

Understanding the social impacts of protected areas: a community perspective

Phil Franks and Rob Small



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Acronyms

ANPN	Agence Nationale des parcs nationaux	OPC	OI Pejeta Conservancy
CBD	Convention of Biological Diversity	PA	Protected area
CBNRM	community-based natural resource management	PAME	Protected area management effectiveness
CCGL	Committee Consultative pour Gestion Locale	PoWPA	Programme of Work on Protected Areas
CRB	Community Resource Board	PRA	participatory rapid appraisal
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo	RAPPAM	Rapid Assessment and Prioritization of Protected Area Management Methodology
FFI	Fauna and Flora International	RMNP	Rwenzori Mountain National Park
GMA	Game Management Area	SAPA	Social Assessment for Protected Areas
HWC	human-wildlife conflict	UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority
ICDP	integrated conservation and development project	VAGs	Village Action Groups
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature	WCS	Wildlife Conservation Society
MCNP	Monts de Cristal National Park	WPC	World Parks Congress
METT	Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool	ZAMA	Zambia Wildlife Authority

Executive summary

The Social Assessment of Protected Areas initiative was launched in 2008 and responds to the need for a relatively simple, low-cost methodology to assess the impacts of protected areas (PAs), and related conservation and development activities, on the wellbeing of communities living within and around a PA. The Social Assessment for Protected Area methodology (SAPA for short) is a multi-stakeholder assessment for use by PA managers working with communities and other local-level stakeholders to help them increase, and more fairly share, positive impacts and reduce negative impacts.

There has been a substantial amount published on assessing the social impacts of PAs in the academic literature. But most of these studies use complex and costly research methodologies which are not a practical option for most PA managers to apply on a routine basis. Added to this, a lack of a standardised methodology means that assessments of the social impacts of similar, and sometimes even the same, PAs could arrive at different conclusions. The SAPA methodology is based on a standardised process and set of methods that can be replicated across PAs while still incorporating enough flexibility to be tailored to the local context and information needs.

SAPA is designed to be suitable for any context — terrestrial, marine or freshwater — and for PAs of any type, including those managed and governed by government agencies, communities and/or the private sector. SAPA is also designed to be facilitated by a small team drawn from the site-level stakeholders, with no need for international consultants. This research report describes the results of SAPA's application in four PA sites: Ruwenzori Mountains National Park (Uganda), Mont de Cristal National Park (Gabon), Mumbwa Game Management Area (Zambia) and OI Pejeta Conservancy (Kenya).

Social impacts

SAPA defines social impacts as the impacts of a PA that directly affect human wellbeing in either a positive or a negative way. A consequence of this broad framing is that issues emerge that may go beyond a technical definition of social impact, particularly on the negative side where we have often encountered issues of (poor) governance. That said, across all the study sites at least 80 per cent of the 'impacts' suggested by the communities were indeed social impacts.

Positive social impacts

Most of the positive social impacts emerging from the four case study sites can be classified under five main categories:

- 1) Ecosystem services benefits
- 2) Improved law enforcement
- 3) PA-supported development projects
- 4) PA-related employment, and
- 5) Reduced costs/risks.

Ecosystem service benefits were highly rated at two PA sites, including resource use by local communities, access to cultural sites and, at one site, use of footpaths through the PA. In three out of four sites, the contribution of PA law enforcement to general security in communities was highly rated. Even though most PA law enforcement rangers do not have general policing in their job descriptions, they still act as a general deterrent to crime. This is particularly valued in insecure areas.

Three of the four sites receive significant revenue from either tourism or hunting. All of these sites have schemes to share a portion of these funds to support development projects within PA-adjacent communities. This study shows that such revenue-sharing schemes have the potential to generate a substantial positive social impact, although the Ruwenzori case makes the point that with large PAs and relatively modest revenue, resource access is likely to have a substantially higher social impact.

The two other highly rated positive impacts were site specific. At the site in Zambia, employment was cited as a major benefit, including both employment in law enforcement and employment related to hunting and tourism. While two other sites also provide substantial local employment, the view was that this is unevenly distributed and hence benefits only a few communities. At the site in Kenya, the top positive social impact was considered to be the fencing of the PA, which is seen to benefit local people by both greatly reducing human-wildlife conflict and reducing cattle theft.

Negative social impacts

Most of the negative social impacts emerging from the four case study sites can be classified under five main categories:

- 1) Human-wildlife conflict
- 2) Reduced/lost access
- 3) Unjustified arrest
- 4) Transaction/management costs, and
- 5) Unfair distribution of benefits.

Human-wildlife conflict emerged as the primary negative impact at three of the four case study sites, followed by reduced access. While access to resources was generally the top concern, access to cultural sites and footpaths may be important in many situations.

One negative impact that provokes a strong sense of injustice is the issue of people being arrested when they have not actually broken the law. Part of the problem in some areas is lack of clarity on the law, both on the part of community members and some PA staff. Another negative impact, often unrecognised, is the high transaction and management costs to local communities associated with establishing community projects, which becomes an issue when, as is all too often the case, they fail.

Whether or not it is possible to raise the overall level of benefits to communities, another key consideration is the distribution of the benefits within and between communities. There is often an issue of elite capture and/or bias in the distribution of benefits, which can seriously undermine the potential for benefit sharing in its various forms to contribute to human wellbeing and conservation goals.

Overall impact on human wellbeing

SAPA approaches the question of the overall impact of a PA on wellbeing from two directions:

a) What type of factors affect household wellbeing?

This gives a sense of the extent to which changes in wellbeing are caused by PA-related factors as opposed to non-PA related factors (such as weather, employment, health and agricultural technology). Only at two sites was there was a significant PA-related factor, which was human-wildlife conflict in both cases. With the exception of some Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas, few PAs were actually created with the primary purpose of improving wellbeing at the local level. Nonetheless, their impact on human wellbeing is still important both as an issue of conservation ethics and in terms of building support for conservation at the local level and wider political support.

b) What is the net impact of the PA on wellbeing?

The four case studies illustrate a wide range of responses to this question of the overall impact of the various positive and negative social impacts. The percentage of people feeling that the net impact is positive ranged from just 2 per cent at one site to 80 per cent at another, with major variations across zones within some of the sites. In three of the four cases, poorer people held a less positive view, but there was no significant difference in the views of men and women. In the other case, while there was no difference according to wellbeing status, there was a significant difference according to gender, with women holding a less positive view than men.

Governance

Although SAPA is not a governance assessment methodology per se, it nonetheless provides some basic information on three key parameters: awareness of relevant information, participation, and the relationships between key stakeholders.

Regarding the awareness of key information, the assessment focused on just two or three questions relating to key facts about the PA that local people should be aware of. The PA staff were often surprised at the basic knowledge gaps that were revealed by these simple questions. For example, at the Uganda site fewer than 50 per cent of community members knew where the tourism revenue-sharing funds come from, which is important in terms of the conservation impact of revenue sharing.

The approach to participation depended on the governance type of the PA. In the one case where the governance type is theoretically shared, over 50 per cent of respondents reported that decision-making authority lies entirely with the national authority. For the PAs governed by government agencies, the participation indicator was the extent to which community members feel they have influenced the actions of park staff at the community level, and in both cases the responses were remarkably positive. Participation in decision making at the PA and community levels is clearly of central importance in shaping how negative social impacts are addressed, and in shaping measures to increase, and more equitably share, positive impacts.

The results on the relationships between survey respondents and the PA law enforcement staff varied greatly across PA sites, ranging from 86 per cent reporting a good or very good relationship at one site to only 33 per cent at another. As with other social impact and governance issues, discussions of these results at community and stakeholder workshops have revealed reasons for these differences which were not apparent from the survey, and identified some practical measures to improve the situation.

Conclusion

Whether the overall impact of the PA on wellbeing is largely positive or negative, the objective of SAPA — and the spirit in which stakeholders engage in the SAPA process — is not to calculate the contribution of a PA to local wellbeing, but rather, through understanding the significance of specific impacts and related governance issues, to help PA managers working with other key stakeholders to improve the situation, whatever that situation may be. Increasingly, these PA managers are Indigenous Peoples and local communities, non-governmental organisations and private sector actors, as well as government agencies.

The case studies presented in this report provide a practical illustration of the kind of information that is generated by SAPA, and some of the key results. With the exception of a few examples, we have not made suggestions for possible actions to respond to the results. This is part of the SAPA process itself, and in all four cases the stakeholders have developed draft recommendations for action to address at least some of the findings. That said, the SAPA results presented in this report provide clear pointers towards areas where action might be taken to improve the current situation. This assumes an adaptive management approach in which change will be incremental, and in many cases there are 'quick wins' that do not have major resource implications and that can build a foundation for addressing the more difficult issues.

The primary goal of SAPA is to support PA managers working with other key stakeholders at the site level to achieve more effective and equitable conservation of protected areas. That said, the information generated from the use of SAPA at a number of PA sites can readily be aggregated to give a broader picture at the national level which can help inform planning at a PA system level and policy development. Further aggregation at a regional and global level is also possible and could contribute to monitoring of relevant regional and global targets, notably Aichi Target 11.

Scaling up the use of SAPA is ongoing. To date this work has been focused on Africa, but the methodology is designed for use in any type of PA in any country, and we look forward to supporting its expansion to other regions as well as within Africa.

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Men prioritising social impacts at Ol Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya (Credit: Phil Franks 2014)



1

Introduction

Assessing the social impacts of protected areas is important both for promoting more equitable management and governance of protected areas and for achieving more effective and sustainable conservation.

The Social Assessment for Protected Areas (SAPA) methodology is designed to assess the positive and negative impacts of a PA and related conservation and development activities on the wellbeing of communities living within and around the PA (local benefits and costs). It is a multi-stakeholder assessment for use by PA managers working with communities and other local-level stakeholders, as well as supporting organisations at the national level, to help increase and more equitably share positive social impacts and reduce negative social impacts.

SAPA uses a combination of i) community workshops to identify significant social impacts, ii) a short household survey to explore these impacts and related governance issues in more depth, and iii) a stakeholder workshop to validate the survey results, explore other key issues and generate suggestions for action.

SAPA can be used with PAs of any kind, including those managed and governed by government agencies, communities and the private sector. This research report provides a brief outline of the SAPA methodology, including the analytical framework, research design, methods and process (chapters 2 and 3) before describing the results of SAPA's application at four PA sites (chapters 4 to 7):

Ruwenzori Mountains National Park in Uganda, a state-owned and managed PA



Mumbwa Game Management Area in Zambia, which is owned by the state but under a government/community shared governance regime



Mont de Cristal National Park in Gabon, a state-owned and managed PA



OI Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya, a privately owned and managed PA



Chapter 8 discusses the results from the four sites together, in order to reflect more broadly on the results in relation to conservation practice at the site level, and on how SAPA's findings might contribute to international policy goals and targets for enhancing the effectiveness and equity of PA management and governance.

Photo Credits:

Discussing PA-related social impacts at Ruwenzori Mountains NP in Uganda (Credit: Rob Small 2015)

Women prioritising social impacts at Mumbwa GMA in Zambia (Credit: Phil Franks 2015)

Men prioritising impacts at Monts de Cristal National Park in Gabon (Credit: Phil Franks 2014)

Women prioritising impacts at OI Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya (Credit: Phil Franks 2014)

Maps: Created by UNEP-WCMC using data from the World Database on Protected Areas (IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2016)



Introducing SAPA at Lake Mburo National Park in Uganda (Credit: Phil Franks 2016)



2

Background

What is SAPA?

Social Assessment for Protected Areas (SAPA) is a relatively simple, low-cost methodology for assessing the positive and negative impacts of a protected area, and related conservation and development activities, on the wellbeing of communities living within and around the PA. It is a multi-stakeholder assessment for use by PA managers working with communities and other local-level stakeholders that helps them to increase, and more fairly share, positive impacts and reduce negative impacts.

The multi-stakeholder approach of SAPA ensures that PA managers, communities living within and around the PA (who may in some cases be the PA managers) and other key stakeholders are fully engaged in the design of the assessment, interpretation of the results, and the development of recommendations. This multi-stakeholder approach enables the assessment to be tailored to the information needs of the key stakeholders who will use the results, and serves to enhance the accuracy, credibility and legitimacy of the results.

The SAPA methodology uses a combination of community workshops to identify significant social impacts of a PA; a short household survey to explore these impacts and related governance issues in more depth; and a stakeholder workshop to validate the survey results, explore other key issues and generate suggestions for action. SAPA can be used in any context — terrestrial, marine or freshwater — and with PAs of any type, including those managed and governed by government agencies, communities and/or the private sector.

In developing the SAPA methodology, our assumption is that it will be facilitated by a small team drawn from the site-level stakeholders. In most cases, there will be a need for technical support from an organisation at the national or state level with social research expertise (eg an NGO, university or consultancy), especially for the household survey, but there should be no need for international consultants. In terms of cost, our aim is to be able to conduct an assessment for US\$5-10,000 according to the size of the PA and logistical challenges, and assuming that the time of members of the SAPA Facilitation Team is a contribution in kind.

Context and history of SAPA

“Protected areas should strive to contribute to poverty reduction at the local level, and at the very minimum must not contribute to or exacerbate poverty”

The landmark recommendation on PAs and Poverty from the World Parks Congress (WPC) of 2003 includes the principle that *“Protected areas should strive to contribute to poverty reduction at the local level, and at the very minimum must not contribute to or exacerbate poverty”*. This recommendation responded to the concern that, despite much progress in the social dimension of conservation in the 1990s,¹ there remained concerns that PAs could, and should, do more to contribute

1. Including major investments in community outreach, community conservation, collaborative management and community development (often within a framework of integrated conservation and development).

to poverty reduction, and also concerns that some PAs were imposing net² costs on some stakeholder groups.

Alongside the principle relating to poverty, the 2003 WPC recommendation included a key principle of equity in the distribution of benefits and costs ('distributive equity'): *"Equitable sharing of costs and benefits of protected areas should be ensured at local, national and global levels"*.

“Assess the economic and sociocultural costs, benefits and impacts arising from the establishment and maintenance of protected areas, particularly for indigenous and local communities, and adjust policies to avoid and mitigate negative impacts, and where appropriate compensate costs and equitably share benefits in accordance with the national legislation poverty”

Responding to this and many other key recommendations from the WPC in 2003, parties to the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) agreed a Programme of Work on Protected Areas (PoWPA) in 2004. The first activity under the PoWPA goal for equity and benefit-sharing (Goal 2.1) is: *"Assess the economic and socio-cultural costs, benefits and impacts arising from the establishment and maintenance of protected areas, particularly for indigenous and local communities, and adjust policies to avoid and mitigate negative impacts, and where appropriate compensate costs and equitably share benefits in accordance with the national legislation"*.

Since the 1990s, there has been a substantial amount published in the academic literature on the social impacts of PAs. Initially these studies mainly documented negative impacts/costs, but over time studies have documented a much more varied picture. (Brockington and Igoe, 2006; Andam *et al.* 2010; Canavire-Bacarreza and Hanauer, 2013; Clements *et al.* 2014 Naidoo *et al.* 2011;

WWF, 2014; Blomley 2013; Gilmour 2016). However, most of these studies have used complex and costly research methodologies, which are not a practical option for most PAs. Furthermore, in the absence of a standardised methodology, assessments of the social impacts of similar, and sometimes even the same, PAs may arrive at different conclusions. This not only makes it difficult for robust comparisons across PAs to be made, but further

2. 'Net' meaning an overall negative impact/cost when you take account of all benefits and costs.

complicates the task of generating the consensus and political will needed to address genuine concerns related to the social impacts of PAs (Schreckenber *et al.* 2010).

Responding to this apparent need for a relatively simple, standardised and low-cost approach to assessing the social impacts of PAs, and specifically the request for this in the PoWPA, the SAPA initiative was launched in mid-2008. The SAPA start-up workshop included a wide range of people who had been involved in designing and implementing different approaches to assessing the social impact of PAs. These ranged from simple methods to rigorous, and very complex, methods requiring control communities and sophisticated data analysis techniques.

Box 1: Methodology, method or tool?

Methodology: overall package of an analytical framework, research design, methods, and an assessment process that links the methods.

Method: an information/data gathering activity, for example a focus group discussion, semi-structured interview, household survey, or participatory rapid appraisal method.

Tool: specific information/data-gathering instrument used within a method.

An analysis of potential users of PA social assessment indicated that the priority for the SAPA initiative should be relatively rapid, low-cost methodologies that managers of PAs of all types, and related conservation and development initiatives, could readily use. The first output of the SAPA initiative was a review of 'rapid methodologies' of this type, including both methodologies that had been used for assessing the social impacts of conservation activities and also methodologies used by the development community that might be appropriate for conservation. Some of these were complete methodologies, while others are better described as methods or tools (see Box 1).

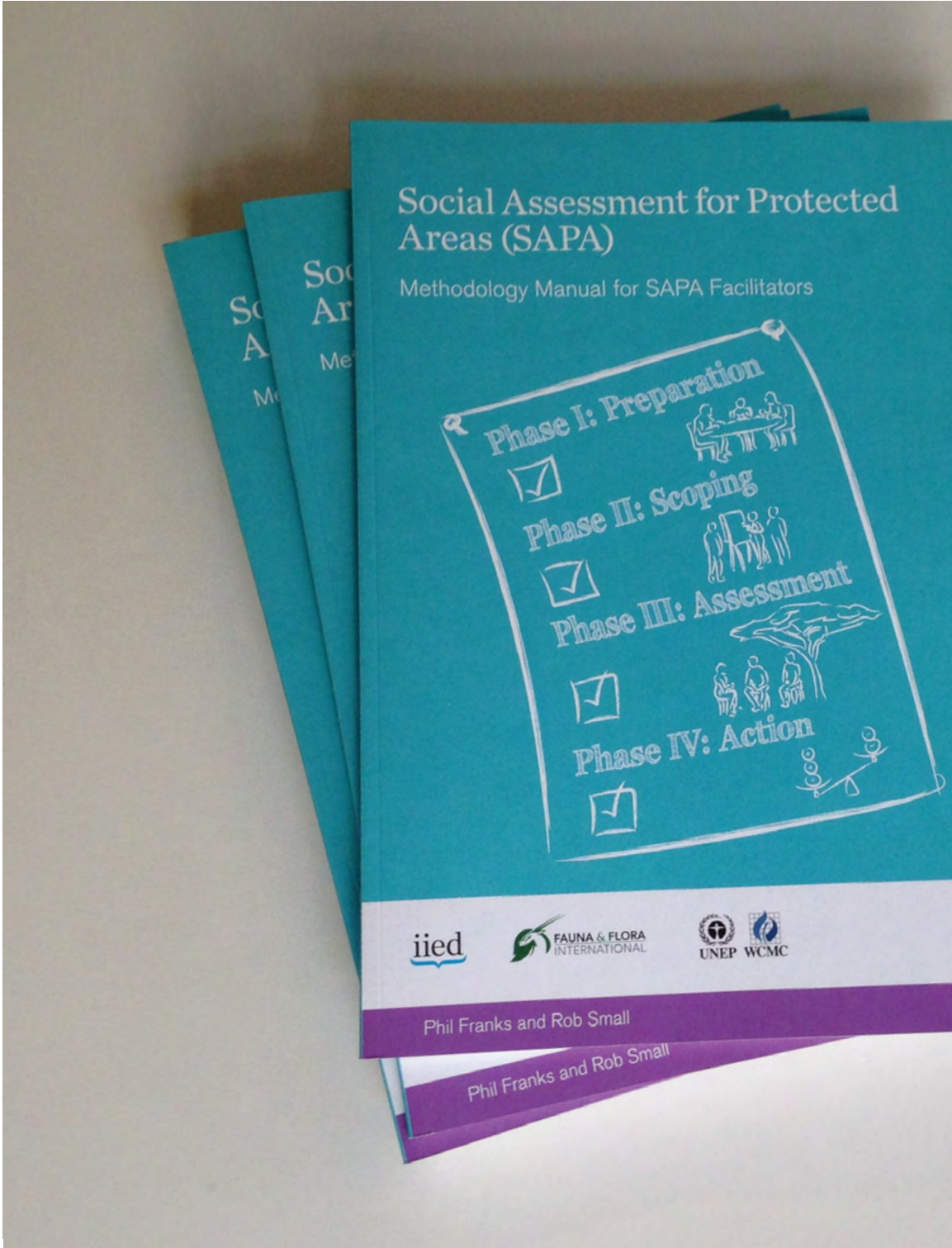
SAPA, governance assessment and management effectiveness assessment

Users of SAPA have many other information needs in addition to social impact information. In particular, PA managers are encouraged to conduct two related assessment processes:

- Protected area management effectiveness assessment (PAME) (Dudley and Stolton 2009), and
- Protected area governance assessment (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2013).

A key activity of the SAPA initiative is to explore the relationship between social assessment, governance assessment and PAME and to facilitate effective linkages. PAME assessments vary in the extent to which they address social and governance issues. The two main internationally applied tools — the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT) and the Rapid Assessment and Prioritization of Protected Area Management Methodology (RAPPAM) — do include some assessment of relevant social issues, but at a superficial level. Some more comprehensive PAME tools address social and governance issues in more detail but still have significant gaps, for example in relation to negative impacts and the distribution of impacts across communities. (Burgess *et al.* 2014).

SAPA was primarily designed to assess PA-related social impacts at the site level and their distribution. Although this remains the focus of SAPA, during piloting it became clear that some basic issues of PA governance needed to be included in SAPA, such as influence on decision making and knowledge of conservation policy. Such issues are central to human wellbeing and are fundamental to reducing negative impacts and increasing, and more equitably sharing, positive impacts.



Methodology Manual for SAPA Facilitators (Credit: IIED 2016)

3

The SAPA methodology

What is SAPA?

In broad terms, any assessment or evaluation methodology has four key elements: i) the analytical framework, ii) research design, iii) process, and iv) methods. The following four subsections introduce these four elements of the SAPA methodology.³

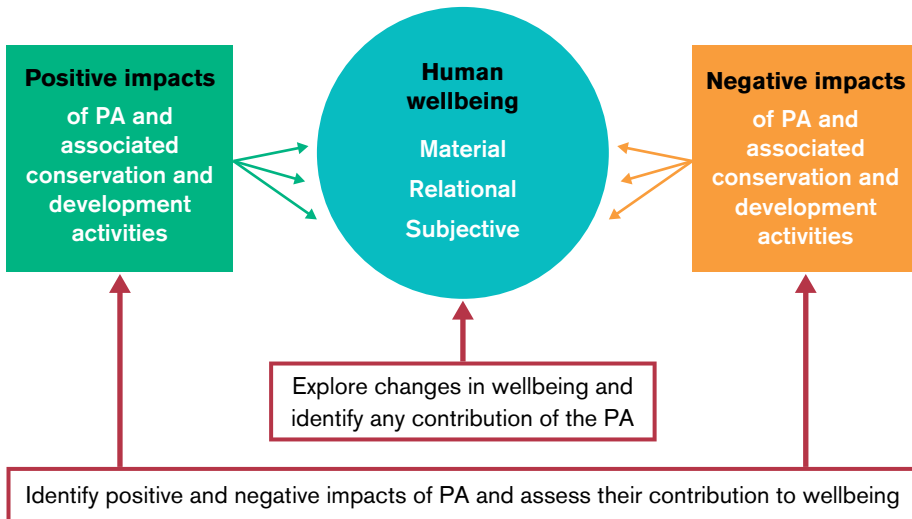
3. For detailed guidance on the SAPA methodology, see Franks and Small (2016).

Analytical framework

An analytical framework describes the key ideas or concepts that are the focus of a piece of research, evaluation or assessment, and the relationship between them. The SAPA analytical framework (Figure 1) describes the three-dimensional way in which wellbeing is conceived in the SAPA methodology, the different types of social impacts and the relationship between these. The positive and negative social impacts include those that are wholly attributable to the PA and/or related conservation and development activities, and also those that are only partially attributable (that is, they are caused by other factors as well). The framework also shows the two different ways of assessing social impact that are used in SAPA.

The SAPA methodology adopts a question-based approach, with all sites using a set of standard assessment questions (see Box 2). In addition, the methodology includes a process of developing site-specific questions that respond to specific information needs of the key stakeholders. The combination of standard questions plus further site-specific questions enables comparison and aggregation across sites, while also enabling the assessment to be tailored to the needs of a specific site.

Figure 1: SAPA analytical framework



Box 2: SAPA standard assessment questions

- 1) What is the **overall contribution to human wellbeing** of the PA and related conservation and development activities?
- 2) What are the more significant **negative impacts** of the PA and related conservation and development activities?
- 3) What are the more significant **positive impacts** of the PA and related conservation and development activities?
- 4) To what extent are communities aware of key **information** on the PA and related conservation and development activities?
- 5) To what extent is there community **participation** and influence in decision making regarding the PA and related conservation and development activities?
- 6) How are **relations** between the PA and communities?

Research design

In social assessment, your 'research design' should enable you to determine the contribution to wellbeing of the interventions that are the focus of the research versus other factors that affect wellbeing, for example a rise in food prices, insecurity or climate change. More specifically for SAPA, the question is: what impacts or elements of certain impacts can be attributed to the PA and related activities versus other factors that affect wellbeing?

In theory, the most rigorous (and expensive) approach to determining what proportion of a given social impact can be attributed to a set of conservation (or development) interventions is to conduct the same assessment in two communities that are the same in every way, except that one is affected by the interventions and the other is not. With factors as complex as access to markets, however, two villages are never going to be the same, so the process of trying to 'match' PA and non-PA communities is very challenging. More fundamentally, in trying to match communities, what assumptions do we make about the future of the PA? For a forest PA, does 'non-PA' mean literally no forest? Or might 'non-PA' be the forest under customary community management? Lastly, even if you have the funds to conduct research in communities that have no PA-related social impacts, is it ethical to conduct research with people that will in no way benefit from the research?

SAPA sidesteps this complex issue with the simple principle that the control or counterfactual situation is what the community members believe it would be. This will depend on the type of impact — it may be what they imagine the situation would be without the PA or, if the PA was only recently created, it may be the situation before the PA. This is a fairly common approach in social research which in technical terms is called a 'reflexive counterfactual'.

Research

An assessment will almost always involve using several different assessment methods. The process is what links these together into an overall methodology, and in the case of SAPA, the process also has a crucial role to play in ensuring effective engagement of the key stakeholders. The SAPA process has four phases with a total of 12 main activities — six related to information gathering and six related to preparation, planning, communication of results and action (Table 1). The actual assessment takes place in Phases I to III. This usually involves three to four months of part-time work, but can take as little as six weeks for a small PA with all the activities planned to take place consecutively.

Phase IV focuses on what you do with the results of the assessment and is deliberately included as an integral part of the SAPA process to build support and accountability for action. It is assumed that the action planning takes place within regular planning events with the stakeholders rather than as a standalone SAPA action planning exercise, and this is why there is a relatively large time window for this final phase.

Table 1: SAPA phases, main activities, timeframe and outputs

Phases and main activities	Typical timeframe	Outputs
Phase I: Preparation		
1.1. Feasibility assessment and planning	Week 1	● Go/no go decision
1.2. Review of existing information	Week 2	● PA profile
1.3. Facilitation Team selection and training	Weeks 3-5	● Facilitation team trained
1.4. Stakeholder analysis	Week 5	● Stakeholder analysis
Phase II: Scoping		
2.1. First community workshops	Weeks 7-8	● Priority impacts
2.2. First stakeholder workshop	Week 8	● Site-specific questions
2.3. Assessment planning	Week 8	● Assessment plan
Phase III: Assessment		
3.1. Household survey	Weeks 9-14	● Survey results
3.2. Second community workshops	Weeks 15-16	● Results validated and ideas for action explored
3.3. Second stakeholder workshop	Week 16	● Recommendations
Phase IV: Action		
4.1. Communication of results	Month 5	● Presentation of results and recommendations, communication plan, report of results
4.2. Planning and monitoring	Months 6-18	● Activities agreed and incorporated in plans of key organisations

Methods and tools

The standard SAPA process described in the previous section uses a combination of five methods and four specific tools, three of which are used within more comprehensive methods (see Table 2). SAPA is a 'mixed methods' approach whereby a combination of different methods and tools are used for the purposes of information gathering, checking the accuracy of results — technically known as 'validation' — and generating suggestions for actions to respond to at least some of the results (Newing *et al.* 2011). Embedded within the overall SAPA process, these methods are used in the order presented in Table 2, with each method informing the subsequent methods.

Table 2: SAPA methods and tools

Method	Tools	Objective of the method
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stakeholder analysis template 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify key stakeholder groups that should be engaged in SAPA and, in particular, should participate in the two stakeholder workshops
First community workshops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weighted ranking tool Impact scoping tool 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify the more significant impacts in a particular community To identify the more significant impacts across all communities
First stakeholder workshop		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To ensure that key stakeholders in SAPA have a good understanding of SAPA, including the process to be used and their role in this process To identify why stakeholders are interested in participating in SAPA, and what specific information they would like to get from it
Household survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survey questionnaire template 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To simplify the process of developing a good questionnaire
Second community workshops		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To share the results of the SAPA household survey with communities and review and validate these results To address any assessment questions targeted at the community workshops To explore ideas for action to <ul style="list-style-type: none"> reduce negative social impacts and increase, and more equitably share, positive social impacts improve information sharing, participation and people-park relations
Second stakeholder workshop		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To share the key results from the SAPA household survey and community workshops with workshop participants To address any assessment questions targeted at the second stakeholder workshop To develop recommendations for action to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> reduce negative social impacts and increase, and more equitably share, positive social impacts improve information sharing, participation and people-park relations

Differentiation by wellbeing status and gender

One of the strengths of SAPA is its ability to differentiate between the perspectives of women and men and of poorer and richer people (and also to differentiate by other social characteristics). This starts in the community workshops in the scoping phase, when men and women discuss in separate groups. Early attempts in Kenya to also achieve some differentiation by wellbeing status in these initial community workshops failed, as community members maintained that richer and poorer people have the same views. In fact, this often reflects the fact that poorer people are less likely to attend community meetings and thus the discussion tends to be dominated by the richer people. A mix of approaches to social assessment, including a survey that is less prone to this kind of bias, is therefore vital.

In our analysis of the SAPA results, we have focused on descriptive analysis (frequencies and cross tabulations) and have not used statistical analysis. This partly reflects the capacity and resource constraints that typically exist amongst stakeholders at the PA sites. In the absence of statistical analysis, we have taken a cautious approach to identifying differences as significant (in the general sense of the term). It is likely that a thorough statistical analysis would enable us to make more inferences about differences in perception according to gender, wellbeing and other key social characteristics.



Discussing PA-related social impacts at Ruwenzori Mountains NP in Uganda (Credit: Rob Small 2015)



4

Report of SAPA assessment at Rwenzori Mountain National Park, Uganda

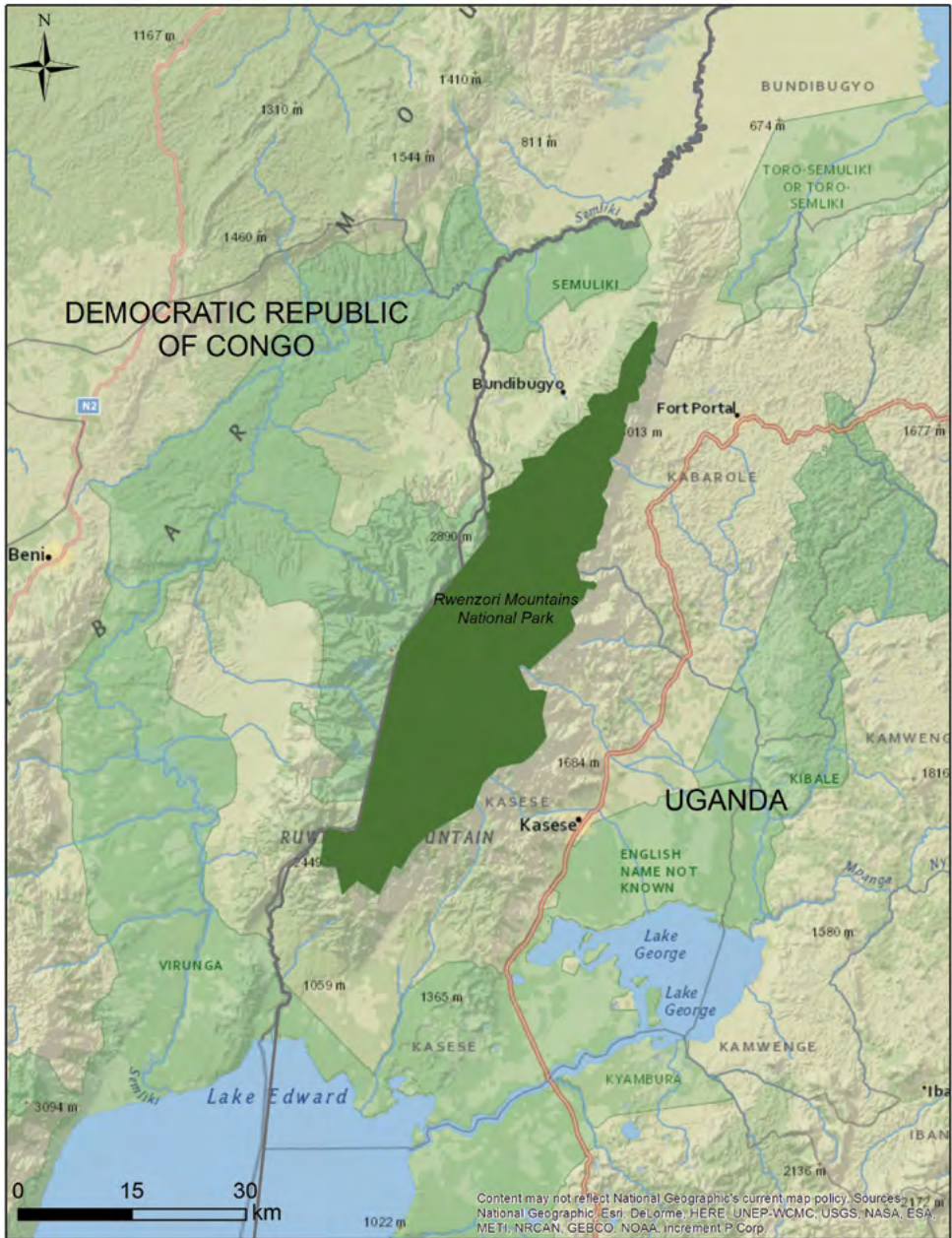
**Prepared by Phil Franks (IIED), Rob Small (FFI),
Evelyn Mugume (Kasese District) and Julius
Biryabagaruka (UWA).**

The Rwenzori Mountains protected area was first established as a forest reserve in 1941, and then gazetted as a national park in 1992. Lying on the border between Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwenzori Mountain National Park (RMNP) covers an area of 995 square kilometres. It is designated as a World Heritage site and also an important Ramsar site due to the large number of lakes and bogs scattered across the national park. The RMNP has conservation significance due to its large number of endemic species, some of which are included on the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species. Spanning the four districts of Kasese, Kabarole, Ntoloko and Bundibugyo, 58 parishes border the park with an average population of 4,943 people per parish. These people are primarily of the Bakonzo ethnic group, who are agriculturalists.

RMNP is state owned and managed by the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA). Decision-making authority lies with UWA (that is, RMNP is under 'governance by government'). Although community involvement in governance is very limited, in nine out of the 58 parishes, UWA allows local people to harvest some non-timber products and to access cultural sites and/or use footpaths, and involves them in boundary management. RMNP generates significant revenue from tourists who visit the mountains for walking and climbing, and 20 per cent of the park entry fees is used to support livelihood projects within the border parishes. To date, livestock, bee-keeping, tree planting and other projects have been supported in 51 of the 58 parishes. In addition, local employment is generated through the tourism, although this is mainly in one parish.

The SAPA assessment included community and stakeholder workshops and a survey of 109 women and 132 men from 241 households. The assessment was conducted in the period March to October 2015 and was facilitated by a team comprising staff of the Uganda Wildlife Authority, Kasese District Government and Fauna and Flora International (FFI).

Figure 2: Map of Ruwenzori Mountains Protected Area.

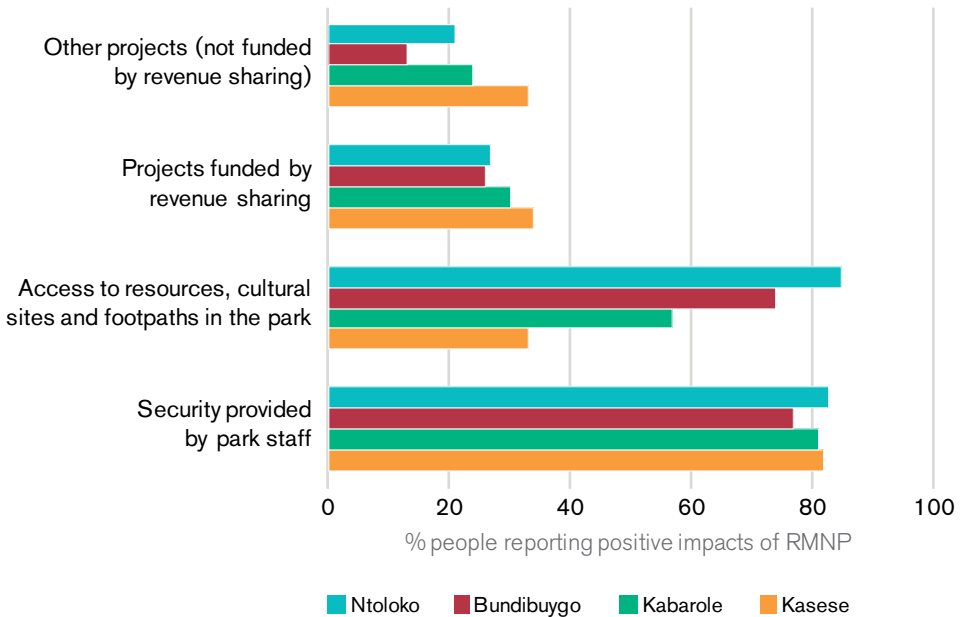


Map created by UNEP-WCMC using data from the World Database on Protected Areas (IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2016)

What are the positive social impacts of RMNP?

In the SAPA household survey, people were asked about specific impacts of the park that have affected the wellbeing of their household over the last five years (identified in the first community workshops). They were asked to rate the importance of each impact as high, medium, low or zero. This analysis is based on the percentage of people who reported the importance of an impact as medium or high.

Figure 3: The positive social impacts of the Ruwenzori Mountains National Park by district



Security was considered the most significant positive impact of RMNP, referring to the contribution that the law enforcement rangers of UWA make to general security in the area. This is an area of relatively high insecurity due to its position on the border with an insecure region of DRC. Access to the park was also considered a very significant positive impact, with an average of 59 per cent of respondents scoring this as of medium to high importance. However, there were major differences according to the type of access agreement — 84 per cent of respondents in parishes with resource-use agreements considered access to the park to be of medium or high importance, compared with only 30 per cent in parishes with access to cultural sites and tourism. The variation by district shown in Figure 3 largely reflects these differences in the type of access permitted.

Livelihood projects in the communities adjacent to the park are supported both by the park revenue-sharing programme and by a variety of NGOs that invest in livelihood interventions to support park conservation. Thirty-one per cent felt that the positive social impact of revenue sharing projects is of medium or high importance, and for other projects the figure was 25 per cent. There was a wide range of responses within any one parish, however, presumably reflecting whether or not the respondent had been a direct beneficiary of one of these projects.

In terms of differences within communities, men gave more priority than women to the livelihood projects (of both types), suggesting that women have had less influence on the selection and implementation of these projects. There were no significant differences between richer and poorer people for any of the positive impacts.

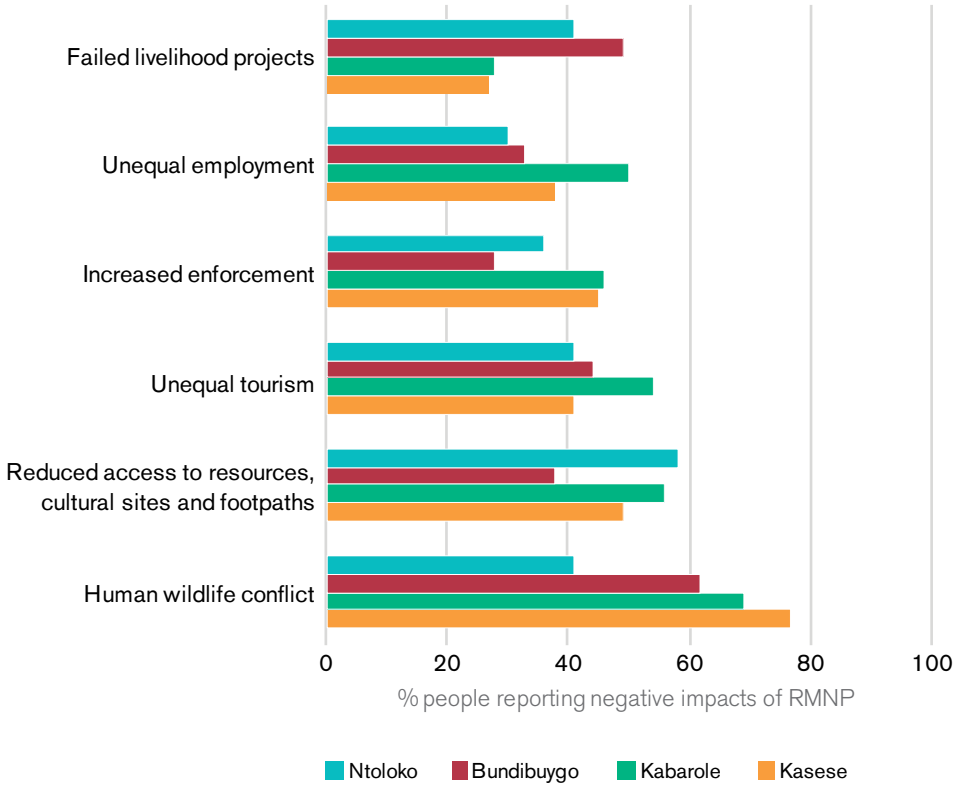
What are the negative social impacts of RMNP?

The most significant negative social impact of RMNP was considered to be human-wildlife conflict (HWC) — mainly damage to crops caused predominantly by monkeys, followed by baboons and chimpanzees. This was reported as being of medium or high importance by 57 per cent of respondents.

Reduced access to resources, cultural sites and footpaths and increased enforcement are all closely related and show a similar spatial pattern. This impact was seen as more of an issue in the 39 parishes that lack any kind of agreement for access to the park. 'Unequal employment' relates to the perception that job opportunities relating to the park go mainly to people from other parts of Uganda, and 'unequal tourism' to the fact that the tourism benefits are mainly felt in one parish. Both of these impacts relating to the perceived unequal distribution of benefits appear more significant in Kabarole District. One other negative impact that is striking, and especially significant in Bundibuygo and Ntoloko Districts, was reported to be the failure of livelihood projects over the years. All around RNMP there has been a long history of NGOs supporting livelihood projects that were intended to support conservation. Clearly, many people feel that many of these have not just failed to generate sustainable benefits, but have actually had a negative social impact.

In terms of differences within communities, men appeared more concerned about jobs, and poorer people appeared more concerned about unequal distribution of benefits from tourism.

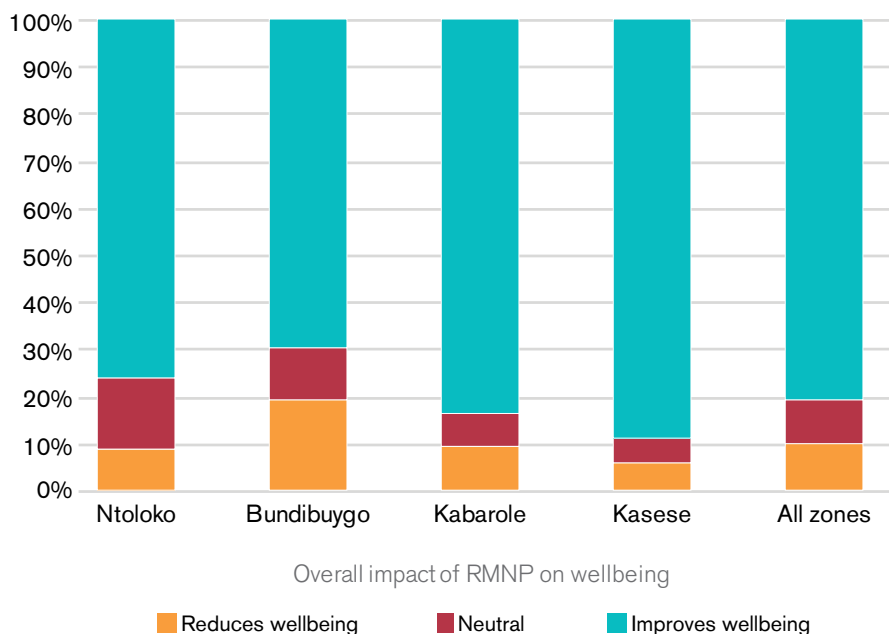
Figure 4: The negative social impacts of the Ruwenzori Mountains National Park by district



What is the overall impact on human wellbeing?

People interviewed were asked the local equivalent of the question, “How’s life?” to understand how they perceived their overall wellbeing. The allowed responses ranged from “good” or “not bad/ok” to “bad” or “very bad”. Fifty-four per cent responded “good” or “OK”, and 46 per cent responded “bad” or “very bad”, with Ntoloko and Bundibuygo being poorer than the other two districts. When asked about any change in wellbeing over the last five years, 49 per cent reported an improvement and 23 per cent reported a worsening situation. There were substantial differences between districts in terms of the numbers reporting an improvement in wellbeing, but the percentages of households reporting a worsening situation was similar across all districts.

Figure 5: The overall impact of Ruwenzori Mountains National Park by district



The main reasons given for improved wellbeing were improved agriculture and livestock (28 per cent), improved personal circumstances (10 per cent) and employment/business (9 per cent). The main factor causing a reduction in wellbeing was poorer agriculture and livestock production. The only factor causing a change in wellbeing that is clearly PA related was crop damage by wildlife. Although 65 per cent reported having some damage in the last five years, this was cited as the primary cause of reduced wellbeing by only 1 per cent of people, and a secondary cause by only 2 per cent.

Focusing specifically on the park, people were asked about its overall impact on their wellbeing (that is, the net impact of the various positive and negative impacts that they have seen). Overall, 80 per cent reported that the park makes a positive contribution to their wellbeing, with the figures ranging from 69 per cent in Bundibugyo to 89 per cent in Kasese District. Within communities, a higher proportion of men (85 per cent) than women (75 per cent) reported an overall positive impact, but there was no difference between richer and poorer people.

Awareness of key information on RMNP

To explore awareness of key information about RMNP, we considered two specific issues (or 'indicators'): i) people's knowledge of the source of the funding for the projects that were funded by the revenue-sharing scheme (ie awareness that the funding comes from tourists visiting the park), and ii) how often community members had received any information from UWA staff over the previous year. Across the four districts, an average of 47 per cent correctly identified the source of revenue sharing funding, with the percentage in Kasese significantly higher than in the other districts. On this issue there was no real difference between richer and poorer people, but there was a big difference by gender, with 65 per cent of men correctly identifying the source of funding compared with only 26 per cent of women. Regarding the frequency of receiving information from UWA staff, overall only 26 per cent said they had not received any information, but there was quite a big difference by gender, with 35 per cent of women having received no information compared with only 15 per cent of men.

Participation in RMNP programmes

People were asked whether they had raised any concerns with RMNP law enforcement staff or community conservation staff over the last year, and whether any action was taken in response (that is, whether they had any influence on specific issues). Thirty-five per cent reported raising an issue related to law enforcement, and 50 per cent an issue related to the community conservation programme. Across all zones, people reported that some action was taken in 77 per cent of cases relating to law enforcement and in 82 per cent of cases relating to the community conservation programme. In terms of differences within communities, men reported more interaction with, and influence on, law enforcement; poorer people reported more interaction with, and influence on, the community conservation programme. Otherwise, there were no significant differences.

Community-RMNP relations

People were asked about their personal relationship with park staff. Overall, an average of 86 per cent reported a good or very good relationship with park staff, and this seems to be consistent across all four districts with only minor differences. Although men generally reported a better relationship with park staff, there was no significant difference between men and women in terms of having a poor/bad relationship, and there were no significant differences between richer and poorer people.

Discussion

RMNP is a relatively new park and from its creation there has been a substantial effort to support local communities, both through measures to give people access to the park and livelihood projects designed to reduce the dependence of local people on park resources.

The analysis of positive social impacts clearly shows that the various measures to provide legal access to the park are considered a more significant benefit than livelihood projects funded by revenue sharing and other sources. However, top of the list of positive impacts is improved security, and this assessment shows the importance of this type of impact.

The relatively low rating given to livelihood projects linked to the park reflects not only the relatively small level of investment for such a large area, but also the poor record of success among these kinds of projects, both in Ruwenzori and in similar situations in many other countries. The fact that an average of 35 per cent of respondents reported the failure of such projects as a negative impact is quite revealing.

As with many protected areas, top of the list of negative impacts is human-wildlife conflict. With a park as large and inaccessible as RMNP and limited financial resources, it may be difficult to do much to reduce crop damage by wildlife, and national policy does not provide for cash compensation for crop damage. However, extending the resource-use programme to other parishes, with a particular emphasis on people affected by HWC, may serve as in-kind compensation, as well as ensuring that livelihood projects funded by revenue sharing prioritise people affected by HWC (as required under the new Uganda revenue-sharing guidelines). Where possible, efforts to promote more equitable distribution of tourism investment and jobs will be very helpful. Even where little can be done, increased transparency in planning and decision making can go some way to addressing the suspicion and resentment that exists.

In general, there seems to be a very good relationship between park staff and local people. This is partly to do with the park staffs' way of working, and also to do with the fact that 80 per cent of local people reported that the overall impact of the park on their wellbeing is positive. This study does not look at positive social impacts beyond local communities, but it is clear that the ecosystem services of RMNP also make an important contribution to sustainable development at the district and national levels.

Although SAPA does not focus on governance, the few basic governance questions reveal a need to increase the access of local people to park-related information, particularly for women. In terms of participation, local people contribute to the maintenance of the park boundary in many parishes in return for various forms of access, and they have had significant influence over specific actions of park staff at the local level. National policy does not provide for community participation in the governance of national parks at the PA level, but this assessment suggests some simple ways to strengthen community engagement at the local level. The assessment also suggests some practical measures to reduce negative social impacts and increase positive social impacts which should help to further increase local support for conservation and the park's contribution to local and national development.



Women prioritising social impacts at Mumbwa GMA in Zambia (Credit: Phil Franks 2015)



5

Report of SAPA assessment at Mumbwa Game Management Area, Zambia

Prepared by: Phil Franks (IIED, UK), Donald Chikumbi, Emelda Hachoofwe, Grant Simuchimba (Copperbelt University, Zambia) and Teddius Bulonga (Mumbwa, Zambia).

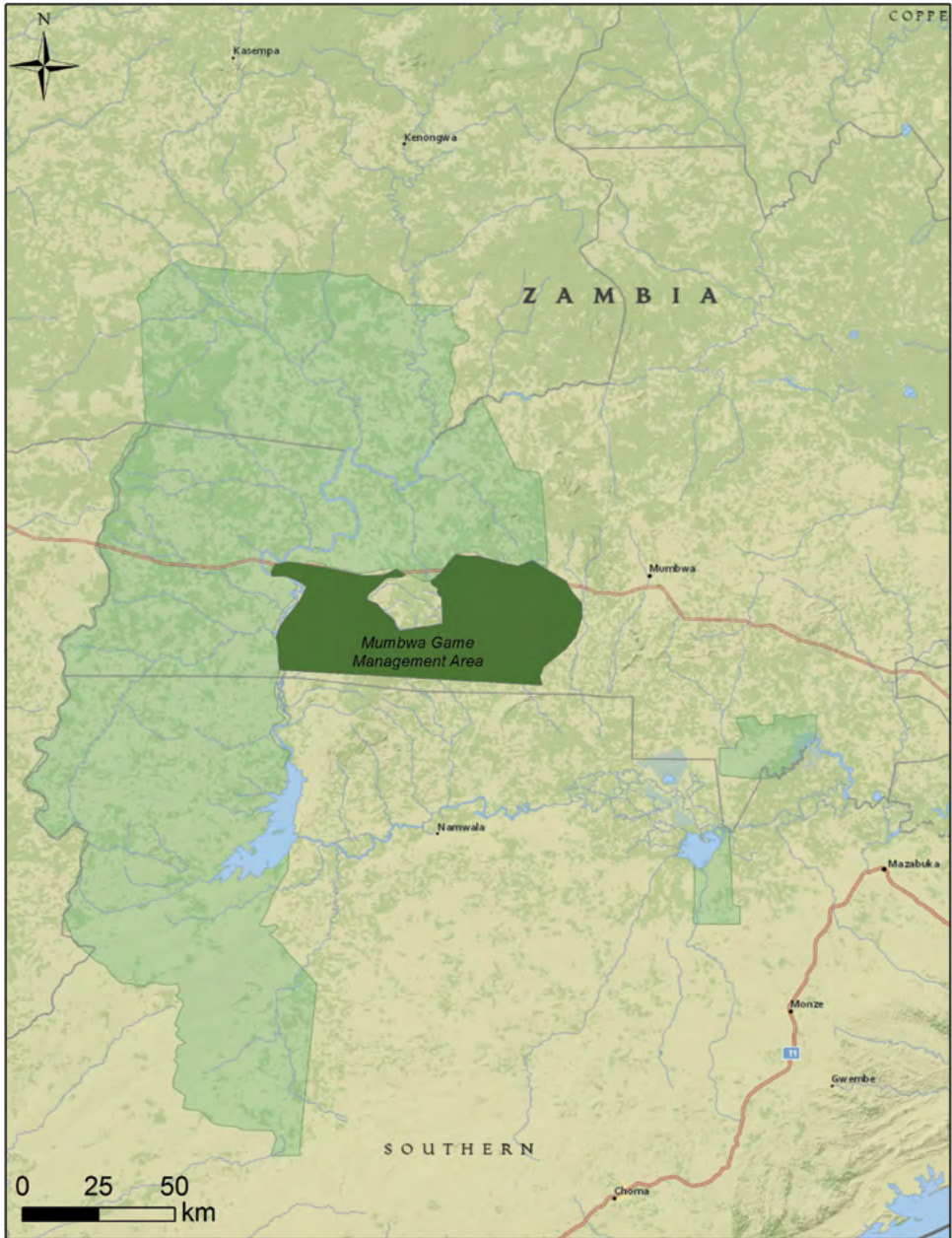
The Mumbwa Game Management Area (MGMA), comprising Mumbwa East and Mumbwa West Hunting Blocks, borders the Kafue National Park and has particular conservation significance due to it having the highest diversity of ungulates (grazing wildlife) in southern Africa. MGMA was established in the 1950s and covers an area of 2,205 square kilometres. Key threats to conservation in the area include fire, bush meat poaching for subsistence and commercial use, ivory poaching, charcoal production and land clearance for farming.

Communities around MGMA fall within three traditional chiefdoms: Mulendema, Kabulwebulwe and Chibuluma. Settlement is legal within the development zone of MGMA but is illegal in other zones, although more than a thousand people currently live and farm in the conservation zone. Users of MGMA from outside local communities include middle men who buy timber and charcoal, and commercial hunters.

A ban on commercial hunting was introduced in 2013. Prior to this ban, some 30 per cent of hunting revenue was shared with local communities, amounting to around \$15,000 per year per chiefdom. The GMAs in Zambia are owned by the state but are under a shared governance regime, known as community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), whereby authority is shared between the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) and local communities represented by Community Resource Boards (CRBs).

The SAPA assessment included community and stakeholder workshops and a survey of 119 adult women and 130 adult men from 249 households. The assessment was conducted in the period May to September 2015 and was facilitated by staff and students of Zambia's Copperbelt University and members of the local community, working in collaboration with staff of ZAWA and the Mumbwa District Government.

Figure 6: Map of Mumbwa Game Management Area.

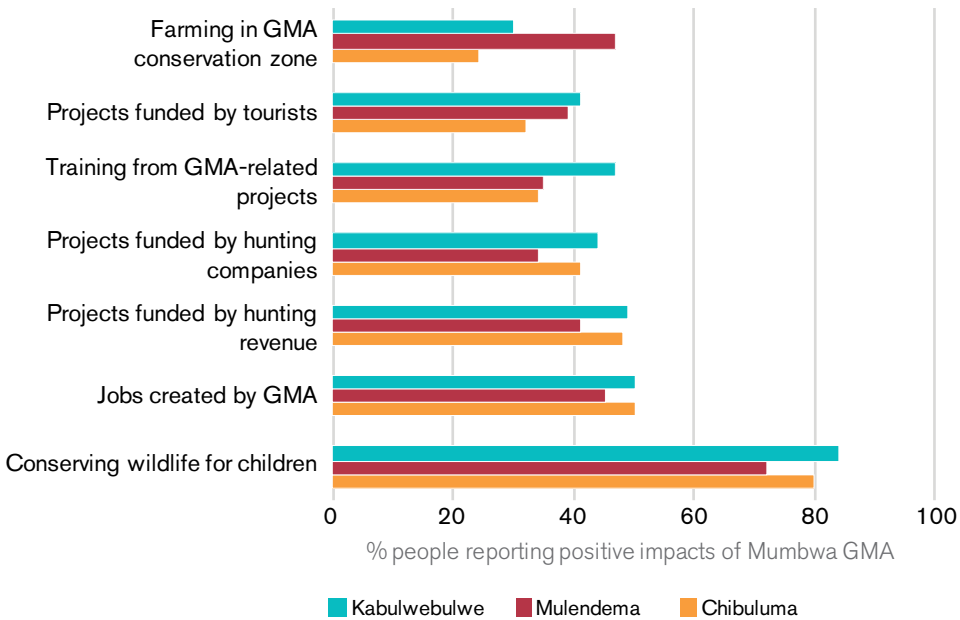


Map created by UNEP-WCMC using data from the World Database on Protected Areas (IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2016)

What are the positive social impacts of MGMA?

The SAPA household survey asked people about the specific social impacts of MGMA that have affected the wellbeing of their household over the last five years (based on impacts identified at the first community workshops). People were asked to rate the importance of each impact as high, medium, low, or zero. The analysis is based on the percentage of people who reported the importance of the impact as medium or high.

Figure 7: The positive social impacts of MGMA by chiefdom

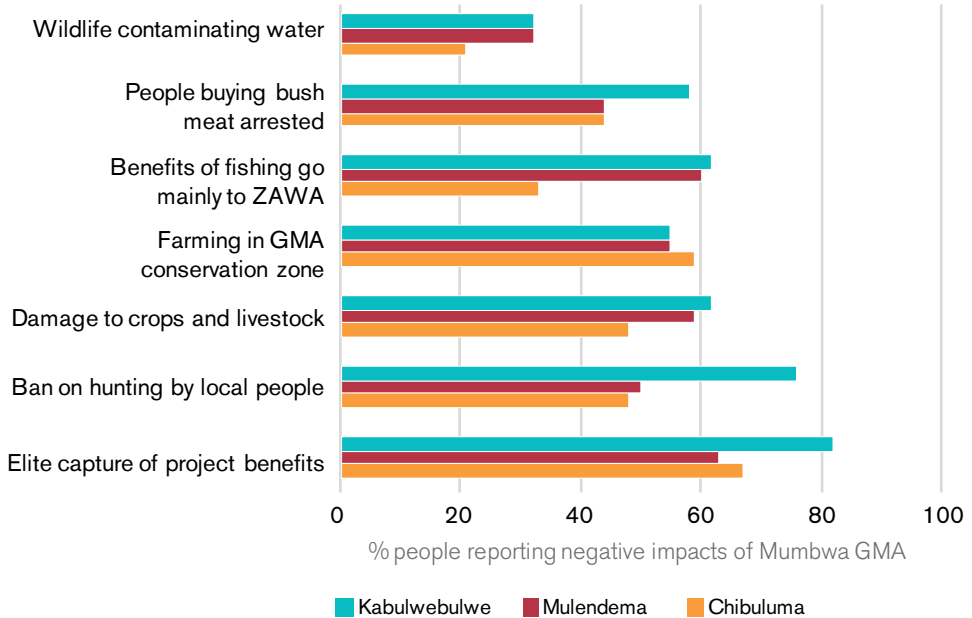


People in all three chiefdoms felt that conserving wildlife for their children (and related future hunting revenue) is the most significant positive impact of MGMA. Other major positive impacts (of medium or high importance for at least half the people in at least one chiefdom) are jobs created by MGMA, notably community-based rangers recruited from the community, and projects funded by a share of the hunting revenue.

Richer people gave relatively more priority to projects funded by tourists and hunting companies, while poorer people gave more priority to access to farming land in the MGMA conservation zone. Women gave relatively more priority to the training they have received in the past from MGMA-related projects.

What are the negative social impacts of MGMA?

Figure 8: The negative social impacts of MGMA by chiefdom



The most significant negative social impact was considered to be elite capture of benefits from projects funded by hunting revenues – respondents felt most of the benefits have gone to wealthier, more powerful people within their communities, particularly in Kabulwebulwe chiefdom.

In the past, some local people have been allowed to hunt for meat, but in recent years this has been banned with the exception of fishing in certain areas. ZAWA staff arrest people who hunt illegally (that is, poachers) and also arrest people who are in possession of bushmeat bought from poachers. Local people considered both the ban on local hunting and the arrest of people with bushmeat as major negative impacts. Although some fishing is permitted, respondents felt that most of the benefit goes to ZAWA.

More than half of the people interviewed (57 per cent overall) reported a serious issue of human-wildlife conflict, mostly related to damage to crops by monkeys, baboons and wild pigs. However, it was noted that in most cases these animals are living outside MGMA. Accordingly, most of this cost should not be attributed to MGMA.

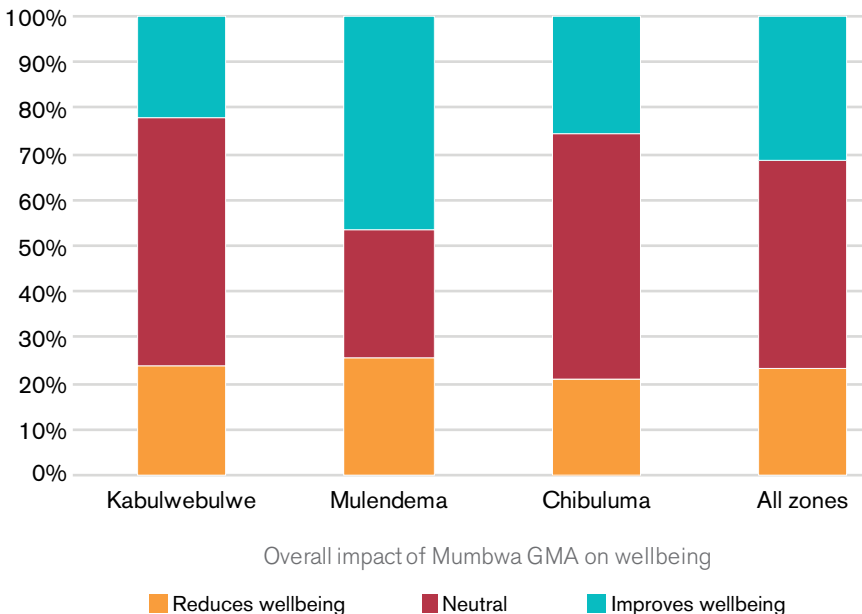
An issue of great concern to many people was encroachment of farming into the MGMA conservation zone. This is mainly in Mulendema, where local leaders believe that their customary right to allocate land extends to land within the MGMA conservation zone. Some people (37 per cent overall) considered this a significant benefit of MGMA (see the positive impacts above in Figure 8) but many more (56 per cent) regarded it as a negative social impact, and felt that the encroachers should be removed.

Within the community, women were relatively more concerned about crop damage, whereas men were more concerned about MGMA encroachment, the hunting ban and elite capture of benefits. Poorer people were relatively more concerned about MGMA encroachment, whereas richer people were more concerned about the hunting ban and the proportion of the benefits of fishing that goes to ZAWA.

What is the overall impact of MGMA on human wellbeing?

People were asked the local equivalent of the question, “How’s life?” to understand how they perceived their overall wellbeing. The allowed responses ranged from “good” or “not bad/ok” to “bad” or “very bad”. Around half of all people interviewed responded “not bad/ok”, but there were differences across the chiefdoms, with more reports of “good” in Mulendema than in Kabulwebulwe and Chibuluma, and slightly more reports of “very bad” in Kabulwebulwe.

Figure 9: The overall impact of the GMA on wellbeing by chiefdom



When asked about any change to wellbeing over the last five years, around a third reported that their wellbeing has improved. The reasons for improvement were typically not MGMA related, and included access to farm inputs, good harvests, increases in the numbers of livestock owned and jobs. Around a quarter of respondents reported that their wellbeing has worsened. The main factors were again not MGMA related, and included a lack of access to farm inputs, livestock deaths and drought.

People were asked about the overall impact of MGMA on their wellbeing (that is, the net impact of the various positive and negative impacts that they have experienced). Overall, 32 per cent reported an overall positive impact on wellbeing, 45 per cent reported no significant impact, and 23 per cent reported an overall negative impact. While there were no significant differences in the views of richer versus poorer people, or men versus women, there were significant differences across the chiefdoms in terms of the split between a reported positive overall impact and a neutral impact, in particular between Mulendema and the other two chiefdoms. This difference is related to the large numbers of people in Mulendema who are illegally farming in the GMA conservation zone.

Awareness of key information on MGMA

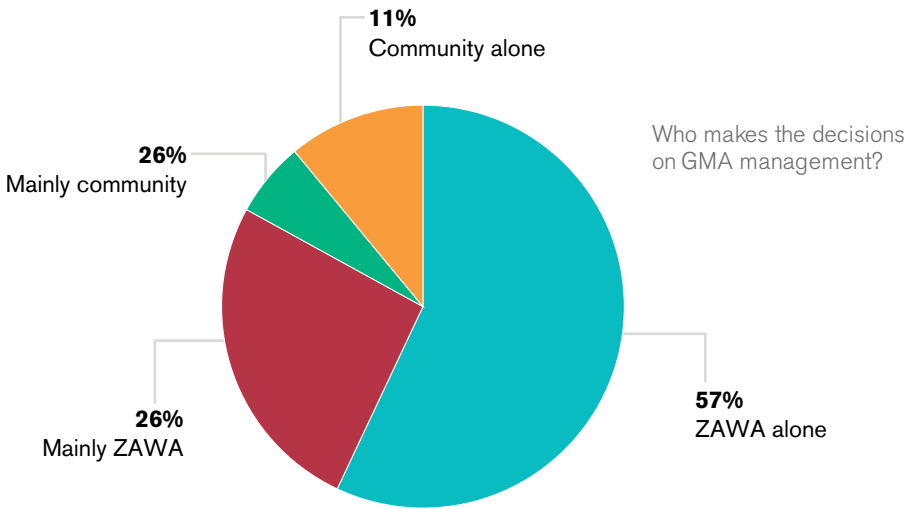
To explore people's awareness of key information about MGMA, the assessment considered two specific issues (or 'indicators'): i) people's knowledge of the name of their representative on their CRB, and ii) their knowledge of how much funding their CRB was allocated in the last funding round (in 2012). On average, just 28 per cent of respondents knew the name of their representative, and only 2 per cent had an idea of the amount of funding allocated. More people in Chibuluma (45 per cent) felt that they have influence over what projects receive funding than in Kabulwebulwe (29 per cent) and Mulendema (18 per cent).

Across the three chiefdoms, women and poorer people were less likely to know the name of their representative, and felt that they have less influence on the selection of projects to be funded by hunting revenue compared with men and richer people.

Participation in MGMA decision making

People were asked who makes decisions on MGMA management. Over half of respondents selected the response “ZAWA alone”, and a third selected “mainly ZAWA” (Figure 10). Few people appeared to feel that there is community participation in MGMA decision making, and this was especially true among poorer people. It is therefore not surprising that only a quarter of people described MGMA as effective at meeting community needs, though a higher proportion of people (40 per cent) recognised that it is effective in terms of wildlife conservation.

Figure 10: Perceptions of MGMA decision-making power



Community-MGMA relations

People were asked how they see their personal and community relationships with ZAWA. Around a third of people felt that their personal relationship with ZAWA staff is good, and a similar proportion felt that the community-ZAWA relationship is good. For both issues, Chibuluma reported a more positive relationship than the other two chiefdoms. In general, poorer people and women were less positive about their personal and community relationships with ZAWA.

Discussion

Since the end of the large CBNRM support programmes of the 1990s and 2000s, there has been little investment in GMAs. The institutional arrangements at the village level, Village Action Groups (VAGs), have largely collapsed and CRBs have been inactive for the last three years since hunting was suspended. This suspension has also drastically reduced the level of benefits to communities. Weakening of the CBNRM approach has also reduced communities' power to challenge the encroachment of farmers into the conservation zone of the GMA.

Adults feel that the most significant positive impact of the GMA is the future benefit to their children of conserving wildlife. This presumably reflects their memory of how much better things were in the past in terms of both wildlife conservation and local benefits, and the hope for a return to this situation. On the negative side, the biggest concern is elite capture of benefits. This is a governance issue, and communities are very much aware of how this problem should be addressed — by reforming the decision-making arrangements that determine which projects are to be funded.

The low level of awareness of key information is also a governance issue. This seems to be as much about the flow of information between community leaders and their people as it is about the flow of information between ZAWA and the community. This is partly a result of the collapse of the VAGs that used to exist. It may be too costly to re-establish these VAGs, but there are other ways in which information flows, transparency and community participation can be strengthened.

A key governance issue is the overall approach to governance in MGMA. CBNRM refers to a model whereby decision-making authority is largely devolved to communities living within and around a protected area; this is not the case at MGMA. What we are seeing from this assessment is governance largely by government, with some community participation on issues of revenue sharing. The good news is that, despite the problems, local communities seem committed to conservation. With appropriate efforts to restore benefits to previous levels, to more fairly share these benefits, and to eliminate encroachment, MGMA could be once again become a leading example of good conservation practice in Zambia and the southern Africa region.



Men prioritising impacts at Monts de Cristal National Park in Gabon (Credit: Phil Franks 2014)



6

Report of SAPA assessment at Monts de Cristal National Park, Gabon

Prepared by: Phil Franks (IIED) and Yves-Eric Moubagou (WCS) and Paul Loundou (consultant).

Monts de Cristal National Park (MCNP) was legally established in 2002, although it was not fully established on the ground until 2005. The park covers an area of 1,200 square kilometres of rainforest and has particular significance due to its diversity of rare plants and butterflies, and some endangered species, notably elephants and gorillas. The main threat to conservation is wildlife poaching, which is a particularly severe threat due to the proximity of the capital city, Libreville.

Communities adjacent to MCNP are primarily from the Fang ethnic group — formerly hunters but now relying primarily on farming. Living near the park are a total of 251 households grouped into 25 villages of varying size (Figure 11) which lie within three Departments of local government: Haut Como, bordering Equatorial Guinea, Noya in the west, and Como Kango in the southern part. The assessment was focused on Haut Como and Como Kango departments, where 98 per cent of the population around MCNP lives.

MCNP is state owned and managed by Gabon's National Parks Agency (ANPN) (that is, the PA governance type is 'governance by government'). A committee of local stakeholders — Comité Consultatif de Gestion Locale (CCGL), in French — was recently established to engage local stakeholders in park management. No hunting or any other resource use is permitted within the park, but hunting for local consumption is allowed in the buffer zone around the park. Revenue from tourism is very limited and although there is a hydroelectric dam within the park which provides much of the power for the capital city, at present there is no arrangement for the local community to benefit from this.

The SAPA assessment included community and stakeholder workshops and a survey of 41 women and 59 men from 100 households. The assessment was conducted in the period July 2014 to March 2015 and was facilitated by staff of the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) working in collaboration with ANPN staff.

Figure 11: Map of the Monts de Cristal National Park, Gabon

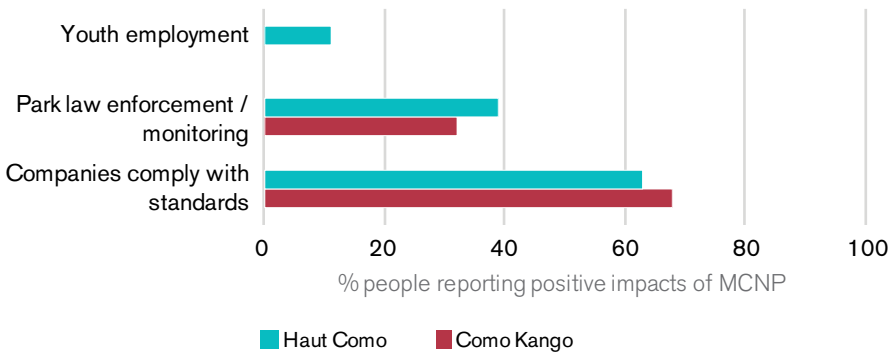


Map created by UNEP-WCMC using data from the World Database on Protected Areas (IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2016)

What are the positive social impacts of MCNP?

The household survey asked people about specific positive impacts of the park that have affected the wellbeing of their household over the last five years (based on impacts identified in the first community workshops). People were asked to rate the importance of each impact as high, medium, low or zero. This analysis is based on the percentage of people who reported the importance of an impact as medium or high.

Figure 12: The positive social impacts of the Monts de Cristal National Park by Department



The initial community workshops identified three positive impacts that warranted more in-depth study through the household survey. Most significant was the role of the national park authority in forcing logging and mining companies that operate in the vicinity of park to abide by the social and environmental safeguards that exist in national law. One of these safeguards requires such companies to support some local development activities, although compliance with this is apparently still patchy. As with many PAs in remote areas, the other significant positive impact was the contribution of ANPN’s law enforcement staff to general security in the area. Insecurity is partly related to people crossing the border from Equatorial Guinea, which explains the higher score in Haut Como. In terms of differences in the perception of positive impacts within villages, there were no significant differences between men and women or between richer and poorer households.

What are the negative social impacts of MCNP?

The most significant impact of the park was considered to be crop damage caused by wildlife. This cost was identified as being of high importance by 100 per cent of people interviewed in Haut-Como, and 82 per cent in Como-Kong. The survey and discussions in community workshops revealed that although other wildlife also contributes to this, elephants are considered to be the main cause of damage and they seem to be the main cause of resentment since local people are not permitted to take any action to control them.

Almost at the same level as human-wildlife conflict is the restriction on hunting within the boundaries of the park that was enforced once the park was established on the ground in 2005. Closely related to this issue is the third impact, which concerns how law enforcement staff deal with local people who are found in possession of bushmeat. On one side, the park staff state that local people don't understand or respect the law (suspecting that most bushmeat has actually been illegally hunted in the park). On the other side, local people claim that park staff assume that they are guilty of poaching and, in some cases, abuse their authority.

Restrictions on local people logging trees for commercial and local purposes is also a major concern. The extent to which this relates to logging within the park (which is totally banned) versus logging outside the park is not clear. In any case, the resentment of communities over this issue is no doubt exacerbated by the fact that there are relatively new logging concessions around their villages where logging companies are extracting trees right up to the edge of their village.

Figure 13: The negative social impacts of the Monts de Cristal National Park by Department

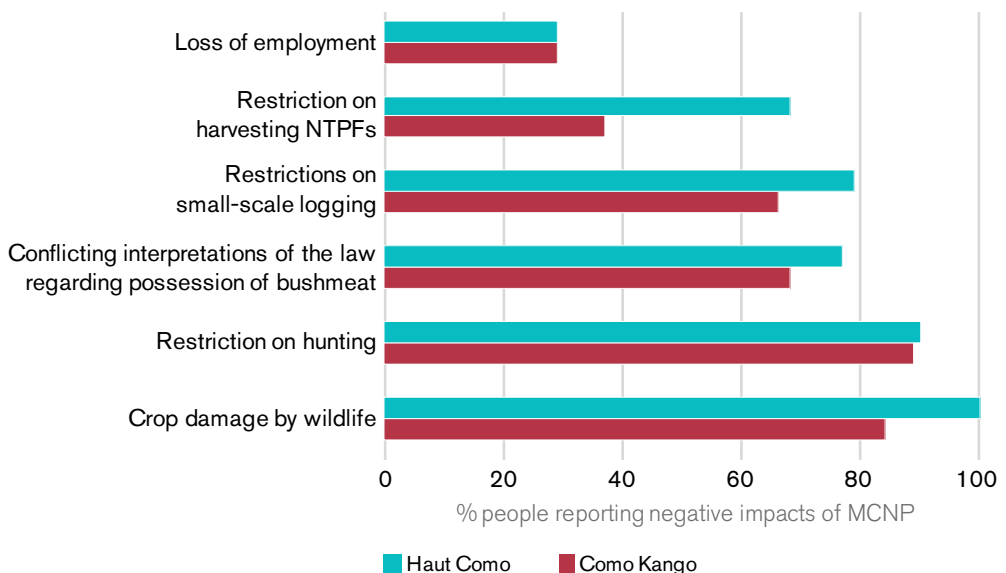


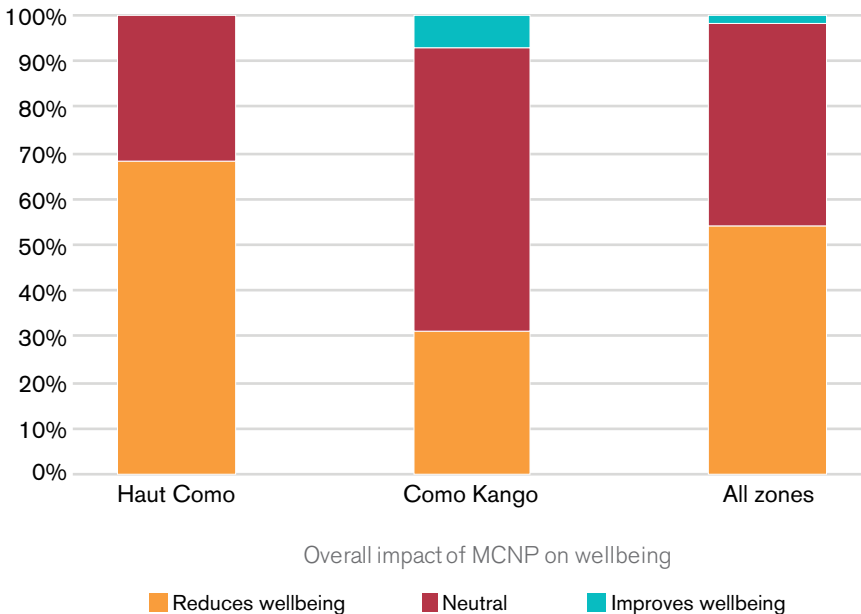
Figure 13 shows some important differences between Departments. In terms of differing perspectives within communities, poorer people (identified by a food security indicator) felt more affected by the negative impacts than richer people, with the exception of the impacts of crop damage and loss of employment. Men were more concerned about restrictions on logging than women, but otherwise there were no significant differences by gender.

What is the overall impact of MCNP on human wellbeing?

Interviewees were asked questions on their overall wellbeing focusing on how frequently over the last year they have experienced a shortage of cassava, their main staple food crop. The possible responses were “never”, “sometimes” (that is, not more than once a week) or “often”. In Haut Como, only 6 per cent responded “never” compared with 32 per cent in Como-Kango, indicating a worse food security/wellbeing situation there.

When asked about any change in cassava shortage, 92 per cent of respondents in Como-Kango and 97 per cent in Haut-Como reported that shortages are more common now than before. In both areas, the main reason for this change — reported by 95 per cent of respondents — was increasing damage by wildlife. Within communities, richer people seem to have more of an issue with elephants than poorer people.

Figure 14: The overall impact of the Monts de Cristal National Park by Department



In response to the question about impact of the park on wellbeing in terms of the overall balance of the positive and negative impacts that have been identified, only 2 per cent reported that the park has an overall positive impact on wellbeing, 44 per cent reported no significant overall impact, and 54 per cent reported an overall negative impact. There were very significant differences between the two Departments in the responses to this question, as can be seen in Figure 14. Also, a higher proportion of poorer people (61 per cent) than of richer people (38 per cent) felt they experience an overall negative impact, but there were no significant differences in the views of men and women.

Awareness of key information on MCNP

To explore people's awareness of information about the park, respondents in the survey were asked to rate their knowledge of park regulations as "very good", "good", "insufficient" or "non-existent". On average 75 per cent felt that they have insufficient or no knowledge, with the percentage being higher in Haut-Como than in Como-Kango. Amongst the few who claimed to have very good knowledge, there were significantly more richer people than poorer people. However, there were no significant differences by gender.

Participation in MCNP programmes

People were asked whether they knew of the local stakeholders' committee that serves as the mechanism for community consultation/participation in park management (the CCGL). Exactly half of the respondents claimed to know of its existence, although only 12 per cent knew its actual name, which suggests that knowledge of the existence of the structure is actually rather closer to 12 per cent than 50 per cent. Although there was little difference in response by wellbeing status (with the richer having only slightly more knowledge than the poorer), there was a major difference by gender, with 21 per cent of men correctly naming the structure, compared with none of the women. Lastly, people were asked how many times a CCGL member had met with them, individually or as a community, to share park-related information since the CCGL was created in 2012. Two-thirds said there had never been such a meeting, with no significant difference between the response of men and women or richer and poorer respondents.

Community-MCNP relations

People were asked how they view their personal relationships with ANPN staff at the park. Almost half of all interviewees were positive and reported that their relationship is “very good” or “good”, followed by 23 per cent responding “average”, and 28 per cent responding “bad” or “very bad”. Slightly more women described their relationship as “very bad”, while relatively more men described their relationship as “very good”.

Discussion

Monts de Cristal is a relatively new protected area and its establishment has seen people losing access to resources within the area that is now the park – resources that used to make an important contribution to their livelihoods. People have been encouraged to engage in farming as a livelihood alternative, and have succeeded in this to a large extent. But it seems that they now face a growing problem of crop damage by elephants that are increasingly concentrated in the park due to poaching pressure and the expansion of logging activities around the park.

On the positive side, the most significant benefit of the park is seen to be the increased compliance of logging companies with national social and environmental safeguards, including requirements to support development projects in local communities. These communities believe that this is the result of pressure from ANPN, and hope that ANPN (and local government) can do more in this respect to further increase these benefits. Even if this is achieved, there would still need to be a major effort to address the negative impacts — which are greater in number and significance — ensuring a strong emphasis on poorer people, who claim to be bearing more of the burden at present.

While it may not be possible to allow any hunting or logging within the park, it is clearly possible to address, at least to some extent, two of the other more significant negative impacts — damage to crops by wildlife, and conflict related to local people found in possession of bushmeat. With regards to damage to crops by elephants, ANPN is already making a substantial investment and local government also has the power to act in some situations. Further studies of the extent of crop damage by elephants would be helpful but should not be a reason for inaction, and it is important to recognise that this is not just an issue of financial cost. Resentment towards the park is also a function of frustration over the apparent inaction by authorities, and could be reduced by engaging communities in joint actions whether or not these fully deliver the desired result.

Although there was little community engagement in the management of the park in the early days, the establishment of CCGLs in every park in Gabon represents an effort to significantly increase the level of engagement with local communities. In this regard, SAPA has generated some basic information that should be of use to ANPN and communities, notably regarding the lack of awareness within local communities of key information on the park, and the lack of interaction between CCGL members and the communities that they are supposed to represent. The fact that the community-park relationship does not seem that bad considering the level of negative impacts, together with the positive reaction of local people to the SAPA assessment process, suggests that there is a good basis for strengthening community engagement and for joint action with communities to increase positive and reduce negative impacts.



Women prioritising impacts at OI Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya (Credit: Phil Franks 2014)



7

Report of SAPA assessment at Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Kenya

Prepared by: Phil Franks (IIED, UK), Rob Small (FFI, UK), and Nancy Ingutia (Ol Pejeta Conservancy, Kenya).

Initially a cattle ranch, Ol Pejeta Conservancy (OPC) was established in the 1980s as a privately owned protected area. The conservancy covers 37,000 hectares and has particular conservation significance as a home to the largest population of black rhino in Kenya, and also as a sanctuary for northern white rhinos and chimpanzees. Poaching, in particular of rhinos, remains a serious threat, despite the construction of a fence around the PA. There are also growing demands for greater legal access to resources within the PA, fuelled by the shortage of productive land for agriculture and livestock, population growth and increasingly erratic rainfall.

The people living to the north of OPC are Samburu, Turkana and Maasai pastoralists, whereas the people living to the east, west and south are mainly agriculturalists from the Kikuyu tribe. OPC has a well-developed community programme that targets people living in 18 communities bordering the PA (a total population of around 20,000 people). Historically, the grazing areas within OPC were also used by semi-nomadic pastoralists from further north.

OPC is a privately owned conservancy that is operated on a not-for-profit basis (ie under a 'private governance' PA governance type). A portion of its revenue from wildlife tourism, cattle ranching and wheat production is used to fund the OPC community programme, including investments in health, education, agriculture, energy and enterprise projects. Members of local communities are not permitted to use any resources within the PA, although in periods of severe drought OPC management has, on occasions, allowed some grazing of livestock within the PA.

The SAPA assessment used community and stakeholder workshops and a survey of 231 households, including 141 women and 90 men. The assessment was conducted in the period January to September 2014 and was facilitated by staff of OPC with support from FFI.

Figure 15: Map of Ol Pejeta Conservancy.

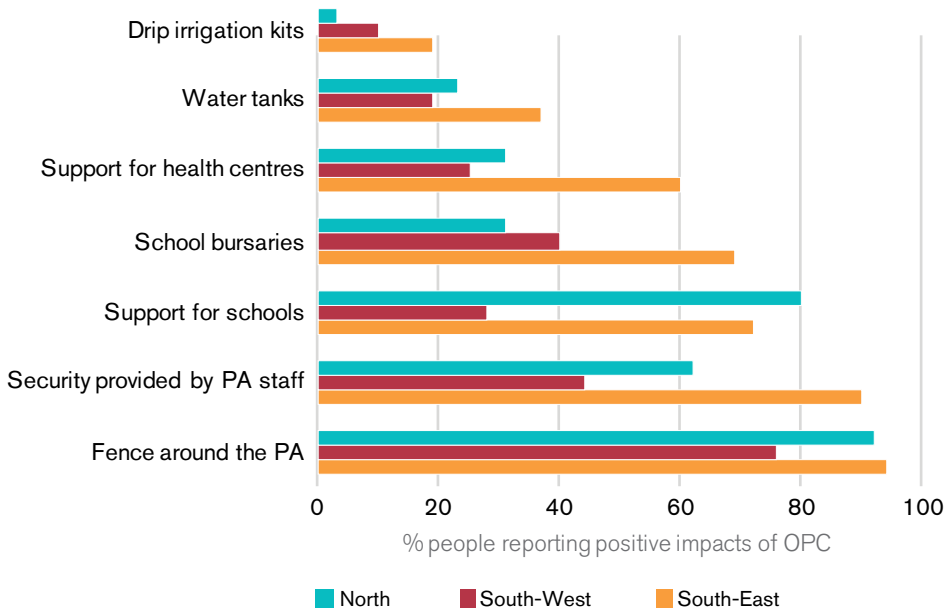


Map created by UNEP-WCMC using data from the World Database on Protected Areas (IUCN and UNEP-WCMC 2016)

What are the positive social impacts of OPC?

The SAPA household survey asked people about specific social impacts of OPC that have affected the wellbeing of their household over the last five years (based on impacts identified at the first community workshops). People were asked to rate the importance of each impact as high, medium, low or zero. This analysis is based on the percentage of people who reported the importance on an impact as medium or high.

Figure 16: The positive social impacts of OI Pejeta Conservancy by zone



The most significant positive impact across the 18 PA-adjacent communities was considered to be the fence that was built in 2007 to reduce human-wildlife conflict, and which provides the added benefit of reducing cattle rustling. The next most significant positive impact was the improvement in security that results from the presence of OPC rangers in the PA-adjacent communities (even though policing communities is not officially part of their job). Both these positive impacts — from fencing and security — were rated more highly by people in the southeast and northern zones, at least in part because of higher levels of human-wildlife conflict in the southwest.

Among the impacts of the OPC community programme, it seems that education is considered to be the most significant based on the percentage of people who consider it important to their household's wellbeing. That said, there is a need for information on the level of investment in each area of activity before clear conclusions can be drawn on value for money in terms of the social and conservation impact.

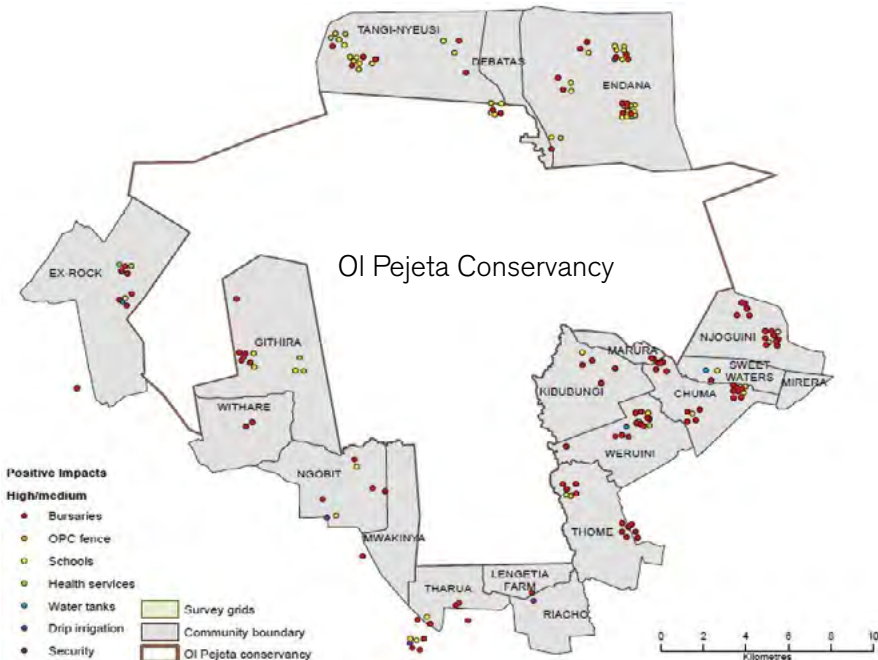
Women appear to give more priority to school bursaries and investment in health centres, whereas men gave more priority to investment in school infrastructure. Men also appear to give more priority to fencing and security than women. Richer people appear to give more priority to security, bursaries, health centres and irrigation kits, whereas poorer people gave more priority to fencing, school infrastructure and water tanks.

What are the negative social impacts of OPC?

The most significant negative social impact is human-wildlife conflict. There are major differences across regions, with 72 per cent of households in the southwest reporting problems, compared with only 36 per cent and 4 per cent in the southeast and north, respectively. In the southwest, elephants are the most serious problem, breaking through the fence and also entering farmers' fields through the elephant corridor that links OPC to the Aberdare National Park. In the southeast, the most serious problem is baboons, which have learnt to climb over the electric fence.

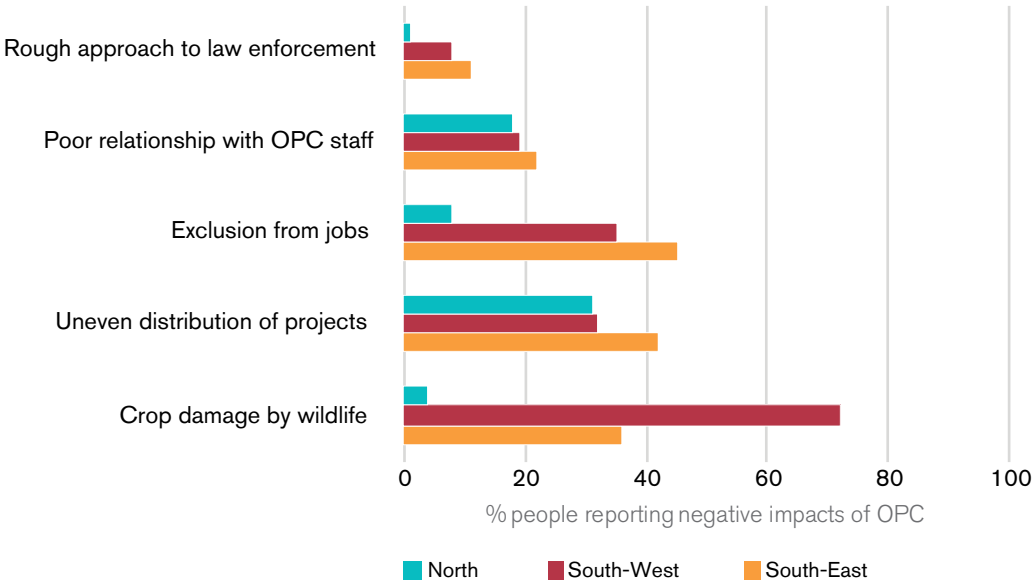
Almost at the same overall level of importance as crop damage is the perceived unfairness in the distribution across communities of development projects and their associated benefits. This is clearly illustrated by Figure 17, in which the dots represent households reporting medium to high benefits from one or more of the five different types of development project.

Figure 17: Households reporting benefits from one or more of the five different types of development project at OPC



'Exclusion from jobs' refers to the perception that job opportunities with the conservancy (as rangers, for example) and with tourism-related enterprises go mainly to people from more distant communities and other PA-adjacent communities (that is, other than the one where the survey respondent lives). While this is a genuine issue for a number of communities, part of the problem is lack of information which leads to suspicion that others are doing better no matter what the actual situation.

Figure 18: The negative social impacts of Ol Pejeta Conservancy by region



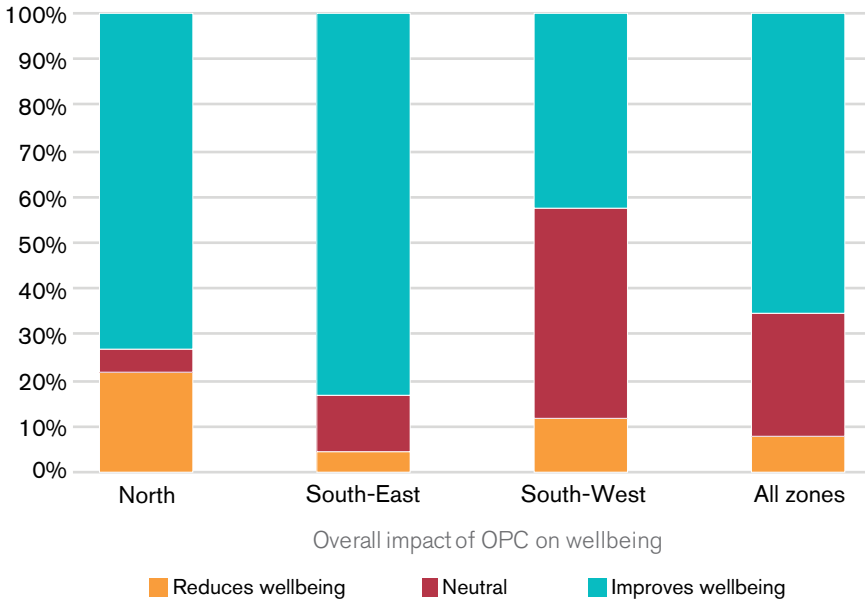
Within the same communities, women appear more concerned about crop damage by wildlife, whereas men appear more concerned about the distribution of development projects funded by OPC and access to employment opportunities. Poorer people appear more concerned about their relationship with OPC staff, but otherwise there did not appear to be any significant differences.

What is the overall impact of OPC on human wellbeing?

People interviewed were asked the local equivalent of the question, "How's life?" to understand how they perceived their overall wellbeing. The possible responses ranged from "good" or "not bad/ok" to "bad" or "very bad". Sixty per cent of all people interviewed responded "not bad/ok", though there are substantial differences across the three regions, with notably more responses of "bad/very bad" in the southwest (45 per cent) than in the

southeast (19 per cent) and north (8 per cent). In contrast, the situation in terms of food security appears to be considerably worse in the north, with 72 per cent of households food insecure for at least part of the year compared with 25 per cent and 43 per cent in the southeast and southwest, respectively.

Figure 19: The overall impact of Ol Pejeta Conservancy by region



When asked about any change in wellbeing over the last six years, few people (15 per cent) reported change for the better. Where there have been improvements, these were largely due to improved agriculture and new employment. A change for the worse was reported by 41 per cent of people interviewed, again with the southwest showing a higher percentage (60 per cent) than the southeast (38 per cent) and the north (27 per cent). The main factors causing a decline in wellbeing include environmental change (notably weather/climate related), health problems, human-wildlife conflict and loss of employment.

People were asked about OPC's overall impact on their wellbeing (that is, the net impact of the various benefits and costs). A total of 68 per cent reported that OPC makes a positive contribution to their wellbeing, but there were differences across the regions, with the southwest reporting a less positive situation due to a combination of more crop damage by wildlife and fewer benefits (as shown by Figure 18). Poorer people had a less positive view, with 19 per cent saying that OPC reduces their wellbeing compared to the overall average of 12 per cent, but there was no difference in the views of men and women.

Awareness of key information on OPC

To explore awareness of key information about OPC, we considered two specific issues (or 'indicators'): i) people's knowledge of who owns OPC, and ii) people's awareness of the name of their OPC community representative. Around a third of people knew that OPC is privately owned (as opposed to government owned), with slightly more men than women aware of this. Overall, around half of respondents knew the name of their community representative, with the percentage being significantly higher for richer people than the poor (59 per cent versus 42 per cent), but no difference by gender. Among those who knew their community representative's name, most in the southeast and southwest stated that they never receive information from this representative. This is in contrast to the northern zone, where 64 per cent stated that they regularly receive information from their representative.

Participation in OPC programmes

People were asked whether they have raised any concerns with OPC law enforcement staff or community development staff over the last year, and whether any action was taken in response. Twenty-five per cent reported raising an issue related to law enforcement, and 29 per cent an issue related to the community programme. Across all regions, respondents reported that some action was taken in around 75 per cent of cases. There were no significant differences by gender, but poorer people had had more interaction with community development staff (both in terms of issues raised and actions in response).

Community-OPC relations

People were asked about their personal relationships with security staff and the community development staff of OPC. Some 89 per cent and 79 per cent of people in the north and southeast regions, respectively, described their relationship with the security staff as good or very good. Similarly, some 89 per cent and 67 per cent of people in the north and southeast regions, respectively, described their relationship with the community development staff as good or very good. The situation in the southwest region is apparently not so good, however, with only 32 per cent of people reporting a good or very good relationship with security staff, and only 25 per cent for community development staff. Across the three regions, more men than women, and more poorer people than richer people, described their relationships with the OPC staff as good or very good.

Discussion

This social assessment for Ol Pejeta Conservancy reveals a generally positive situation, with positive impacts more numerous and more significant than negative impacts. This translates into 68 per cent of the adults interviewed feeling that OPC makes an overall positive contribution to the wellbeing of their household, compared with only 12 per cent feeling that the overall contribution is negative. Particularly striking is the significance of the benefits of the electric fence that has been constructed around the conservancy and of the contribution that the OPC law enforcement staff make to general security in the neighbouring communities. On the negative side, the two major issues — crop damage by wildlife and the perceived uneven distribution of development projects funded by OPC — are both issues that PA management can address, and in fact is already addressing with positive results. OPC makes major investments in community development, and this assessment highlights the importance of ensuring that the benefits are seen to be fairly distributed. There is a need for further discussions on this issue, but at least it is clear that existing biases should be redressed and there needs to be some affirmative action in favour of those who experience the negative impacts of human-wildlife conflict. In addition, it is important to increase the transparency of the processes for allocating projects (and staff recruitment) to counter the suspicions of bias that will inevitably still arise.

OPC is a private PA governed by a board of trustees. Though there is no community participation at the board level, OPC promotes community participation in certain aspects of management, through community representatives who form a committee that regularly meets. This assessment has revealed some challenges that this arrangement presents related to local people's knowledge of their representatives (in turn, related to the selection process) and information flows between these representatives and PA management. These are also issues that are relatively straightforward to address, and OPC management is in the process of doing so.



Conducting the household survey at Mumbwa GMA in Zambia (Credit: Phil Franks 2015)



8

Discussion

The primary objective of SAPA is to generate information that will help protected area managers and other site-level stakeholders to increase, and more fairly share, the positive social impacts of conservation and reduce the negative social impacts. This discussion chapter aims firstly to take an overview of the results of the pilot assessments at four sites, and then to reflect more broadly on what we are learning from the results of SAPA and how this kind of information may contribute to international policy goals and targets for enhancing the effectiveness and equity insert after equity (ie fairness) of PA management and governance.

Social impact

What is a social impact?

During the introductions of the SAPA community and stakeholders' workshops, we define social impacts of a PA and related conservation and development activities as impacts that directly affect human wellbeing in either a positive or a negative way.

In the training for the SAPA Facilitation Team, we discuss the three dimensions of human wellbeing – material, relational and subjective – and then discuss the terminology in the local language that should be used to convey this holistic view of wellbeing and the terms “positive impact” and “negative impact”. We have found that it often takes a considerable amount of time to determine the best words to use in the local language(s) to convey these terms in such a way that we capture not only the more tangible impacts that have a monetary value, but also the intangible impacts that may be impossible to value and yet may be highly significant. In most cases, we have tried to avoid the terms “benefit” and “costs”, or their local equivalents, because they tend to narrow the discussion to impacts that have a clear monetary value. A consequence of this broad framing is that issues emerge that may go beyond a technical definition of social impact, particularly on the negative side where we have often encountered issues of (poor) governance, although across all the sites at least 80 per cent of the ‘impacts’ suggested by communities were indeed social impacts.

Positive social impacts

Most of the positive social impacts emerging from the four case study sites can be classified under five main categories (Table 3). Within these main categories, the table also shows the more specific sub-categories of PA-related social impacts that have emerged from the four case study sites, but does not include all possible sub-categories under the main category.

Table 3: Categories of positive PA-related social impacts

Positive impact category	Positive impact sub-categories	Examples
1. Ecosystem service benefits from PA	1.1. Provisioning services 1.2. Cultural services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal access to resources (RMNP, Uganda) • Conserving wildlife for the next generation (MGMA, Zambia)
2. Improved law enforcement around PA	2.1. General security in communities 2.2. Enforcement of social/environmental safeguards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law enforcement rangers and fencing (OPC, Kenya) • More compliance of logging and mining companies with safeguards (MCNP, Gabon)
3. PA-supported development projects	3.1. Communal/group level 3.2. Individual level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for schools (OPC, Kenya) • Bee-keeping funded by tourism revenue (RMNP, Uganda)
4. PA-related employment	4.1. Law enforcement 4.2. Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law enforcement rangers (MGMA, Zambia) • Tourism and hunting (MGMA, Zambia)
5. Reduced costs/risks	5.1. Reduced human-wildlife conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fencing around PA reduced crop damage (OPC, Kenya)

Categories 1.2, 2.1 and 2.2 are benefits of a non-monetary/intangible nature that might not be picked up by more conventional social assessment methodologies, and indeed at all four sites these less tangible benefits were rated higher than the more tangible benefits. In other words, many PAs may have more positive social impacts than is often appreciated.

Ecosystem service benefits were highly rated at two sites: RMNP and MGMA. RMNP allows substantial resource use by some local communities and also access to cultural sites and use of footpaths through the PA. Of the four case study sites, RMNP is the only one that allows such access on a regular, legalised basis. The right to harvest certain forest products was rated particularly highly — as the top benefit in the communities that have this right. At MGMA, where hunting by local people has been banned in recent years, the focus was on cultural values, especially for the next generation (ie their children).

In three out of four sites (RMNP, OPC and MCNP) the contribution of PA law enforcement to general security in communities was highly rated. Even though most PA law enforcement rangers do not have general policing in their job descriptions, they still act as a general deterrent to crime. This is particularly valued in insecure areas — in Kenya where the PA borders the insecure northern region of the country, and in Uganda and Gabon where the PA is on the national boundary with relatively insecure areas of neighbouring countries.

Three of the four sites receive significant revenue from either tourism (RMNP and OPC) or hunting (MGMA, though hunting is currently suspended there). All of these sites have schemes to share a portion of these funds (20 per cent in Uganda, for example) to support development projects within PA-adjacent communities. This study shows that such revenue-sharing schemes have the potential to generate a substantial positive social impact, although the Ruwenzori case makes the point that with large PAs and relatively modest revenue, resource access is likely to have a substantially higher social impact.

The two other highly rated positive impacts were site specific. At MGMA employment was cited as a major benefit, including both employment in law enforcement and employment related to hunting and tourism. While OPC and RMNP also provide substantial local employment, the view was that this is very unevenly distributed and so benefits only a few communities (see the negative impacts).

At OPC, the top positive social impact was considered to be the fencing of the PA, which is seen to benefit local people both by greatly reducing human-wildlife conflict relative to areas without fencing and by reducing cattle theft by stopping thieves from hiding in the PA. This mirrors the experience of other PAs in Kenya, where local communities are generally very much in favour of fencing. Fencing may remain an unrealistic option for many/most PAs, but where it is a possibility, the positive social impacts, and avoided negative impacts, may considerably strengthen the financial case, especially if communities still have (controlled) access.

Negative social impacts

Most of the negative social impacts from the four case studies can be classified under five main categories (Table 4). Within these main categories, the table also shows the more specific sub-categories of PA-related social impacts that have emerged from the four case study sites, but does not include all possible sub-categories under the main category.

Table 4: Categories of negative PA-related social impacts

Negative impact category	Negative impact sub-category	Examples
1. Human-wildlife conflict		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crop damage by wildlife (MGMA GMA, Zambia)
2. Reduced/lost access	2.1. Access to resources 2.2. Access to cultural sites/ footpaths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrictions on hunting (MCNP, Gabon) • Reduced access to cultural sites and footpaths (RMNP, Uganda)
3. Unjustified arrest		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicting interpretations of the law regarding possession of bush-meat (MCNP, Gabon)
4. Transaction/ management costs		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failed community projects (RMNP, Uganda)
5. Unfair distribution of benefits	5.1. Employment opportunities 5.2. Community projects 5.3. Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusion from jobs (OPC, Kenya) • Elite capture of projects funded by hunting (Mumbwa, Zambia) • Unequal distribution of tourism (RMNP, Uganda)

The first category in Table 4 — human-wildlife conflict — emerged as the number one negative impact in three of the four case study sites. This is a very tangible cost that can, in principle, be easily valued in monetary terms, although actually assessing the value of crop losses due to wildlife may not be practical in many situations of remote PAs.

Except in OPC in Kenya, where communities know that resource access is not an option other than in situations of extreme drought, reduced access to the PA is the second most significant negative impact at all the case study sites. As noted in the previous section, while access to resources is generally the top concern, access to cultural sites and footpaths may be important in many situations.

Another negative impact that provokes a strong sense of injustice is the issue of people being arrested for illegal activities when they have not actually broken the law. This was an issue in the study sites in Zambia and Gabon, where people are often arrested for possession of bushmeat that is presumed to come from the PA (which is illegal) when in fact it was hunted legally outside the PA boundary. It seems that there is a tendency to arrest people unless they can prove their innocence, or to use the threat of arrest as a way to get the person to hand over the bushmeat to the PA staff. Part of the problem is that interpretation of the law on this issue may not be clear to some park staff and some community members, and in Gabon the impact is expressed in this way (conflicting interpretations of the law regarding possession of bushmeat).

The high transaction and management costs to local communities (and park staff) associated with establishing community projects is an impact that often goes unrecognised. Interestingly, this negative social impact was reported at one case study site — RMNP in Uganda — in the form of 'failed park-related livelihood projects'. This reflects the facts that RMNP has been a focus for integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) and similar projects since the early 1990s, and that many of the 'alternative livelihood' activities of these projects have eventually failed. This is the case not only in Uganda, but in many other countries.

Whether or not it is possible to raise the overall level of benefits to communities, another key consideration is the distribution of the benefits within and between communities. There is often an issue of elite capture and/or bias in the distribution of benefits, which can seriously undermine the potential for employment of local people by the PA, revenue-sharing schemes and tourism to contribute to human wellbeing and conservation goals. Regarding local employment by the PA, the issue may not be bias per se but rather a lack of information on recruitment policy and outcomes that can foster suspicion (which can be just as problematic).

SAPA looks closely at differences in the perceptions of positive and negative social impacts among poorer and richer people. In most cases, the differences were not significant with the exception of MCNP in Gabon, where it is clearly the poorer who feel the negative impacts more.

In terms of gender, the significant differences were, as expected, related to gender-defined roles — men expressed more concern around employment issues and projects funded by revenue sharing (where men have tended to dominate the project selection process), and women expressed more concern about crop damage in cultures where women take the lead in farming (around OPC in Kenya, for example.).

Overall impact on human wellbeing?

In the household survey, SAPA approaches the question of the overall impact of a PA on wellbeing from two directions.

a) What type of factors affect household wellbeing?

This open-ended question is asked early on in the SAPA survey, before the survey begins to focus on PA impacts, and reveals whether there are any PA-related impacts that are comparable in significance to the other major factors that affect human wellbeing such as weather/climate change, market access, improved agricultural technology. . In other words, it situates the assessment of PA-related social impacts in the broader context of factors that affect rural livelihoods. Only in MCNP in Gabon and (to a much lesser extent) OPC in Kenya was there a significant PA-related factor — human-wildlife conflict. In other words, with the exception of MCNP in Gabon, PA-related social impacts are of relatively minor significance compared with non-PA-related factors. This is why it is hard to detect the social impacts of PAs through general surveys of poverty/wellbeing. However, with the exception of some Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas, few PAs were created for the primary purpose of improving the wellbeing of the people living within and around them. That said, their impact on human wellbeing is still a key issue both in terms of conservation ethics and in terms of building support for conservation at local level and also wider political support.

b) What is the net impact of the PA on wellbeing?

The four case studies reveal a wide range of responses to this question — from RMNP in Uganda, where 80 per cent of the people interviewed considered that the net impact of the PA on wellbeing is positive (and only 10 per cent considered it to be negative), to MCNP in Gabon, where only 2 per cent considered the net impact to be positive (54 per cent negative and the remaining neutral). OPC in Kenya is close to RMNP, with 68 per cent considering the net impact to be positive, but it is important to note, both at OPC and at the other sites, some major differences between the geographic zones around the PA (eg from 43 to 83 per cent at OPC.). These differences are largely explained by the geographic distribution of positive and negative social impacts.

The SAPA methodology is not intended to be used to compare the contribution to wellbeing of different PAs, but for a particular site (and zone within that site) the balance of positive and negative impacts is important because it gives an indication not only of the impact on wellbeing, but also the extent to which communities in that area are likely to support conservation of the PA in both practical and political terms. At the individual level, there is growing evidence that where the net impact is perceived to be negative, a sense of injustice can be a significant motivation for poaching and other illegal activities (Twinamatsiko *et al.* 2014).

In three of the four cases, (RMNP in Uganda being the exception), poorer people had a less positive view of the contribution of the PA to their wellbeing, but there was no significant difference in the views of men and women. Further analysis of the data may reveal whether this is more related to negative impacts to which they are more vulnerable than richer people, or more related to elite capture of benefits. In contrast, women had a less positive view than men at RMNP. One possible explanation is that women do not appear to value projects funded by tourism revenue sharing as much as men, although this is unlikely to be the only factor.

Governance

Although SAPA is not intended to be a governance assessment methodology per se, it nonetheless provides some basic information on three important governance parameters: awareness of relevant information, participation, and the relationships between key stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.* 2013). The following three sections look at each of these in turn.

Awareness of information

The assessment of awareness of key information focused in each case on just two or three indicators that the SAPA Facilitation Team felt were key facts about the PA that local people should be aware of. An indicator that was used across three of the four sites was knowledge of the name of their community-PA committee, or their representative on the committee. The proportion of respondents across the sites correctly answering the question ranged from 12 per cent to 50 per cent, and in all cases the result for men was substantially higher than for women.

The PA staff that we have been working with were often surprised at the basic knowledge gaps that were revealed by these simple questions. For example, at RMNP in Uganda, fewer than 50 per cent of community members knew where the tourism revenue-sharing funds come from (the answer is tourists). Establishing that the benefits from revenue sharing are dependent on the park continuing to be a tourist attraction is important to the conservation impact of revenue sharing.

Participation

The approach to the question of participation depended on the governance type of the PA. In the one case where the governance type is 'shared' — MGMA in Zambia — the focus was on the level of influence communities have in decision making at the PA level. That over 50 per cent of respondents felt that decision-making authority lies entirely with the Zambia Wildlife Authority (that is, the communities have no influence) is significant, given that this PA is theoretically under a shared governance regime known as community-based natural resource management.

For two of the PAs that are governed primarily by one agency — RMNP in Uganda and OPC in Kenya — the participation indicator was the extent to which community members have been able to influence the actions of park staff at the community level. In both cases, people reported that park staff took some action in response to the issue they had raised in at least 75 per cent of cases, which is impressive. The other participation indicator used at two sites (OPC and MCNP) was the frequency with which the designated community representatives had met with the respondent to share PA-related information. Both cases where this indicator was used reveal serious shortcomings in the performance of the community representatives.

Participation in decision making at the PA and community levels is clearly of central importance in shaping how negative social impacts are addressed and in shaping measures to increase and more fairly share positive impacts. The main cause of inequitable sharing of benefits — elite capture — is an example of a governance failure.

Community-PA relationships

The results on the relationships between survey respondents and the PA law enforcement staff vary greatly across the PA sites — from 86 per cent reporting a good or very good relationship at RMNP in Uganda, to only 33 per cent at MGMA in Zambia. It is interesting that the lowest score was recorded at one PA that has, at least in theory, a shared governance regime. As noted earlier, it is not the comparison across sites that is important but rather the figure for a particular site, variations across zones within that site, and variations between the responses of different social groups. Discussion of these results at community and stakeholder workshops revealed reasons for these differences which were not apparent from the household survey and identified some practical measures to improve the situation.

Conclusion

Whether the overall impact of the PA on wellbeing is largely positive or negative, the objective of SAPA — and the spirit in which stakeholders engage in the SAPA process — is not to calculate the contribution of a PA to local wellbeing, but rather, through understanding the significance of specific impacts and related governance issues, to help PA managers working with other key stakeholders improve the situation, whatever that situation may be. Increasingly, these PA managers are Indigenous Peoples and local communities, non-governmental organisations and private sector actors, as well as government agencies.

The case studies presented in this report provide a practical illustration of the kind of information that is generated by SAPA, and some of the key results. With the exception of a few examples, we have not made suggestions for possible actions to respond to the results. This is part of the SAPA process itself, and in all four cases the stakeholders have developed draft recommendations for action to address at least some of the findings. That said, it should be obvious that the SAPA results presented in this report provide clear pointers towards areas where action might be taken to improve current situations. This assumes an adaptive management approach in which change will be incremental, and in many cases there are 'quick wins' that do not have major resource implications and that can build a foundation for addressing the more difficult issues.

The primary goal of SAPA is to support PA managers working with other key stakeholders at the site level to achieve more effective and equitable conservation of protected areas. That said, the information generated from the use of SAPA at a number of PA sites can readily be aggregated to give a broader picture at the national level which can help inform planning at a PA system level and policy development. Further aggregation at a regional and global level is also possible and could contribute to monitoring of relevant global targets, notably Aichi Target 11.

This report concludes the current phase of the SAPA initiative, which has focused on the development and piloting of the SAPA methodology. In addition to this report, a second key product of this phase is a user manual that provides SAPA facilitators with detailed guidance on using the SAPA methodology (Franks and Small 2016). Scaling up the use of SAPA in Africa is ongoing. To date, this work has been focused on Africa due to the more numerous partnerships of IIED and its SAPA partners in Africa, but the methodology is designed for use in any type of PA in any country, and we look forward to supporting its expansion to other regions as well as within Africa.

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Research Report

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Biodiversity, Poverty

Keywords:

*Protected areas, conservation,
social assessment, equity*

This research report provides an overview of the Social Assessment for Protected Areas (SAPA) methodology and describes the results of SAPA's application at four protected area sites: Ruwenzori Mountains National Park (Uganda), Mumbwa Game Management Area (Zambia), Mont de Cristal National Park (Gabon), and OI Pejeta Conservancy (Kenya). The case studies provide a practical illustration of the kind of information that is generated by SAPA, and the report reflects more broadly on the results in relation to conservation practice at the site level, and international policy goals and targets for enhancing the effectiveness and equity of protected area management and governance.

IIED is a policy and action research organisation. We promote sustainable development to improve livelihoods and protect the environments on which these livelihoods are built. We specialise in linking local priorities to global challenges. IIED is based in London and works in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and the Pacific, with some of the world's most vulnerable people. We work with them to strengthen their voice in the decision-making arenas that affect them — from village councils to international conventions.

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Cover photos

Left: Women prioritising impacts at OI Pejeta Conservancy in Kenya (Credit: Phil Franks 2014).

Top right: Conducting the household survey at Mumbwa GMA in Zambia (Credit: Phil Franks 2015).

Bottom right: Men prioritising impacts at Monts de Cristal National Park in Gabon (Credit: Phil Franks 2014).



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