)⁷ on their behalf were considered during previous reviews of the park management plan. Relatedly, 53% did not know if there were women leaders on the committee. Most often, women and those with lower wellbeing responded “do not know”. This suggests a problem with sharing information about how women can participate in decision-making processes.

Figure 3.5. Responses to statements about governance quality at KMP (percentage)



Transparency

Many also responded “do not know” to statements about transparency and access to information. Across these statements, 47% of women and 33% of men surveyed responded “do not know”; 29% of respondents with higher wellbeing and 18% with lower wellbeing agreed with these statements. Overall, 42% disagreed that KWS shares information with villagers about park boundaries (54% of men and 31% of women). In the sub-location closest to the park headquarters, 42% agreed that KWS holds meetings biannually to discuss residents’ concerns. However, in other sub-locations, respondents were more likely to disagree and report not knowing about such meetings.

⁷ BMU are community-based organisations with a legal mandate to develop by-laws and plans to enable sustainable co-management of fish stocks and the coast by the government and coastal residents. They are led by the Fisheries Department, under the Ministry of Fisheries.

Mitigation of negative impacts

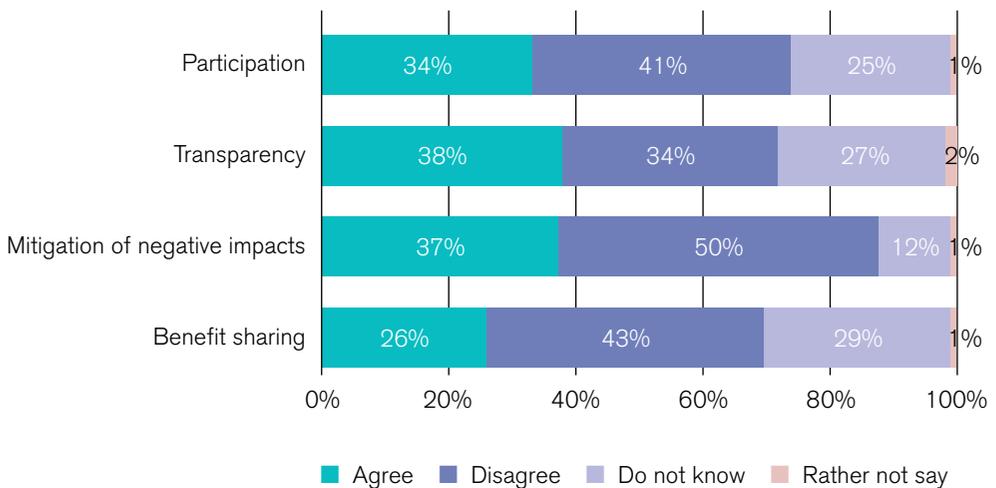
More than half of respondents (60%) disagreed that KMP managers collect information on damages to crops or property by monkeys. In addition, 54% disagreed that KWS responds in a timely manner to reports of human death or injury caused by wildlife (eg crocodiles, snakes). More men (60%) than women (47%) disagreed with the latter statement, as did 62% of those with lower wellbeing and 49% with higher wellbeing. But fewer respondents (36%) from the sub-location closest to the park headquarters disagreed. On average, women were twice as likely to respond “do not know” to both these statements than men.

Benefit sharing

Less than half (47%) of respondents disagreed with statements on equitable benefit sharing. For example, 54% disagreed that KWS distributed development projects fairly between villages around the PA. Similar to other governance statements, respondents from the sub-location closest to park headquarters were less likely to disagree (38%) with this statement. Additionally, men (61%) were more likely to disagree than women (47%). Respondents with higher wellbeing (22%) were more likely to agree than those with lower wellbeing (11%).

Marsabit National Reserve

Figure 3.6. Responses to statements about governance quality at MNR (percentage)



Participation

At MNR, a key issue in the area is the building of an electric fence around the reserve. Just under half (46%) disagreed that residents had a voice in decision making related to the fence. In addition, 49% of respondents with higher wellbeing and 30% with lower wellbeing disagreed with this statement.

For two of the four statements on participation, more respondents agreed than disagreed. In all, 46% of respondents agreed that people have the right to compensation if they experience injury or death caused by wildlife. And 39% agreed they find it easy to share concerns about MNR with KWS. While responses varied between sub-locations, 55% of all respondents with lower wellbeing agreed with these two statements.

Transparency

More than half (60%) of respondents agreed that people living around the reserve share information with KWS and KFS about incidences of illegal activities in the PA. But respondents largely disagreed with all other transparency statements. For example, 42% disagreed that KWS and KFS share information with them about reserve boundaries and 41% disagreed that information about fencing of the reserve is shared with them. In addition, 47% of respondents with higher wellbeing and 30% of those with lower wellbeing disagreed with these statements, with many women responding they did not know.

Mitigation of negative impacts

Half of all respondents disagreed with statements about mitigation of negative impacts. For example, 56% disagreed that KWS responds in a timely manner to reports about human-wildlife conflict. But 40% of men and 29% of women agreed with this statement.

Similarly, 54% disagreed the electric fence (operational in some areas) is effective at reducing crop and property damage by elephants. But 42% of those with lower wellbeing and 29% with higher wellbeing agreed with this statement.

Under half (45%) of all respondents agreed that KWS collects information on incidences of livestock or crop damage and human injury or death caused by wildlife. More respondents with lower wellbeing (58%) agreed with this statement than those with higher wellbeing (38%).

Benefit sharing

Overall, respondents tended to disagree with statements about benefit sharing (see Figure 3.6). For example, 46% disagreed that KWS and KFS fairly distribute community development projects between villages around MNR. In addition, 43% disagreed that project benefits are shared equitably within their village. Meanwhile, 42% disagreed that KWS and KFS consult villages about their needs before providing opportunities for development projects. On average, 53% of respondents with higher wellbeing and 33% with lower wellbeing disagreed with these statements.

Overall impact on wellbeing

During all three SAPAs, survey respondents were asked about the overall impact of the PA on their wellbeing. This question featured after questions about the social impacts of the PA. It had five possible responses: the overall impact of the PA could have increased, slightly increased, neither increased nor decreased, slightly reduced or reduced the wellbeing of the respondent's household.

Kisite Marine Park

Half of survey respondents reported an increase in their household's wellbeing. Meanwhile, 13% stated the park reduced their household's wellbeing. Of the 37% who said the park had no impact on their wellbeing, 67% were from the sub-location farthest from KMP. More than half (56%) of respondents from households with higher wellbeing and 40% with lower wellbeing reported the overall impact of the park had increased their wellbeing.

Ruma National Park

Under half (43%) of respondents stated the park had no impact on the wellbeing of their household. Meanwhile, 23% said it increased their wellbeing and 34% said it reduced their wellbeing. Under half (48%) of women stated the park had no impact, while 40% of men noted a reduction in household wellbeing.

Additionally, 44% of respondents from households with lower wellbeing and 20% with higher wellbeing stated that RNP reduced their wellbeing. Relatedly, 32% from households with higher wellbeing and 20% with lower wellbeing noted the park increased their wellbeing. Overall, reports of a reduction in wellbeing are likely linked to impacts from human-wildlife conflict and the lack of development projects around RNP.

Marsabit National Reserve

Nearly two-thirds (64%) of respondents reported the reserve increased their household's wellbeing. Meanwhile, 34% noted no impact and 2% reported a reduction in their overall wellbeing. Men and women provided similar responses. But 78% of respondents from households with lower wellbeing stated that MNR increased their wellbeing, while 3% reported a reduction in their household's wellbeing.

Under half (46%) of those with higher wellbeing stated the reserve had no impact on their overall wellbeing. Responses also varied across the seven sub-locations. Most (87%) of respondents from three of the sub-locations claimed the PA increased their wellbeing, 49% from another three sub-locations reported no impact on wellbeing and 11% from one of the sub-locations noted a reduction in their overall wellbeing.

4

SAPA results from Uganda

This chapter presents results from the three SAPAs at PAs in Uganda. Drawing on the results of household surveys, it identifies positive and negative social impacts. Subsequently, it looks at governance quality related to these social impacts. Finally, it assesses the overall impact of the PAs on wellbeing.

Overview

Three SAPAs took place in Uganda between October 2018 and February 2020. Across all three sites, FFI provided technical and financial support.

The assessment at Mgahinga Gorilla National Park (MGNP) was organised by the International Gorilla Conservation Programme in collaboration with Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) and Kisoro District local government.

At Kibale National Park (KNP), the organisers were UWA and staff of the district local governments of Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Kamwenge and Kasese.

At Murchison Falls National Park (MFNP), the organisers were UWA, the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) BIRUDO and staff of the district governments of Pakwaki, Nwoya, Oyam, Kiryandongo, Masindi and Buliisa.

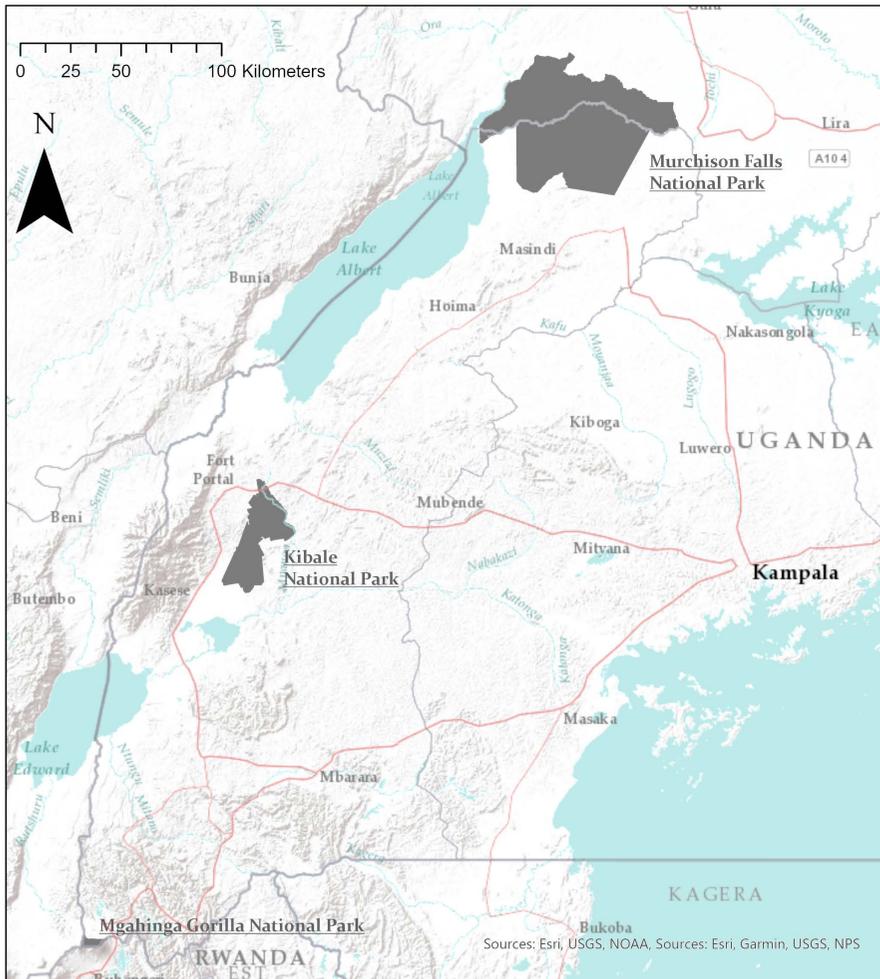
The three PAs in Uganda are all different. MGNP, the smallest PA in the country (32 km²), is on the northern slopes of the Virunga Volcanoes in the most densely populated part of Uganda. KNP is a natural forest surrounded by farmland with a moderate population density. MFNP, the largest PA at 3893 km², is largely savannah woodlands, surrounded

by relatively lower population densities of farmers to the south and pastoralists to the north east.

The MGNP survey had a sample size of 329 households from the three parishes that border the park. At KNP, 320 households were surveyed from a random sample of 40 parishes bordering the park. Similarly, at MFNP 429 households were surveyed from 40 randomly selected parishes.

The assessment at each site ended with a one-day planning workshop that reviewed ideas for action, prioritised key actions and developed a workplan for each of these actions. In Uganda, the workshops had representatives from each of the main groups of actors. Six months after the planning workshop, a progress review workshop was held.

Figure 4.1. Map of the three PAs in Uganda



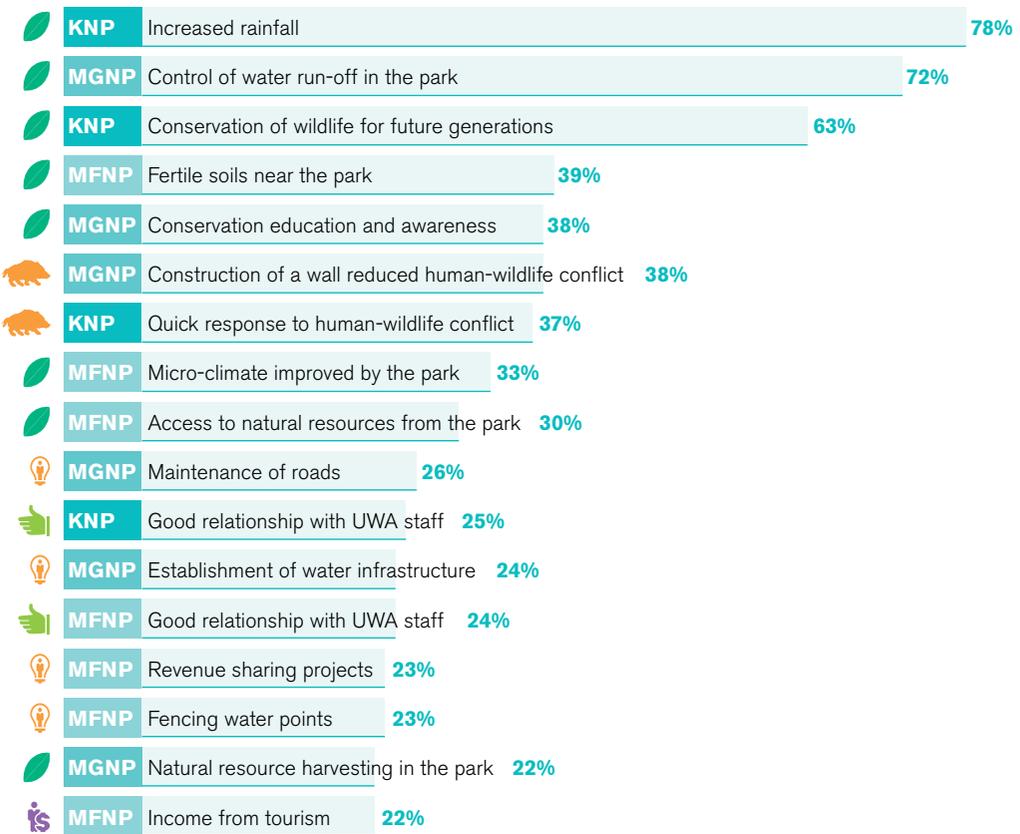
Source: IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2021

The social impact and governance results in the following sections are based on responses to the household survey at each site. Each result has a disaggregated analysis that enables differences by gender and household wellbeing (using household food insecurity as a proxy) and respondents' residential proximity to the PA. In Figures 4.2 and 4.3, social impacts are colour-coded using a slightly modified version of the typology developed for a previous report of SAPA results (Franks and Small 2016).

Positive social impacts

This section presents positive social impacts in the areas of ecosystem services, community development and reduced human-wildlife conflict (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. Positive social impacts reported as of high importance to household wellbeing at the three PAs (percentage)



Leaf Ecosystem service benefits

Lightbulb PA-supported development projects

Hand Other positive impacts

Antelope Reduced human-wildlife conflict

Person PA-related employment

Ecosystem services

The top positive social impacts across all three PAs are ecosystem service benefits being conserved by the parks.

Communities around KNP had the highest proportion of respondents that identified increased rainfall (which enables more productive farming) as an important benefit. At MFNP, “improved climate” includes increased rainfall. This was rated higher in the communities more dependent on crop production and intensive livestock farming than other areas.

MGNP, on the other hand, usually has high rainfall. Its problems relate to heavy rain on the steep slopes of the mountain that causes life-threatening landslides. In 1992, people farming on the highest and steepest slopes were relocated. Natural vegetation has regenerated in the strip of land that they vacated so landslides are now rare. This benefit of the park got a lower rating from respondents with higher wellbeing (62%) than those with lower wellbeing (82%). The latter likely live in less robust housing and are thus more vulnerable to landslides.

The benefit “fertile soils near the park” at MFNP might seem odd. In the SAPA process, the second community meetings provided an opportunity to clarify this impact statement. It revealed less intensive land use near the park because of crop-raiding by wildlife, which led to less soil degradation. Significantly more respondents with lower wellbeing considered this benefit to be important. This might be because they had no access to other fertile land and were therefore more willing to take risks related to farming close to the park.

At KNP, more than 60% of respondents rated conservation of wildlife for future generations as important (67% of men and 59% of women). Other SAPAs have also noted this benefit (eg Franks and Small 2016).

Community development

PA managers and other key actors have introduced measures expected to contribute to PA conservation. Most significantly, these aim to reduce the negative social impacts of human-wildlife conflict. The second most important intervention is infrastructure development at MGNP (roads and water supply). Third, 10% of tourism revenue⁸ collected by UWA supports local development projects proposed by local communities. SAPA clearly shows these schemes are considered important in terms of social impact, particularly at MFNP and MGNP. Finally, the parks employ local people, and tourism creates employment and other benefits. In contrast to employment by UWA, tourism jobs are centred around relatively few places. In KNP, tourism creates, on average, 12% of jobs. This figure represents 28% in Kabarole district; 13% in Kamwenge district; and 2% in each of the other two districts.

⁸ Plus an extra supplement of 10% of gorilla tracking fees at MGNP.

Reduced human-wildlife conflict

Across all three PAs, human-wildlife conflict was a notably high negative social impact (see Figure 4.3). However, at MGNP and KNP, UWA efforts to reduce conflict were reported as positive impacts of high importance. At MGNP, 38% considered reduced human-wildlife conflict due to the presence of a stone wall to be an important benefit. The same number of respondents at KNP reported quick response time to incidences of human-wildlife conflict as a key benefit.

Negative social impacts

This section draws on results from the three sites to identify negative social impacts related to human-wildlife conflict, access to resources and benefit sharing (see Figure 4.3).

Human-wildlife conflict

Impacts related to human-wildlife conflict issues were rated highly at all three PAs. Many respondents were also frustrated over lack of compensation for incidences of human-wildlife conflict. At KNP, this negative impact was rated higher by men than women. At MFNP, this frustration was especially evident among respondents with lower wellbeing (33%) compared to respondents with higher wellbeing (17%).

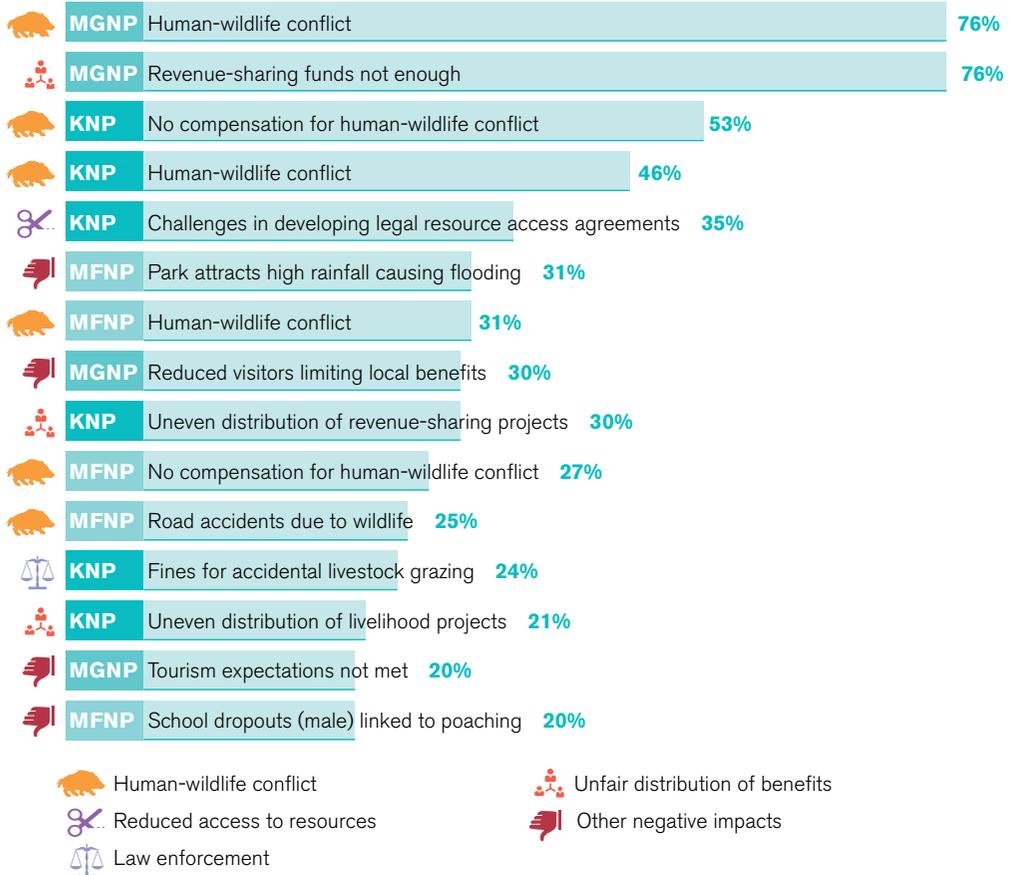
Respondents with lower wellbeing were also concerned about issues of wildlife-related road accidents at MFNP. Just before the assessment two buses had hit elephants. Recent incidents of heavy rainfall causing serious flooding may also explain the prominence of this issue.

The percentage of people considering human-wildlife conflict important was highest at MGNP, which has a long-standing problem of buffaloes raiding nearby farms at night. Farming is intensive with small fields; a few buffaloes can devastate many farmers' crops in one night. In the 1990s, a stone wall was constructed to prevent intrusion, but it needs frequent repair as buffaloes knock it down. Repairs have been inconsistent so the problem persists.

Access to resources

All Ugandan parks allow limited harvesting of specific non-timber forest products. At MFNP, the harvesting programme is considered an important positive impact. But at KNP the pilot harvesting programme is limited to a few communities. Other interested communities are keen to develop a formal agreement with UWA. They believe the process has stagnated, leading to frustration expressed as a negative impact. In effect, these communities view the stalled process as an opportunity cost in relation to the access that other communities enjoy. This negative impact was rated higher by men than women.

Figure 4.3. Negative social impacts reported as of high importance to household wellbeing at the three PAs (percentage)



Benefit sharing

Across all three parks there is concern over what is seen as unfair distribution of benefits controlled by UWA and local governments. This includes the allocation of employment opportunities and the distribution of development projects funded by the revenue-sharing scheme. At MFNP, this is more pronounced in Masindi and Buliisa districts than in Kirandongo. At KNP such concerns appear more pronounced in Kabarole and Kamwenge districts. Mapping households that expressed concern over these issues could reveal more about spatial bias in the distribution of benefits as demonstrated by a SAPA at OI Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya (see Franks and Small 2016, page 63).

At MGNP, 35% of men and 25% of women attached high importance to recent declines in benefits from tourism. At MFNP there is concern that many boys drop out of school to hunt within the park. This is especially the case in Masindi and Buliisa districts, which have a strong culture of hunting and where little wildlife remains outside the park.

Governance quality

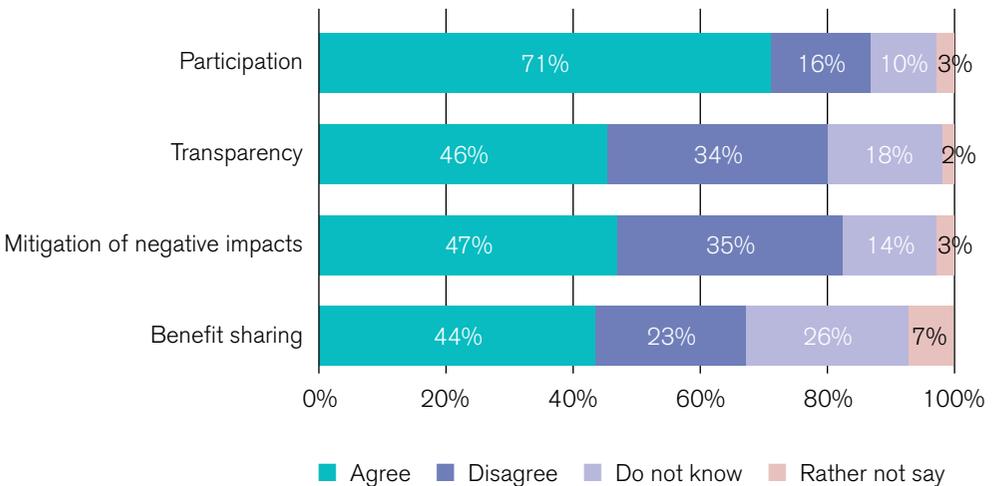
This section covers governance issues related to social impacts. Respondents were asked if they agree, disagree, do not know or would rather not say about site-specific governance quality related to participation in decision making, transparency and access to information, mitigation of negative impacts and equitable benefit-sharing processes.⁹ The survey typically includes site-specific statements on recognition and respect for rights. But as respondents did not possess any resource rights, no such statements were included.

Murchison Falls National Park

Participation

Overall, there was a high level of agreement. Most respondents (83%) agreed there is good communication about general management planning (GMP) between the local council leader and sub-county employees, and the people they represent. In addition, 60% agreed that community representatives were fairly selected for GMP meetings. On average, more respondents with higher wellbeing (78%) agreed with both statements than those with lower wellbeing (68%). This suggests that, despite broadly high levels of agreement about participation, communication may not be as effective at engaging the most marginalised members of communities.

Figure 4.4. Responses to statements about governance quality at MFNP (percentage)



⁹ The option "rather not say" was added at a later stage and therefore not included in surveys at MGNP.

Transparency

Overall, there was a moderate level of agreement with three statements. Under half (46%) of respondents agreed they know how to request information on any park programme and new developments about MFNP from community department staff. But more men (51%) agreed than women (41%). And more respondents with higher wellbeing (52%) agreed than those with lower wellbeing (43%).

Under half (46%) of respondents agreed that community members share information on resource harvest volumes and availability with UWA staff at MFNP. But respondents from Masindi were less likely to agree with this statement (35%).

One-third of respondents disagreed that UWA staff share information with communities on the outcome and process of arrests for people who illegally harvest resources (eg timber, game meat) from MFNP. Disagreement with that statement was highest in Masindi (44%).

Across the transparency statements agreement was significantly lower in Masindi (32%) than in other districts (on average, 50%).

Mitigation of negative impacts

Nearly one-third (31%) of respondents agreed with the statement that UWA staff respond in a timely manner to reports of human-wildlife conflict, whereas 53% disagreed.

Around MFNP, 58% of respondents agreed trenches around MFNP are working to reduce crop damage by elephants. This was significantly lower in Masindi (32%) than in other districts (on average, 68%).

Over half (52%) of people agreed that UWA collects information on the incidences of livestock and crop damage in their community by deploying rangers and volunteer human-wildlife conflict scouts to the people affected.

Across the districts, agreement with mitigation statements differed greatly between Nwoya (60%) and Masindi (31%). With respect to the statement that UWA collects information on human-wildlife conflict, 80% of Nwoya respondents agreed compared to 25% from Masindi.

Benefit sharing

Overall, there was a moderate level of agreement with four statements. Under half (46%) of respondents agreed the revenue-sharing scheme prioritised households in villages bordering the park.

Slightly more (48%) agreed that if community members wanted to access revenue-sharing funds for a community project, they must identify the project according to their needs. More men (54%) agreed with this statement than women (42%).

Slightly fewer (41%) respondents agreed that funds from revenue sharing are allocated fairly between villages and the local government. Meanwhile, 40% of respondents agreed that revenue-sharing funds are assessed for their impact.

The level of agreement across all four governance statements was higher in Nwoya (60%) and Kiryandongo (52%) than in Buliisa (44%) and Masindi (21%). Agreement with statements from Masindi was especially low regarding fair allocation of funds from revenue sharing between villages and local government (13%), and assessment of revenue sharing (12%).

Kibale National Park

Participation

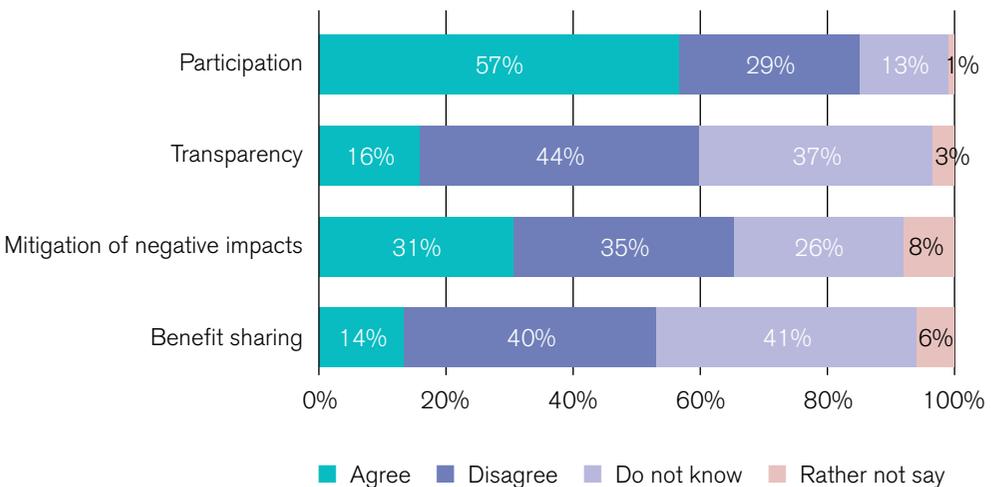
Overall, there was a moderate level of agreement around two statements.

Nearly three-quarters (72%) of respondents agreed there is a good level of communication about GMP between community representatives and the people they represent. Less than half (41%) agreed that issues raised by local people were considered during the last GMP process.

Transparency

Overall, there was a high level of disagreement with the statements regarding transparency. One-fifth of respondents agreed that KNP staff share information with communities on the outcome and process of arrests for people who illegally harvest resources from KNP. Even fewer (18%) agreed they know how to request information on the management of KNP. Finally, only 10% of respondents agreed that communities share key information with the PA managers on resource harvesting and availability.

Figure 4.5. Responses to statements about governance quality at KNP (percentage)



Mitigation of negative impacts

There was relatively low agreement with respect to statements on mitigation of negative impacts. Respondents had the highest level of agreement (38%) that UWA staff respond in a timely manner to reports of human-wildlife conflict. One-third agreed that the trenches around KNP are working to reduce crop damage by elephants. Finally, less than one-quarter (22%) agreed there is a good system in place for collecting information on human-wildlife conflict.

Benefit sharing

Respondents had generally low levels of agreement with statements related to the benefit-sharing process around KNP. Just under a quarter (23%) agreed the revenue-sharing scheme prioritised households in villages bordering the park. In addition, 11% of respondents agreed that revenue-sharing funds are assessed for their impact; 7% agreed they clearly understood the process to access these funds; and 14% agreed that benefit-sharing funds are allocated to community projects fairly.

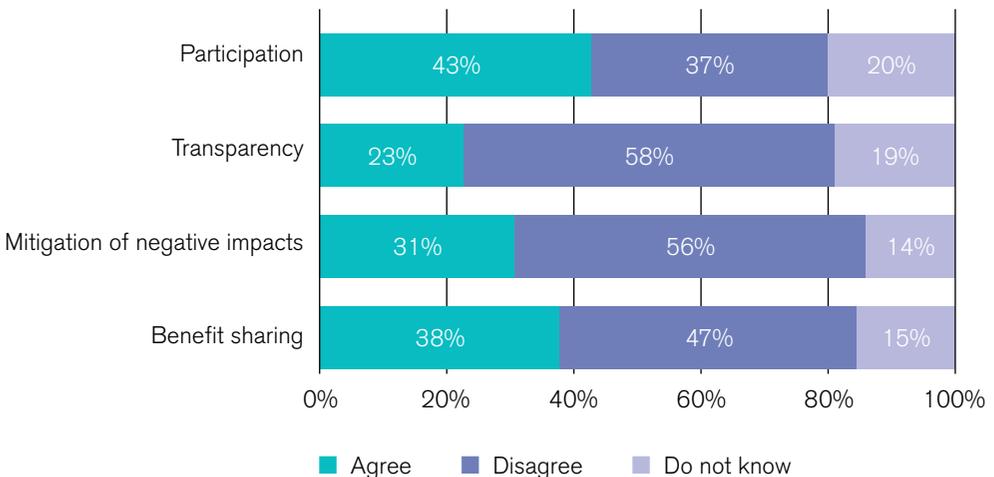
Mgahinga Gorilla National Park

Participation

There is no formal means for local involvement in decision making at MGNP. Consequently, the assessment used the GMP process undertaken every five years at UWA-managed sites to test this principle.

Less than half (45%) agreed there is good communication regarding the GMP between community representatives and their constituents. Fewer women (than men) agreed with the statement. Overall, fewer respondents (31%) agreed the GMP considers issues raised by local people. Men in particular disagreed with the statement.

Figure 4.6. Responses to statements about governance quality at MGNP (percentage)



Transparency

Overall, there was a high level of disagreement with statements about transparency. For example, 59% disagreed that UWA shares information with the community on decisions taken on arrests for illegal harvesting within MGNP. Slightly fewer (52%) disagreed that communities share key information with the PA managers on resource harvesting and availability. Conversely, only 5% disagreed that they know how to access information about MGNP; those in agreement were more likely to be from households with higher wellbeing or from Gisozi and Rukongi parishes.

Mitigation of negative impacts

Most respondents disagreed with statements related to mitigation of negative impacts. In all, 60% disagreed that PA staff respond in a timely manner to reports of human-wildlife conflict. As well, 58% disagreed there is a good system for collecting information on incidences for crop damage by buffalo and other wild animals; 12% more people with lower wellbeing disagreed than those with higher wellbeing. While the stone wall was considered an important positive social impact (see above section), almost half (49%) disagreed it was an effective measure to reduce crop damage.

Benefit sharing

With respect to benefit sharing, 27% of all respondents agreed they clearly understand how to access revenue-sharing funds as per government guidelines. Slightly more (29%) agreed these funds are allocated to community projects fairly. Finally, 59% agreed (and 28% disagreed) that a UWA policy of prioritising these funds to villages living closest to the MGNP boundary was uniformly understood.

Overall impact on wellbeing

All three SAPAs asked survey respondents about the overall impact of the PA on their wellbeing. This question, which featured after questions about social impacts, had five possible responses about the overall impact of the PA: increased, slightly increased, neither increased nor decreased, slightly reduced or reduced the wellbeing of the respondent's household.

Murchison Falls National Park

At MFNP, half of all respondents felt the park increased their household wellbeing. Over a third (34%) felt that MFNP had no impact on their households' wellbeing. Few respondents (16%) felt that the park reduced their household's wellbeing. More men felt that MFNP improved their wellbeing (52%) than women (47%). Four times as many respondents with lower wellbeing (22%) than higher wellbeing (5%) said MFNP had

reduced their wellbeing significantly. The perceived positive impact of MFNP on wellbeing was highest in Nwoya (66%) and lowest in Kiryandongo (37%).

Kibale National Park

At KNP, 31% of respondents felt the park had no overall impact on their household's wellbeing; men and women expressed the same views, as did respondents with lower and higher wellbeing. More than half (54%) of respondents felt that KNP increased their wellbeing with 5% more women reporting this than men. Finally, 16% felt that KNP reduced their wellbeing, with 5% more men reporting this than women.

Mgahinga Gorilla National Park

At MGNP, 40% of respondents felt the park had no impact on their household's wellbeing. Most people who felt this way were those with lower wellbeing. One-third reported that MGNP reduced their wellbeing. This was especially true of women, those with lower wellbeing and people from Gisozi parish. Finally, 27% felt that MGNP increased their wellbeing – ie they felt better off because of the park. More than two-thirds (67%) of those feeling this way were of higher wellbeing and 60% were men. This is possibly because these groups had more access to park outreach activities and benefit-sharing schemes.

5

Has SAPA made a difference?

This chapter explores the concept of ‘outcome harvesting’, and its application to four SAPAs in Uganda and Kenya. It provides a summary of the outcomes, estimates the contribution of SAPA to these outcomes and assesses them against the SAPA theory of change.

Outcome harvesting

Ultimately, any kind of PA-related assessment needs to answer whether the findings have made any difference to conservation practice at the site and/or policy at local or national levels. To address this question, this report uses outcome harvesting (INTRAC, 2017, Box 5.1). An outcome is “a change in the behaviour, relationships, actions, activities, policies, or practices of an individual, group, community, organisation, or institution” (Wilson-Grau and Britt 2013, as cited in INTRAC 2017). Normally, outcome harvesting is used to identify outcomes of a project implemented by a change agent (Box 5.1). With SAPA, the actors generate outcomes of interest in response to their own findings (ie the project is the actor-led assessment).

Box 5.1. Outcome harvesting

Outcome: a change in the behaviour, relationships, actions, activities, policies or practices of an individual, group, community or organisation.

Change agent: individual(s) and organisation(s) that influence an outcome. With SAPA, it is the organisation that took part in the assessment and agreed to lead or support an action that responds to an assessment finding (to be determined from the action plan).

Social actors: Individual, group, community, organisation that changes in some way as a result of the change agents' intervention(s).

Harvest user: the actor(s) who need(s) the findings of the outcome harvest to make decisions and act. Usually, the project that commissioned the exercise is the harvest user. In the case of SAPA, the exercise follows on the assessment itself and the users as the same people who participated in the assessment.

Harvester: the person or persons who manage the outcome harvesting.

(adapted from INTRAC 2017)

Outcome harvesting was used with the first two sites in each country. These were operating for a longer time, allowing outcomes to become evident. In Uganda, these were MGNP (24 months) and KNP (18 months). In Kenya, they were RNP (24 months) and KMP (12 months).

At each site, the authors interviewed five to six people involved in some aspect of the SAPA. These included at least two people from the park management, one from local government, and one man and one woman from the local community. Of the interviewees at each site, at least two were attendees of the action planning workshop (ie change agents). It also included two who had not attended this workshop and therefore would not know about planned actions (ie other social actors).

Outcome harvesting needs to avoid leading questions that might bias the findings. Therefore, the opening question asked about anything in the previous two years that had helped improve attitudes of local people to the PA. It did not refer to SAPA or any type of social impact. In this way, it assumed either a change in a social impact or an aspect of PA management or PA governance would lead to an attitude change.

This approach was used from the start to frame the conversation in terms of PA-related issues rather than about changes in wellbeing that could have been caused by a variety of different factors. For each outcome, identified by the interviewee, the method elicits a standard data set. It identifies the lead actor in delivering the outcome, the outcome itself, why the outcome is significant/important and in what ways SAPA contributed to the outcome. If SAPA did not contribute, then the outcome was discarded.

Interviews took place by phone for about 30–45 minutes and yielded anything from 2–5 outcomes. The same outcome from two interviewees was generally recorded as the outcome of the first person (ie source) with the second person noted as substantiating it. Substantiation was only used as a filter if the first source had provided doubtful information.

Some outcomes, in fact, included several outcomes. Where these outcomes were quite different (eg sharing revenue with boat operators and establishing boat moorings), the outcome was subdivided and recorded as two outcomes.

Table 5.1. Summary of outcomes harvested from the four PAs

Site	No.	Outcomes
MGNP, Uganda	1	UWA has revised the policy and practice of the tourism revenue-sharing programme.
	2	Improved community-PA relations – community members observe schedule for firewood and water collection.
	3	Improved community-PA relations – community members providing materials for improving wall to keep buffaloes in the PA.
	4	Improved community-PA relations – community members reporting human-wildlife conflict events instead of killing animals.
	5	Water for Virunga project supported the establishment of community saving-and-loan groups.
	6	UWA organised 24 radio programmes to raise awareness on PA-related policy and community members asked questions.
	7	UWA and community members changed their approach to mitigating human-wildlife conflict from reactive to preventive.
	8	Community members actively participating in finding solutions to PA-related problems.
	9	Improved community-PA relations – community members helped UWA staff to locate and arrest a poacher.
	10	UWA developed proposals and secured funding for additional activities to reduce human-wildlife conflict.
	11	Improved community-PA relations – community members and park staff working together to remove invasive species in the PA.
	12	Water for Virunga project extended construction of three rain-water tanks to additional communities.

KNP, Uganda	13	Community members can access more firewood from within the PA.
	14	UWA has improved the tourism revenue-sharing programme by providing clearer guidance and improved transparency and accountability.
	15	Most (80%) communities have appointed a community-PA liaison to improve community-PA communication and feedback.
	16	UWA has established new ranger outposts to enable more rapid response to cases of human-wildlife conflict.
	17	Communities are more interested and engaged in beekeeping funded by tourism revenue sharing.
	18	Community members are involved in digging trenches to prevent elephants getting into farms, leading to improved relations with the PA.
	19	UWA organised radio programmes to raise community awareness on new policies on compensation for human-wildlife conflict and revenue sharing.
	20	A local radio station is producing radio programmes on issues raised by communities through SAPA.
	21	UWA has increased efforts to raise community awareness over key PA-related issues, especially human-wildlife conflict and resource access.
	22	UWA has given 90 goats to women's groups using revenue-sharing funds.
RNP, Kenya	23	Park rangers and community members have less conflict over resource use.
	24	Communities have more trust in UWA because of its efforts to better explain/communicate the revenue-sharing scheme.
	25	KWS has made improvements to the park boundary fence by adding 3 km of baboon-proof structures to reduce crop damage.
	26	KWS has changed the PA management plan in response to information from SAPA and will use SAPA for monitoring.
	27	Improved community-PA relations – KWS is responding quicker to cases of crop damage by wildlife.
	28	Improved community-PA relations – communities are sharing more information with KWS on poaching.
	29	KWS has provided easier access to water for one of the communities.
	30	Community members are taking greater care to avoid starting fires and help KWS put fires out.
	31	KWS has created employment opportunities for youth.
	32	A community has set up a conservancy on community land to conserve Roan Antelope.

RNP, Kenya (cont.)	33	KWS is arranging more meetings with communities for awareness raising and getting more agreement on issues affecting communities.
	34	Community members can keep more bulls and cows due to the decline in tsetse flies.
	35	Improved community-PA relations – community members feel free to discuss their problems with PA staff.
	36	KWS organised for Kenya Tsetse Control Centre to conduct awareness raising and training on tsetse flies.
	37	County government provided transport and staff of Kenya Tsetse Control Centre to work in PA-adjacent communities.
KMP, Kenya	38	KWS has employed 30 community rangers.
	39	KWS are giving 10% of their revenue from tourism to boat operators.
	40	KWS has provided communities with anti-venom to treat snake bites.
	41	KWS installed boat mooring and better demarcated PA boundaries.
	42	KWS has donated tables and chairs to a local primary school.
	43	KWS has built capacity of the community-based organisation (BMU) on PA rules and regulations.
	44	An NGO has built capacity of the BMU to monitor coral health.
	45	BMU has improved its patrol, leading to less illegal fishing.
	46	BMU is organising awareness raising for fisherfolk on rules and regulations.
	47	Improved communication and trust – BMU is reporting illegal activities to KWS and always get feedback.
	48	BMU chair-woman reports feeling greatly empowered in being able to speak directly to government authorities.
	49	Local communities have formed new conservation-related groups (eg turtle youth group and turtle police).
	50	KWS has encouraged and participated in three radio shows over the last year to communicate PA issues to communities.

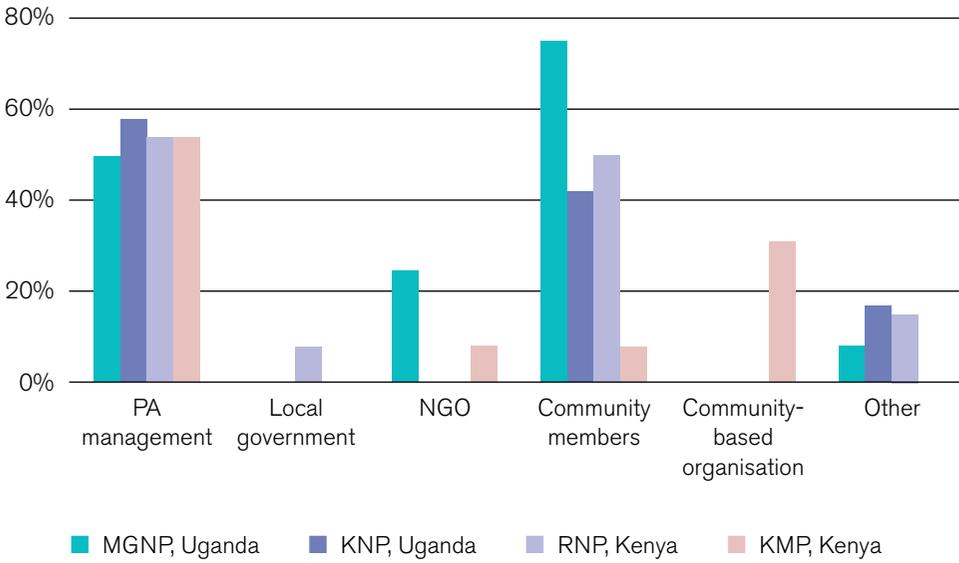
In total, 50 different outcomes were harvested with 12–13 outcomes per site – see Table 5.1. This summary of outcomes is impressive both in its number and diversity, especially since they resulted from an investment of no more than US\$20,000 per site. Some outcomes in Table 5.1. have similar characteristics, which enabled the coding scheme in Table 5.2. Coding the outcomes against these characteristics enabled the quantitative analysis reported in the following sections.

Key characteristics of the outcomes

Table 5.2. Key characteristics of outcomes at the four PAs

Lead actor
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PA management authority • Local government • Nongovernmental or community-based organisations • Private sector • Community members • Community-based organisation
Outcome typology
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behaviour • Relationship • Actions • Practices (an ongoing pattern of changed action) • Plans • Policy at site level • Policy at national level
Outcome type versus SAPA theory of change
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance of the PCA and associated conservation and development activities • Management of the PCA and associated conservation and development activities • Social impact resulting from change in governance and/or management
Governance outcome type
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for actors and their knowledge • Participation in decision making • Information sharing, transparency and accountability • Effective dispute resolution • Fair and effective law enforcement • Negative impact mitigation • Equitable benefit sharing
Management outcome type, including related capacity building
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning • Management actions • Information, education and communication (not related to governance) • Monitoring and research • Fundraising
Aspect of SAPA that contributed most
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-stakeholder process (incl. community meetings, survey and stakeholder workshops) • Findings on social impacts and governance • Planning workshop • Progress review that encourages mutual accountability

Figure 5.1. Percentage of outcomes led by different actor groups



Lead actor

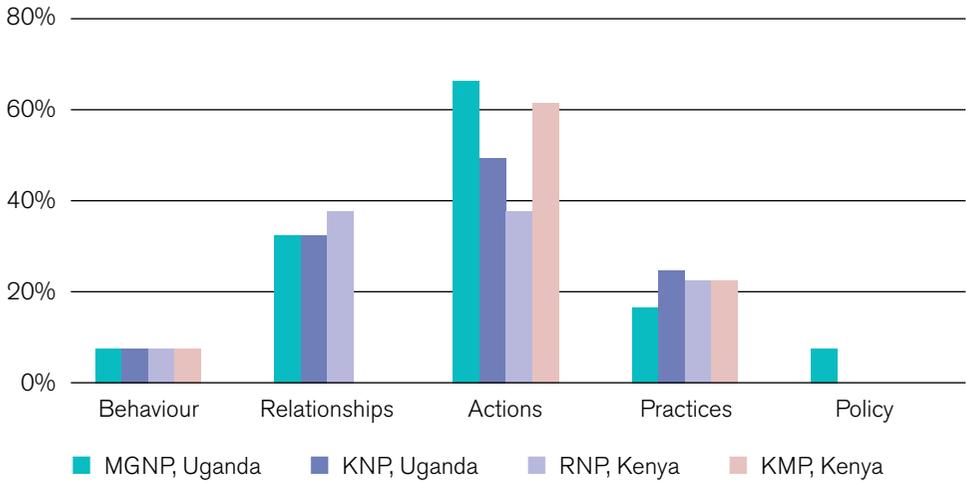
Figure 5.1 shows the percentage of each outcome led by different actors. PA managers or neighbouring communities and their members led the vast majority of outcomes. Often, they co-led the same activity, which is why the total comes to more than 100%. In Kenya, the BMU is a community-based organisation. It has a legal mandate to manage fishing in inshore waters under the overall authority of the PA manager (within a marine reserve) and Country Fisheries Department (outside marine reserves).

No outcomes were primarily attributed to action by the private sector. This is not surprising given that private sector interests in these four PAs are relatively minor compared to some other PAs in the two countries.

Outcome typology

The outcome harvesting method uses a generic typology. The analysis defines “action” as a time-bound activity or set of activities. Conversely, “practice” is a recurrent pattern of action. Allowing local people to harvest firewood from the PA once would be an action, for example, while a mechanism that permits firewood harvesting is a practice. None of the outcomes harvested belonged to the generic categories “plans” or “policy at site level”. At MGNP, the policy outcome was related to national policy.

Figure 5.2. Percentage of outcomes by different outcome types



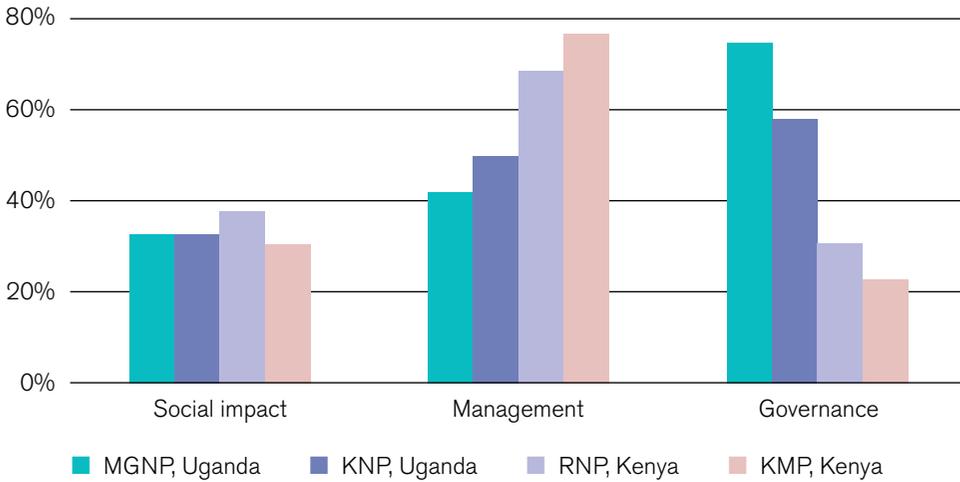
Outcome versus SAPA theory of change

The SAPA theory of change assumes that the assessment and associated planning workshop gives rise to three levels of outcome in a hierarchy of objectives. The highest level is a social impact – an outcome that directly contributes to a change in the wellbeing of local people (eg employment).

The theory of change in Figure 5.3. shows changes in management and governance of the PA and/or other associated conservation and development activities. Normally a change in governance contributes to a change in management. This then leads to a social outcome. But some changes in governance can directly contribute to improving wellbeing (eg increased community voice).

Figure 5.3 shows that reported SAPA outcomes relate most often to management and governance. That, in turn, should lead to changes in wellbeing, but they are not yet reported in these terms. For example, common outcomes were “improved community-PA relations and trust” and “improved efforts to mitigate human-wildlife conflict”. These are management and governance outcomes that should contribute to less crop damage (social impact). In time, they should improve the wellbeing of local people. However, these outcomes do not imply fewer social impacts of SAPA. Interviewees may take for granted that improving a wall that keeps buffaloes out of people’s farms will help reduce crop damage.

Figure 5.3. Outcome types based on SAPA theory of change (percentage)



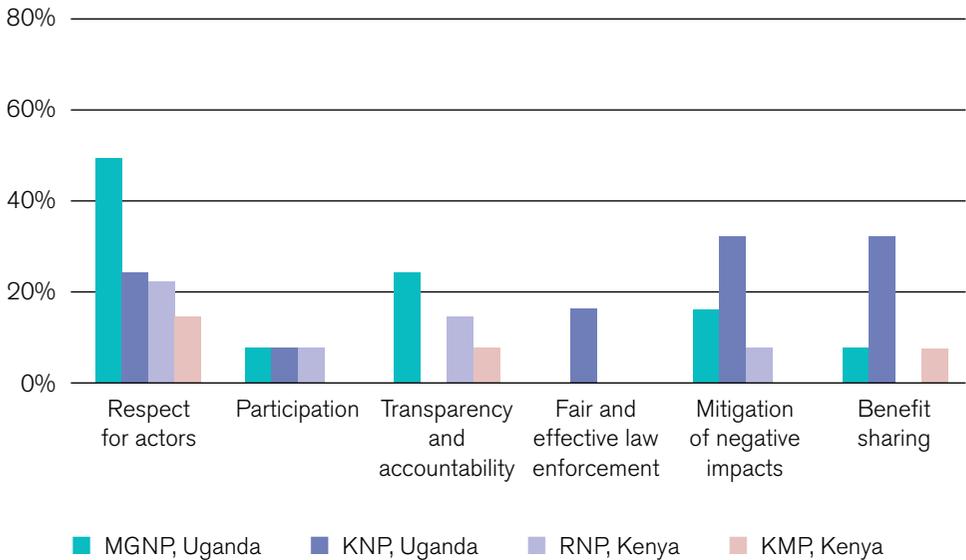
Management outcomes are also more common in Kenya, while governance outcomes are relatively more common in Uganda; this probably reflects a long history of efforts to promote more participatory PA governance in Uganda. Within the category of management outcomes, most related to implementation of specific management actions (as opposed to planning, monitoring and research, and awareness raising). This was true except for KNP where UWA prioritised better understanding of conservation issues relevant to local people. Such work includes producing local radio programmes that respond to issues raised by the SAPA. The analysis classifies outcomes under both management and governance since some information relates to the rights of local people (eg to a share of tourism revenue and to harvest certain resources from the PA).

Governance outcomes

Since many management outcomes follow from governance outcomes, governance improvements also contribute directly to human wellbeing. The analysis looked more closely at the many different types of governance outcomes. To that end, it used the framework of principles of equitable PA governance recently developed by IIED and a large group of partners (Schreckenberget al. 2016, Franks and Booker 2018).

Figure 5.4 does not indicate a clear pattern other than all sites reporting progress on community-PA relations and trust. This relates to the “respect for actors” governance principle. It also reflects more attention to, and progress on, the distribution of costs and benefits – negative impact mitigation and benefit sharing – at KNP in Uganda than other sites. There were no outcomes related to dispute resolution, a principle of equitable PA governance missing from Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4. Outcome types by equitable PA governance principles (percentage)

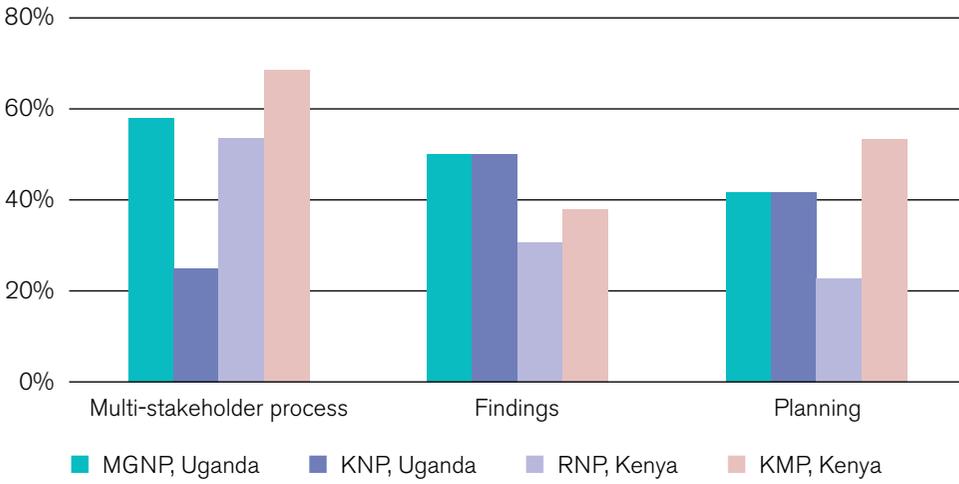


Contribution of SAPA to improving management, governance and social impact

The contribution of SAPA to recorded outcomes goes beyond assessment findings (ie identifying evidence of weaknesses and recommending action). As expected, the different elements of the multi-stakeholder process also play an important role. Community meetings and stakeholder workshops reportedly provided a platform for strengthening the voice of local people in influencing decisions. Several interviewees also noted that stakeholder workshops enabled networking around common concerns. At a more fundamental level, they also helped actors become more aware of key challenges, options to address them and other actors' perspectives. Furthermore, several actors noted that interaction at the workshops helped motivate actions (ie in addition to the facts and figures presented during the workshop).

The SAPA planning workshop also played a leading role. Interviewees mentioned key functions such as collaboration between actors around implementing proposed actions (eg between NGOs and between PA managers and local government). Several suggested it helped motivate actors, implying that it fosters mutual accountability.

Figure 5.5. SAPA contributions to outcomes (percentage)



6

Discussion

This chapter reflects on the significance of the SAPA methodology. It looks at results related to both positive and negative social impacts, governance and wellbeing at the six sites in Uganda and Kenya. It ends with reflections on policy implications of the results.

Overview

This report marks an important point in the development and rollout of SAPA. SAPAs in more than 20 sites in Africa permit reflection beyond the results and experience relevant to the six sites covered by this report. They make it possible to learn about the social impacts and governance of PAs and the potential of SAPA. More broadly, they can provide insight into efforts to enhance the equity of PCA conservation and its contribution to sustainable development. This report also addresses the question “what difference has SAPA made?” based on evidence generated from four of the sites using the outcome harvesting method.

Positive social impacts

This section presents the top positive social impacts including ecosystem services, material benefits and improved security. It then describes how SAPA results vary by social factors, including gender and wellbeing status.

Ecosystem services

The top positive social impacts across all six PAs were ecosystem service benefits. Communities around KNP and MFNP in Uganda and MNR and RNP in Kenya reported regulating ecosystem services as important. This included increased rainfall, regulation of

water supply, better soil quality and improvement of the local micro-climate. Conservation of wildlife for future generations (at KNP in Uganda) and wildlife sightings (at RNP in Kenya) were also reported as important benefits. Provisioning ecosystem services of high importance included various resources for household use and in support of livelihoods.

Material benefits

Lower down the list of social impacts were material benefits provided by PA management. Kenya reported few material benefits (school infrastructure; benefits related to tourism; and transport in case of emergencies). Uganda had far more given UWA's long history of community conservation that extends beyond conventional outreach. Respondents noted permission for controlled harvesting of non-timber resources from within the PA, the tourism revenue-sharing programme and efforts to recruit local people both for law enforcement and casual work.

Improved security

Of the six SAPAs, two PAs in Kenya (RNP and KMP) and one PA in Uganda (KNP) mentioned the presence of law enforcement as an important benefit.

Social differentiation

SAPA can help explore differences in opinions of different social groups. These, in turn, have major implications for management and governance of PCAs and associated conservation and development initiatives. At MFNP in Uganda, for example, 24% of respondents reported a "good relationship with UWA staff". However, this average hides a distinction between men (29%) and women (19%) and between people with higher wellbeing (31%) and lower wellbeing (20%).

Negative social impacts

This section looks at negative social impacts related to human-wildlife conflict, law enforcement, benefit sharing and access to resources. It also highlights how SAPA results can vary by social factors, including gender and wellbeing status.

Human-wildlife conflict

Human-wildlife conflict dominates the negative impacts of all six parks, including the marine park (KMP) in Kenya where monkeys, baboons and wild pigs inhabit nearby woodlands and routinely damage crops. The presence of these animals was not directly linked to the park. However, 47% of respondents (57% of men and 35% of women) considered KWS responsible for this issue of high concern.

Across the three PAs in Kenya human-wildlife conflict concerns included the damaging of crops and other property; injury and death of people; and lack of compensation for damage and injury from KWS.

At RNP, more than two-thirds (75% of men and 62% of women) considered the lack of compensation for crop damages to be an important negative impact. At MNR, impacts such as livestock predation, destruction of water infrastructure, and human injury and death by wildlife were most often reported as important by respondents with lower wellbeing. For example, human injury and death caused by wild animals was a high impact for 61% of respondents with lower wellbeing and for 48% with higher wellbeing.

In Uganda, the main issue at all three parks was damage to crops (from buffaloes in MGNP and elephants in KNP and MFNP). There was spatial variation with some communities hit much harder than others. However, unlike in Kenya, there was little evidence of difference by household wellbeing status or gender.

At RNP in Kenya, respondents rated the high infestation of tsetse flies as the major human-wildlife conflict problem. These flies transmit serious illness to both livestock and people (sleeping sickness). They are considered a human-wildlife conflict problem because the flies thrive on wildlife within the park. The flies have been more or less eradicated in most other parts of Kenya that now have little or no wildlife.

Law enforcement

The question of unfair or improper law enforcement appears frequently in SAPA results. In Uganda, this issue only appeared in KNP where 25% of respondents reported being fined for accidentally grazing their livestock in the park. They considered this an important negative impact because park boundaries are unclear.

In Kenya, more than 60% of respondents at KMP reported harassment of fisherfolk and boat confiscation as important negative impacts. Fisherfolk would sometimes enter the PA to shelter from strong winds. If found inside KMP, they might be arrested and their boats confiscated. It can take months for boats to be returned by which time they are often in bad condition. This has a high impact on livelihoods.

Benefit sharing

The opinion that PA-related benefits controlled by PA managers (and local government in Uganda) are unfairly shared appeared to varying degrees across all six sites.

In Kenya, respondents were concerned about this issue with respect to limited employment opportunities and the lack of any scheme to share tourism revenue. Presumably, they have heard about such schemes elsewhere and saw the lack of one as an opportunity cost.

In Uganda, employment of local people appears in the list of benefits of several PAs. There is also a well-established tourism revenue-sharing scheme. But there have been a lot of issues at many PAs with allocation of projects funded by revenue sharing. At KNP, 30% of respondents considered unfair project allocation an important negative social impact. This opinion varied by district (17–40%), but there was little difference by gender or wellbeing status.

Access to resources

In Uganda, allowing local people to harvest certain non-timber resources from PAs was widely perceived as a positive social impact. It was increasingly viewed as an intervention that contributes to conservation. But KNP respondents voiced concerns over the equity of allocation of rights to harvest resources. This no doubt undermines the social impact of the scheme and quite possibly the conservation impact. Indeed, other researchers have recognised resentment fuelled by a sense of injustice as an important motivation for illegal activities in Uganda (eg Harrison et al. 2015). Finally, all three PAs in Kenya reported loss of, or insufficient access to, resources such as water, timber or fish catch.

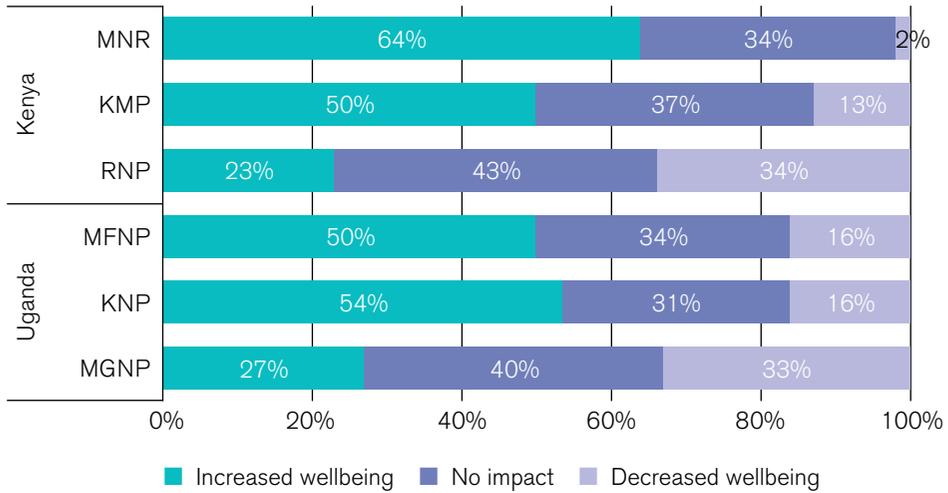
Contribution to wellbeing

This section looks at the overall contribution of the six PAs to wellbeing in light of the positive and negative impacts identified by respondents. It identifies ecosystem services, PA-supported initiatives and employment as key benefits. It also explores how the value of a social impact to wellbeing depends on both the nature of the impact and the wellbeing status of the respondent.

Overview

Each SAPA wound up by asking respondents about the overall impact of the PA on their wellbeing given the various positive and negative impacts discussed. At four of the six PAs, at least half of respondents said they felt the PA made an overall positive contribution to their wellbeing. The exceptions were two sites with high levels of human-wildlife conflict – MGNP with buffaloes and RNP with tsetse flies (see Figure 6.1). For these two sites the key to increasing support of local communities was to reduce the negative social impacts of human-wildlife conflict. To that end, substantial progress has been made to reduce these two impacts – see Chapter 5.

Figure 6.1. Overall impact of the six PAs on the household wellbeing of SAPA survey respondents



Key factors contributing to wellbeing

Further analysis is needed of how different factors contribute to this picture of overall wellbeing. But initial interpretation suggests that ecosystem service benefits dominate at the four sites with less human-wildlife conflict. These comprise rainfall, water catchment and access to resources at MNR, spillover of fish at KMP, improved climate and access to resources at MFNP, and rainfall and conservation of wildlife for future generations at KNP.

In broad terms, PA-supported development initiatives (including revenue sharing) are the second most important category. But they are very much second place. Meanwhile, employment ranks third in Uganda but is insignificant in Kenya.

It is unlikely that development initiatives and employment will overtake ecosystem services at any of the six parks. But they could contribute substantially more in terms of social impact (and maybe also conservation impact). To that end, they could enable more equitable distribution of the benefits to help reduce resentment of communities and individuals who feel they are not getting their fair share of allocable benefits. Such benefits would exclude public goods such as rainfall to which everyone has access (Harrison et al. 2015).

Influence of household wellbeing status

Across all six sites, the contribution of a given social impact to wellbeing depended on both the nature of the impact and the household wellbeing status of the respondent. For example, the destruction of 1 ha of maize on a farm around MFNP by elephants would have far less impact on the wellbeing of farmers with 10 ha of maize than on those with only 2 ha of maize.

In theory, SAPA considers these differences. It asks respondents about the importance of an impact for their household wellbeing rather than the value of the destroyed crop. In other words, SAPA results consider the wellbeing status of households, including vulnerability to shocks.

Lack of compensation for human-wildlife conflict at MFNP provides a good example where the response rate of households with lower wellbeing was much higher than households with higher wellbeing. Respondents were probably not suggesting they suffer more economic damage. Rather, they meant the damage they suffer hits them harder.

Resentment about this inequity could fuel higher rates of resource use. If so, it provides a strong argument on both social and conservation grounds for action in favour of more food-insecure households (or households with lower wellbeing). More food-secure households (ie households with higher wellbeing) with more influence may object and work to receive their 'fair share' (based on financial loss). This has major implications for strategies to mitigate human-wildlife conflict in situations of resource constraint.

Likewise, a benefit of given financial value (eg goat) might be a better incentive for environmental stewardship if given to a household with lower wellbeing. Such a household could then sell the benefit and use the money to buy food, pay school fees, etc. The benefit would have less value to a household with higher wellbeing whose basic needs are already met. This argument assumes people with lower wellbeing are in a position to contribute to environmental stewardship. Again, this has key implications for benefit sharing in these kinds of socio-ecological contexts.

Measures to reduce poverty in PA-adjacent communities rarely have much impact at the scale needed to generate either wellbeing or conservation outcomes. But measures focused on supporting households vulnerable to PA-related negative social impacts could prove more successful.

SAPA cannot identify possibilities not yet known to site-level actors. But it can help identify interventions that are already working. Specifically, it can generate evidence on whether, all other things being equal, these interventions are particularly favoured by households with lower wellbeing.

Governance

This section looks at how SAPA can be used to assess governance at a PCA. It pays particular attention to the SAPA methodology and the need for caution in interpreting some results. It then highlights key findings about governance quality across the PAs in Kenya and Uganda.

Overview

The second edition of SAPA (Franks, Small and Booker 2018), which was used at all sites, covers four principles of good governance: participation in decision making, transparency and access to information, mitigation of negative impacts and equitable benefit-sharing processes. In addition, it includes an optional principle on respect for rights.

In Kenya, the assessments excluded the principle on respect for rights in part because conservation policy related to PAs provides local communities with few rights; few people would be aware of these rights, which risked generating misleading results. In Uganda, the assessments included the principle on respect for rights as some people have rights to harvest certain resources from the park. While the rights were easily understood, only some communities have these rights; others were not aware they did not have them. For this reason, the report excluded this principle from its analysis.

A lesson learnt from this experience is the need to invest time to tailor site-specific governance statements to focus on rights that most people have. Respondents must understand the concept of a right. This is much more necessary than with principles like participation and transparency. In those cases, the jargon may be unfamiliar, but the concepts are generally understood.

All the governance statements in the questionnaire used the Likert approach (ie a positive statement with which respondents could opt to agree, disagree or say “do not know”). Some people were reluctant to express any opinion on sensitive issues. For that reason, they could respond “rather not say” in some assessments.

Interpretation of governance results

Caution is needed in interpretation of governance results. Site-specific factors may have swayed opinion for governance issues more than for social impacts (which generally relate to more tangible issues).

Cross-site comparisons

Comparing governance results across sites and even more so between countries is problematic. A person’s response to a governance statement will partly reflect their

understanding of good practice at their site. A low level of agreement with a governance statement at a particular site may indicate that people feel the situation could and should be better. But it would not be possible to conclude that the situation is poorer than at another site where respondents may have different expectations.

This constraint is not a big concern as SAPA is primarily a tool to enable improvements of social impacts and governance at a particular site. SAPA users should still guard against the strong instinct of actors at higher levels to compare between sites. The same concerns apply to PA management effectiveness assessment (Stolton and Dudley, 2016, page 62).

Differences within a site

Following from the point above, the more appropriate way to interpret and use SAPA results is to look at differences within a site. Rather than spending time on levels of agreement with statements, the assessment should focus on discussion between site-level actors. Specifically, it should look at issues triggered by relatively low levels of agreement and how the situation might be improved. This can take place at the second stakeholder workshop. That said, the SAPA methodology does not provide much time for this discussion. The next edition of SAPA will include the option to add a 'governance day' to this second workshop.

Key findings

Participation

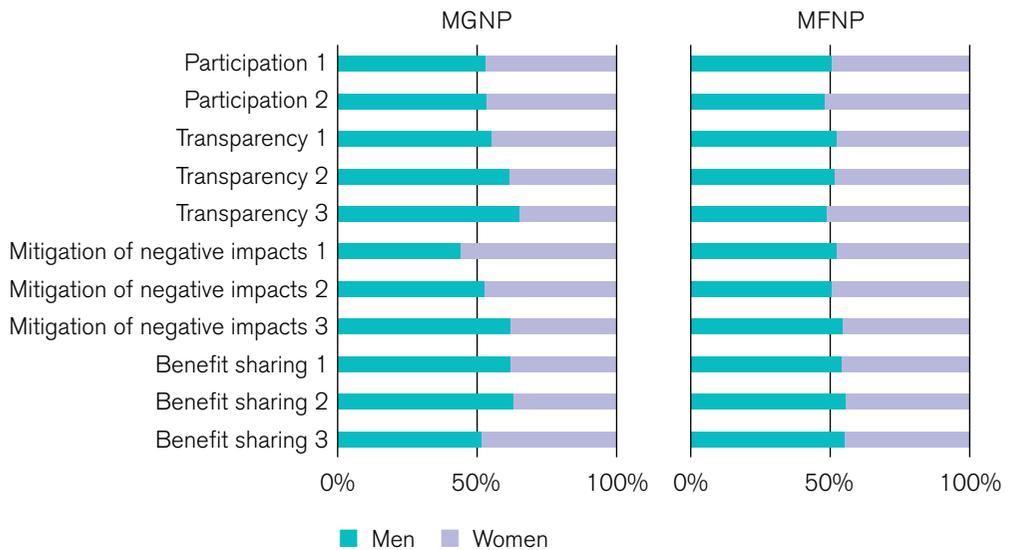
At no site was there much difference between the overall responses for transparency, impact mitigation and benefit-sharing statements. But levels of agreement with participation statements differed from this general pattern at three sites:

- **RNP in Kenya.** The percentage of agreement with participation statements (44%) is much higher than for other principles. This may be because PA staff regularly meet and discuss PA-related concerns and plans with community members. This is more consultation than true participation but considered good by Kenyan standards. The same practice might be considered weaker in Uganda where UWA and conservation NGOs have, for many years, applied a community conservation paradigm at all PAs.
- **KNP and MFNP in Uganda.** Levels of agreement about participation statements are notably higher than those for other principles but for a different reason than at RNP. The focus of the participation statements was recent management planning processes rather than participation in PA-related decisions more broadly. Because of this narrow focus we cannot conclude that community participation in decision making is generally good or better than at other sites.

Social differentiation

The results note differences in the responses to governance statements by gender and wellbeing status (see Chapters 3 and 4). Differences also depend on the statement and context of the PA. Although the governance statements at each PA were different, some general patterns are evident. For example, in Uganda, differences between men and women are most pronounced at MGNP. At MFNP, women were consistently less in agreement with positive statements about governance (see Figure 6.2).

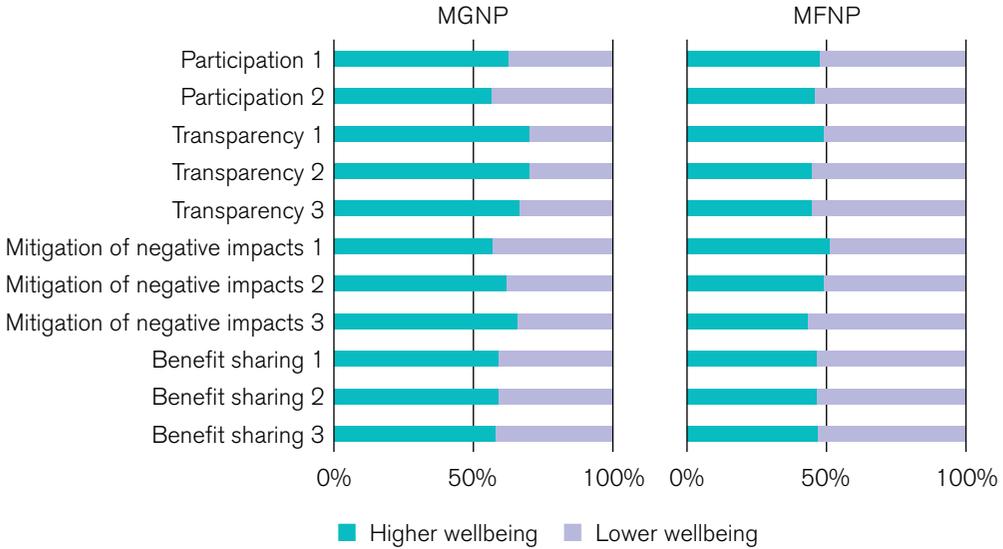
Figure 6.2. Agreement with positive statements about governance quality at MGNP and MFNP disaggregated by gender (percentage)



Differences in benefit sharing may be expected where the statement focuses on a benefit that applies more to men or women (eg employment as security guards rarely applies to women). But ideally there should be no difference in responses to other statements.

Likewise, there should be little difference with governance responses of households with higher and lower wellbeing as is the case for MFNP. But MGNP continues to show different levels of agreement from households with lower and higher wellbeing. This indicates the need for action to promote more inclusive governance (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3. Agreement with positive statements about governance quality at MGNP and MFNP disaggregated by wellbeing status (percentage)



What difference has SAPA made?

Outcome harvesting is a new addition to SAPA. Initially, it was used primarily to evaluate project impact for donors and inform improvements to SAPA. Ultimately, a simplified version will be introduced within the monitoring step of the SAPA ‘taking action’ phase.

In total, 50 different outcomes were harvested with 12–13 from each site (see Table 5.1). These outcomes are impressive both in number and diversity, especially since they were generated by a maximum investment of US\$20,000 per site. Thus, for the first time, this report provides evidence that SAPA is much more than an assessment methodology. Indeed, some participants have said that SAPA represents the first time they have been engaged with the full set of PCA actors, and that the actors themselves lead the process.

In addition to the impressive list of outcomes at every site, many outcome harvesting interviews revealed a sense of enthusiasm and motivation. Undoubtedly, this is one reason for the remarkable degree of follow-up. But a critical question in the SAPA learning agenda that needs further attention is “what are the key enabling conditions and how can the ‘taking action’ phase help to foster them?”

More fundamentally such questions recall the theory of change. How can SAPA launch and sustain a process of transformative change in the relationship between the managers of PCAs (in some cases communities themselves), the communities that live in and around the PCAs, and other key actors?

Despite the relatively small cost of SAPA it should not be considered as largely a catalyst – something that speeds up a process that would be happening anyway over time. Chapter 5 shows three key aspects of SAPA that contribute to the different outcomes: the multi-stakeholder process; the findings about the significance of different impacts and the strengths and weaknesses of governance arrangements; and the planning workshop that translates ideas for action into a list of priorities and plans to deliver them.

Most fundamental perhaps is the change in the relationship between the key actors. At its heart this is about communities getting a stronger voice in shaping decisions. Such a gradual change in the power relationship is reflected in the high proportion of outcomes that include some aspect of “respect for actors”. The Ugandan PAs fared better in this respect than those in Kenya. Uganda had embarked on a policy of PA co-management in the 1990s, which included establishing a community conservation unit at each park. For its part, Kenya maintained a more traditional approach, regarding community engagement as a more one-way process of outreach.

Regarding the more specific characteristics of the outcomes, there was a mix of social impacts that directly contribute to wellbeing, improvements in the management of the PA and associated initiatives, and improvements in governance. Since only 12–18 months had elapsed since the assessment, it is not surprising that no conservation outcomes, either ultimate (eg increase in populations of key species) or intermediate (eg decline in illegal activities), were harvested. That said, a number of the PA management and governance outcomes should eventually lead to conservation outcomes.

About one-third (34%) of outcomes included a social impact element. Most of these were PA-related development activities to mitigate human-wildlife conflict. Few outcomes related to increasing ecosystem service benefits despite requests at KNP to extend resource use programmes to other communities.

PA management was the largest outcome category. It featured 59% of outcomes, including PA management actions such as law enforcement and boundary demarcation and information, education and communication. These actions were led by both PA managers and communities. Although SAPA does not emphasise governance, half of the outcomes included aspects of it, especially increasing “respect for actors”. This is why the governance element of the second edition of SAPA has been strengthened.

Policy relevance

This section reflects on the policy relevance of SAPA, both for the UN Global Biodiversity Framework and the Sustainable Development Goals. While acknowledging that conservation efforts require trade-offs, it suggests that greater attention to community engagement can strengthen results and, ultimately, influence policy.

These SAPAs, and the project that supported them, have primarily aimed to demonstrate the value of the methodology for improving social impacts and governance at individual PA sites. In this respect the assessments have succeeded.

Informing policy development was not an explicit objective during project design, but it has become much more relevant for two reasons. First, the UN Post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework has ushered in important developments in global conservation policy. Second, the Sustainable Development Goals clearly pay attention to issues of social inequality and the principle of leaving no one behind.

The expectation that conservation can reduce poverty is rarely realistic. All too often the negative impacts of conservation have contributed to poor rural communities being left behind. But PA managers working with other key actors at site level can reduce and even eliminate negative impacts on these communities and enhance the contribution of conservation to their wellbeing. The results of using SAPA described in this report demonstrates that this is a realistic policy objective.

Furthermore, there is growing evidence that better social outcomes and improvements in the quality of PA governance can deliver better conservation outcomes. But there will be trade-offs. This report shows how SAPA can contribute to the more effective and equitable management of these trade-offs that is essential to achieve Target 2 of the Global Biodiversity Framework.

Acronyms

BMU	Beach Management Unit
FFI	Fauna & Flora International
GMP	General Management Planning
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
KFS	Kenya Forest Service
KMP	Kisite Marine Park
KNP	Kibale National Park
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
MFNP	Murchison Falls National Park
MGNP	Mgahinga Gorilla National Park
MNR	Marsabit National Reserve
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
PA	protected area
PCA	protected or conserved area
RNP	Ruma National Park
SAPA	Social Assessment for Protected and Conserved Areas
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

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Knowledge
Products

Research Report

May 2021

**Biodiversity; Natural resource
management**

Keywords:

protected areas; Social Assessment
for Protected and Conserved Areas
(SAPA); Kenya; Uganda; equity

This research report provides an overview of the Social Assessment for Protected and Conserved Areas (SAPA) methodology and describes the results of SAPA's application at six protected areas in Kenya and Uganda. These case studies provide a practical illustration of the kind of information generated by SAPA, and integrate outcome harvesting to determine whether SAPA can make a difference. The report is written primarily for conservation practitioners but will also be of interest to policymakers. It underscores the importance of inclusive, multi-stakeholder approaches and reflects more broadly on their contribution to goals for enhancing the effectiveness and equity of protected area management and governance.

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