

Tourism-related employment of local people around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda

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BWINDI
Backpackers
LODGE

PCLG RESEARCH REPORT



Poverty and
Conservation
Learning Group



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Photo credits

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This study aims to provide more information on the current tourism-related employment situation for people from frontline parishes and villages around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda.

Building on previous research carried out by IIED and partners, it presents employment and salary data from the tourist facilities around the park, and discusses the perceptions of tourism employers and the constraints they face in employing people from frontline parishes, frontline villages or different ethnic groups. It concludes by suggesting a number of strategies that lodge managers could employ to increase the number of local people employed.

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1. Background

Research carried out under the Research to Policy (R2P) project¹ looked at motivations for unauthorised use of resources from Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. Among other factors, employment of local people in park and tourism related activities were found to contribute to perception that the distribution of benefits from the park was not fair. Perceptions of unfairness contributed toward the unauthorised use of park resources by local people. Local people believe that they do not get a fair share of the available jobs, especially when considering the park-related costs they incur (Twinamatsiko et al., 2014).

This is an important issue for the management of the Park. Increasing access to jobs for local people could reduce feelings of unfairness on the one hand, while on the other, it could provide opportunities to further increase the benefits of the national park going to local people.

Research has suggested that barriers exist to the employment of local people. Undoubtedly, more could be done (affirmative action) to counter these barriers. But another aspect of the problem is that there is no clear picture of the current situation regarding the levels of employment of local people. The perceptions of local people that they are not receiving fair levels of employment may be incorrect and may be resulting from other issues that could be addressed.

A key issue is the definition of “local”. In terms of compensating for PA-related costs the key target group needs to be people in frontline villages, especially people who are experiencing costs e.g. farmers experiencing crop damage from wildlife. Groups such as the Batwa and other traditional resources users whose resource use practices have been curtailed or stopped also need to be a focus for efforts to compensate people for PA-related costs. In other words local employment should be considered part of a strategy to promote greater equity in conservation.

The R2P project identified this as a key issue in its theory of change, and in its planning meeting for the last year of the project (April 2014-March 2015) the project identified a set of activities to address this issue (IIED-UPCLG March 2014)². These included further research to better understand the current situation and activities to communicate the findings to both employers and potential employees; to promote better awareness of the current situation and, where possible, encourage more employment for people from frontline communities who experience or have experienced costs of conservation.

The research element of this plan was partially completed by IGCP and this research builds on this foundation. The proposed follow on activities (stakeholder workshop, communication products) have not yet been implemented. The findings of this research will facilitate IGCP and others to secure additional resources to complete these activities.

1.1 Tourism at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) is an important national and international tourist destination due to its unique tourism products, including mountain gorilla tracking, bird watching, nature walks to serene habitats, butterfly watching, filming and community walks. Since the inception of tourism in 1993, tourist numbers have exponentially increased from 1,313 in 1993 to 18,000 in 2012 (BINP General Management Plan 2014-2014). The increase in numbers is due to increased tourism activities and increased tourism centres. In 1993 Buhoma was the only tourism centre. Now Ruhija, Nkuringo, Rubuguri and Rushaga centres are also operational. There are a total of 11 tourism gorilla groups: 3 in Buhoma Sector, 1 in Nkuringo Sector, 2 in Ruhija Sector and 5 in Rubuguri-Rushaga Sector³. This spread of habituated gorilla groups has associated challenges, key among which is the increased human-wildlife conflict caused by gorillas ranging outside the park on community land. Six of the 11

¹ Research to Policy: building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation' is a 3-year project funded through the UK Government's Darwin Initiative and the UK Department for International Development (UKaid)

² IIED UPCLG (March 2014) Research to Policy Year 3 Planning Workshop. Developing a Theory of Change for Improved Integrated Conservation and Development at Bwindi. The report is free to download from <http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/G03841.pdf>

³ Personal communication, Senior Warden, Nkuringo Sector, BINP, March 2015

habituated gorilla groups are known to range on private land 2012 (BINP General Management Plan 2014-2014). This contributes to the perception of costs associated with the park among local communities.

The increased number of activities has increased the number of tourists to Bwindi. The 10 tourism gorilla groups have a total of 88 tracking permits available daily. The average daily occupancy is about 60%. This has attracted number of tourism service providers in the vicinity of BINP. For example the Ruhija meeting in January 2015 identified 40 facilities. The increased facilities have in turn increased the employment opportunities available in the area.

The increase in tourism activities has also increased the revenue from tourism and the amount going to frontline parishes in the form of revenue sharing. In 1996 a total of 76,000,000 Ugandan Shillings (UGX) was disbursed to surrounding communities, rising to UGX 661,774,809 in 2012, and reducing to UGX 500,241,012 in both 2013 and 2014. This revenue is shared among all the Parishes touching the park boundary. The number of administrative sub-divisions around the park have been multiplying too. In 2000 there were about 9 sub-counties and 21 parishes touching the park boundary. As of 2015 there are a total of 12 sub-counties, 27 park-adjacent parishes among which this revenue is shared, and a total of 101 villages along the park boundary, one of which is the exclusive Batwa settlement at Samuriro in Nteeko Parish⁴.

1.2 Study objectives

This study builds on research already conducted by IGCP to provide information needed for effective implementation of the measures outlined in the R2P work plan designed to promote better awareness of the current situation and, where possible, increase employment for people from frontline parishes and villages around BINP.

Specifically the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. How many Park-related jobs exist in the tourism hospitality facilities around BINP (disaggregated by levels seniority) and how many of these are held by:
 - a) People from frontline villages (LC1), frontline parishes (LC2), frontline districts (LC5) ⁵ or elsewhere.
 - b) Different ethnic groups, with specific attention to Batwa
 - c) Men or women
2. What is the estimated total annual value from salaries of park-related jobs at the level of frontline parishes and villages?
3. What are the *perceptions* by tourism employers of the constraints that they face in employing people from frontline parishes, frontline villages or different ethnic groups?
4. What specific actions could be taken over the next 12 months to address these constraints?

1.3 Methods used

This study focussed on a specific category of employer around Bwindi: providers of tourist facilities. A list of tourist facilities was drawn in a stakeholders meeting held at ITFC, Ruhija in January 2015 (appendix 1). This was used as the sample frame. Our key informants were the tourism facility managers. They were interviewed physically or via telephone. This report presents their perceptions of the issues discussed, especially the constraints limiting employment of local people in the hospitality and tourism sector.

⁴ Personal communication, Community Conservation Warden, BINP, March 2015. This village actually doesn't touch the park boundary.

⁵ Ugandan LG is organized into four Local Councils tiers, with the District (LC5) at the top, followed by the Sub-County (LC3), the Parish (LC2) and Village (LC1).

The intention was to collect data from as many of the listed tourist facilities as possible within the available timeframe. Actual coverage was limited by logistics: only 8 days of fieldwork, including travel time, were provided for. Some tourist facilities refused to participate. In the field we also decided to leave out some of the listed facilities because they would not provide relevant information⁶. Two tourist facilities in Buhoma refused to participate while one tourist facility in Nkuringo withheld some details about employees (the salary rates). We failed to collect data from a few tourist facilities because they were away and did not respond to requests for phone interviews.

Out of the 40 tourism facilities identified in the Ruhija meeting, data was collected on 23 facilities. Figure 1 below shows the locations of the tourist facilities surveyed. The selection was opportunistic which may have introduced some bias in the results. We interviewed the managers of facilities that were available. Effort was made to have a fair representation of tourist facilities in the different categories as well as from the four main tourism sectors around Bwindi: the Ruhija, Rushaaga-Rubuguri, Nkuringo and Buhoma tourism sectors. Table 1 indicates the list the facilities surveyed. The classification of the facilities was based only on the accommodation rates charged per person, full board. To compress the wide range in fees charged by the facilities, those that charged USD 300+ per night were classified as high end, those that charged >USD100-299 were classified as medium range, those that charged USD100 or less were classified as budget facilities.

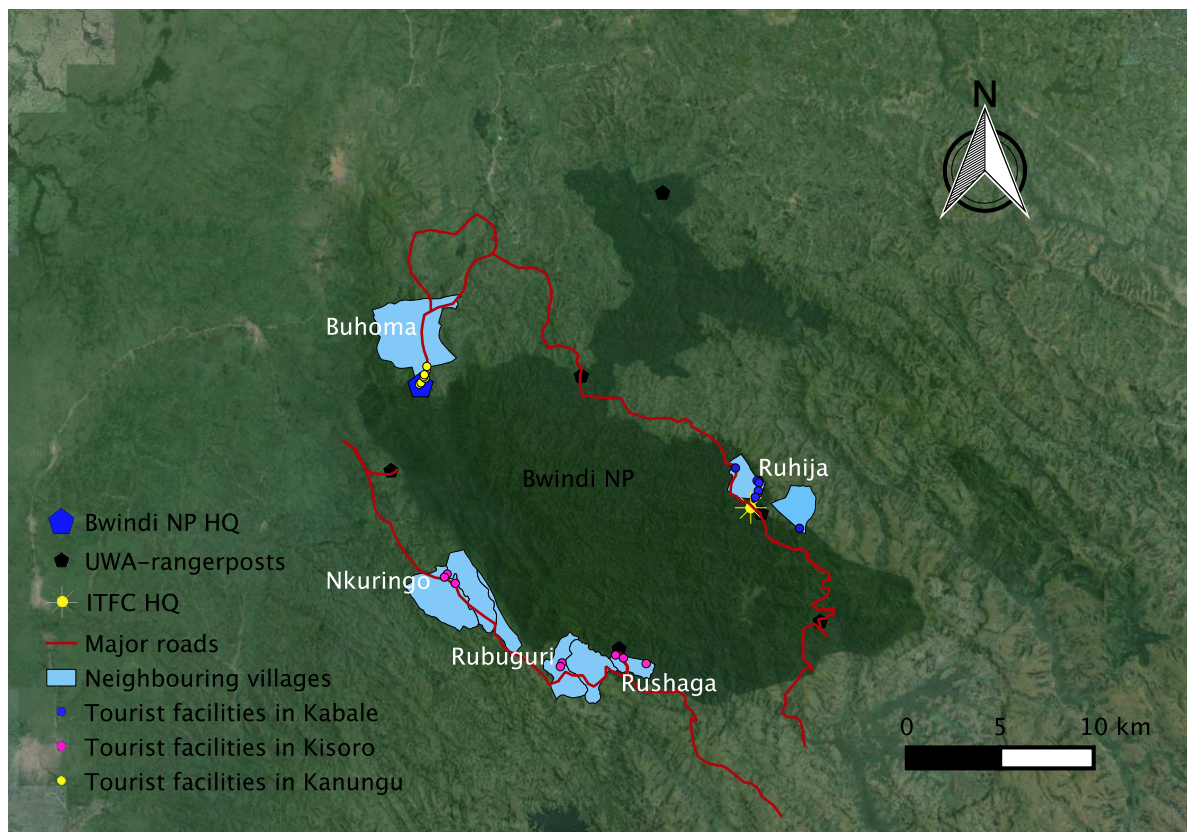


Figure 1 Map showing the boundary of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and location of tourist facilities surveyed.

⁶ Discussion with staff of the listed tourist facilities in Kanungu town revealed that their links with tourism in Bwindi were very limited. Their main clients were district officials and other district visitors, not tourists destined for Bwindi. We felt that information from these facilities would distort the general picture of the data.

Table 1: Classification of tourism facilities surveyed.

Location	Name of Tourism Facility	Bed capacity	High-end	Medium range	Budget
Rihija Sector	Broad Bill Forest Camp	8		√	
	Gift of Nature Lodge	16			√
	Gorilla Friends Resort Campsite	20			√
	Gorilla Mist Camp	17		√	
	Ruhija Community Rest Camp	11			√
	Ruhija Gorilla Lodge	30		√	
	Trekkers Tavern Cottages	12			√
Buhoma Sector	Buhoma Community Rest Camp	24		√	
	Buhoma Lodge	20	√		
	Bwindi View Gorilla Bandas	15			√
	Engagi Lodge	16	√		
	Gorilla Friends Lodge	15			√
	Gorilla Forest Camp	16	√		
	Lake Kitandara Lodge	18		√	
	Volcanoe Safaris Bwindi Lodge	16	√		
Rushaaga-Rubuguri Sector	Gorilla Safari Lodge	22		√	
	Gorilla Valley Lodge	12		√	
	Nshongi Campsite	8			√
	Nshongi Gorilla Resort	20			√
	Wagtail Eco Safari Campsite	16			√
Nkuringo Sector	Albertine Campsite ⁷	-			√
	Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge	18	√		
	Nkurungo Gorilla Camp	20	√		

As Table 2 shows, eleven of the tourism facilities surveyed were owned by individual business people or Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) from the three districts in which Bwindi is located. Six were owned by Ugandans from other districts, while five were owned by foreign companies. One High-end tourist facility is a partnership between a foreign company and a local CBO.

⁷ This Camp was converted into staff quarters for Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge immediately after this data was collected.

Table 2: Ownership of the surveyed tourism facilities.

Ownership	Number	Percent (%)
Local Person ⁸ /CBO ⁹	11	47.8
Other Ugandan	6	26.1
Non-Ugandan	5	21.7
Foreign company-Community partnership	1	4.3

The consultant reviewed data generated by IGCP from interviews conducted with 21 employers, including tourism facilities, NGOs and CBOs. Data about employment by the tourist facilities (10 of them) was extracted into an excel sheet. The expanded list of employers that had been generated from the Ruhija workshop was added to this sheet. This research filled in information gaps through interviews with tourist facility managers or other persons in charge of the tourist facility at the time of the visit. Data was collected about 23 tourism facilities in total.

The data was processed in Excel and analysed using SPSS.

1.4 Challenges faced during the study

This study presents the perceptions of tourism facility managers of the constraints to employing local people in the hospitality industry. The study did not seek the views of local people about the constraints they face in accessing employment in the sector. As such the results give only one side of the story. To get a comprehensive picture, supplementary data from local community members and other stakeholders is necessary. This may have to be collected at a later time.

The study was carried out towards the end of February, at the onset of the March-May low tourism season. As a result many senior managers were away, especially in the medium and budget lodges. However the people in charge called them to get permission to provide information. Missing the senior managers meant that we missed insights of the personnel that had been longest in the area and the industry.

Some of the managers were reluctant to give information, despite our assurances of confidentiality. Two high-end tourist facilities completely refused to participate. One of the managers stated that human resource data was confidential and he could not share it outside the business. He however shared with us his perceptions of local employment. The other simply refused to respond to our written questionnaire after we missed him in the field. One high-end tourist facility provided only partial information, withholding figures of the salaries of employees. The manager cited confidentiality. However, the managers we interviewed were very interested in the study and openly shared their employee data as well as their perceptions on the issues of local employment.

The other challenge was that many employers (especially in the Budget Tourist facility categories) had temporarily laid off workers because the low tourism season was beginning. We were informed that the periods of March-May and October-November are low tourism seasons and some medium and budget facilities normally lay off some workers because the number of tourists drops to half or less of the numbers in the high tourism seasons of December-February and June-September. This means that the employee numbers recorded do not give a true overall picture, and the same study done in the peak tourism season could record higher numbers. This factor however did not seem to significantly affect employee numbers in the high-end lodges, because the employee numbers recorded by IGCP in the July-August 2014 (high tourism season) did not differ from those recorded in February 2015.

⁸ Individual business person from Kabale, Kanungu or Kisoro Districts.

⁹ Registered Community-Based Organisation from Kabale and Kanungu Districts.

2. Results

2.1 Extent of local employment

The 23 tourism facilities surveyed had a total of 260 employees. The number of employees per facility ranged from 4 to 36.

Table 3 shows the four job categories. Personnel that had spent 8 or more years in the establishment, participating in policy formulation and managing a team of people, were categorised as senior managers. Usually these were overall lodge managers, or executive chefs, or executive housekeepers. Mid managers were personnel who headed sections of the establishment and led a team of people, e.g. Heads of Department. “Lower level staff” were between the mid-management and casual categories, e.g. room attendants, cooks, gardeners, security guards and waiters/waitresses. Casual staff were those employed on ‘as needed’ basis.

Table 3 shows that the majority (72.3%) of jobs were in the lower level category, 15.4% were mid-management level, and 8.8% were senior management positions. Senior managers constituted 8.8% of the total staff numbers. Only 3.5% of employees were casual.

Table 3: Employee levels within the tourism facilities.

Employment Level	Frequency	Percent (%)
Casual	9	3.5
Lower level	188	72.3
Mid-Management	40	15.4
Senior Management	23	8.8
Total	260	100.0

2.2 Ethnic composition of employees

As shown in Table 4, the majority (72%) of employees were from the Bakiga ethnic group, 4.2% were Bafumbira, while 22.3% were other Ugandan ethnic groups. 1.5% were non-Ugandans. None of the facilities employed Batwa.

While Bakiga were represented in all levels of employment, they were least represented in the senior management level. Employees from ethnic groups were highly represented in the mid and senior management levels. Non-Ugandans were mainly employed as senior managers including 1 European and 2 Kenyans. Only one Congolese national was employed as a security guard in one of the lodges.

Table 4: Representation of ethnic groups within different employment levels.

Ethnic Group	Levels of employment				Total
	Casual	Lower level	Mid-management	Senior Management	
Bakiga	88.9%	76.1%	67.5%	39.1%	71.9%
Bafumbira	11.1%	4.3%	-	8.7%	4.2%
Batwa	-	-	-	-	0
Other Ugandan ethnic groups	-	19.1%	32.5%	39.1%	22.3%
Non-Ugandan	-	0.5%	-	13%	1.5%
Total	9	188	40	23	260

2.3 Gender composition of employees

Table 5 shows that of the 260 employees, only 58 (22.3%) were female. Five of the facilities surveyed had no female employees. The highest level of female employment was in the mid-management level (at 22.5%) and the lowest in the senior management level (at 8.7%).

Table 5: Female and Male representation in the different levels of employment.

Level of employment	Sex of employees	
	F	M
Casual	22.2%	77.8%
Lower Level	23.9%	76.1%
Mid-management	22.5%	77.5%
Senior management	8.7%	91.3%
Total	58 (22.3%)	202 (77.7%)

2.4 Geographical origins of employees

Table 6 shows that 80% of employees in the lower level and 64% in the mid-management levels were from PA-adjacent districts (Kabale, Kanungu and Kisoro Districts) while less than half (43.5%) of senior managers were. Ugandan from other districts and non-Ugandans occupied 56.5% of senior management positions.

Table 6: Districts of origin of workers in the tourism facilities.

Origin of employees	Level of employment				Total
	Casual	Lower Level	Mid-Management	Senior Management	
PA-Adjacent District	100.0%	79.8%	65%	43.5%	195
Other Ugandan Districts	-	19.7%	35%	43.5%	61
Non Ugandan	-	.5%	-	13%	4
Total	9	191	37	23	260

Almost two thirds (62.8%) of employees in lower level jobs originated from Park-adjacent parishes. But 74% of senior managers came from outside park-adjacent parishes (Table 7). Half of employees from the mid-management level, and just above a quarter (26.1%) of those in senior management positions were from park-adjacent parishes.

Table 7: Parishes of origin of workers in the tourism facilities.

Origin of employee	Level of employment				Total
	Casual	Lower level	Mid-management	Senior management	
Outside PA-Adjacent Parish	0%	36.1%	50%	73.9%	105
PA-Adjacent Parish	88.9%	62.8%	50%	26.1%	152
Parish not known	11.1%	1.1%	-	-	3
Total	9	191	37	23	260

In terms of villages of origin (Table 8), over half of casual workers and 39.4% of lower level employees were from PA adjacent villages. Forty-two percent of the mid-managers were also from park-adjacent villages, though only 17.4% of the senior managers were. Middle level and senior managers were mainly from outside the frontline villages.

Table 8: Villages of origin of workers in the tourism facilities.

Origin of employee	Level of employment				Total
	Casual	Lower level	Mid-management	Senior management	
Outside PA-Adjacent Village	44.4%	60.6%	57.5%	82.6%	162
PA-Adjacent Village	55.6 %	39.4%	42.5%	17.4%	98
Total	9	188	40	23	260

As expected, majority of the employees came from parishes and villages adjacent to the tourism centres. Eighty percent of the employees from frontline villages were from 8 villages (out of the 100 villages along the BINP boundary), and 90% of the employees from frontline parishes were from 5 parishes (out of the 27 park-adjacent parishes) as shown in Table 9. This demonstrates that proximity

to the tourism centres increases access to information about available employment opportunities and is a factor determining who gets employed in the tourism facilities. People from parishes and villages located away from these centres are less likely to be employed in the tourism facilities.

Table 9: Most commonly mentioned origins of employees.

Tourism Centre	Frontline village	Number of employees	%	Frontline Parish	Number of employees	%
Buhoma	Nkwenda	27	27	Mukono	55	36.2
	Buhoma Central	10	10			
Nkuringo	Kahurire	10	10	Nteeko	34	22.4
Rubuguri-Rushaaga	Kashaija	9	9	Rubuguri	24	15.8
	Rushaaga	5	5			
	Nombe	5	5			
Ruhija	Mburameizi	11	11	Buhumuro	12	7.9
	Bishayu	3	3			
Total		80	80		137	90.2

Text Box 1: The case of Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge

Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge is a high-end lodge based on gorilla tourism, located in Nteeko Parish, South West of BINP. The lodge idea was conceived in 2002 when the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), the International Gorilla Conservation Program (IGCP) and the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) sought to address human–gorilla conflict in the region. It started operating in 2008. The lodge is co-owned by a private operating partner - Wildplaces Africa - and the local communities of Nteeko and Rubuguri Parishes, both adjacent to BINP, represented by the Nkuringo Community Conservation and Development Foundation (NCCDF), a community-based organisation.

As part of the Memorandum of Understanding between the private operator and NCCDF, the majority of the employees in the lodge are supposed to be recruited from the two member parishes. Of the 36 staff of the lodge, 33 (92%) were from the two parishes. Over half (51.5%) of the 33 local employees were from frontline villages, which demonstrates that affirmative action can actually increase the share of employment opportunities among frontline village communities. It also demonstrates that with mentoring and positive attitude from managers, local employees can actually perform, even in high-end tourism facilities.

The statistics of this lodge skewed the results of the survey. The lodge had the highest number of employees: 14% of the total employees recorded, 21.7% of all employees from frontline parishes and 17% of all employees from frontline villages were employed by Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge. Notably also, it had the highest percentage of female workers (19.4%) among the lodges surveyed. Plus, its employees enjoy more fringe benefits than employees of most of the other lodges surveyed, including National Social Security Fund contributions and housing allowance for those not accommodated by the employer. The lodge is a significant employer in the Nteeko and Rubuguri parishes.

2.5 Annual value of salaries of tourism facility-related jobs at the level of frontline parishes

The incomes accruing to employees from park-adjacent parishes and villages were low at individual employee level.¹⁰ However, in aggregate, the total incomes flowing into park-adjacent parishes and villages is significant. The 22 facilities that provided information of staff pay rates employed 95 people from within frontline villages. Table 10 shows that these earn up to UGX 18.5 million monthly and over UGX 222 million annually in the form of salaries. The 22 facilities employed 147 employees from frontline parishes (including the 95 from frontline villages mentioned above), earning above UGX 27 million in the form of monthly salaries, adding up to almost UGX 326 million annually. Sixty-eight percent of this income is earned by workers from frontline villages.

Table 10: Total earnings of employees in 22 tourism facilities from frontline parishes.

	Approximate monthly earnings (UGX)	Approximate annual earnings (UGX)
Income to frontline villages (95 employees)	18,511,000 (≈US\$6,611) ¹¹	222,132,000 (≈US\$79,333)
Income to frontline parishes (147 employees)	27,164,000 (≈US\$9701)	325,968,000 (≈US\$116,417)

The 22 facilities had an average of 6.68 employees each from frontline parishes and an average of 4.54 workers from the frontline villages. If we extrapolate these numbers for the 40 tourism facilities identified in the Ruhija stakeholders meeting, we assume that the 40 facilities employ about 267.2 people from frontline parishes, and about 181.6 people from frontline villages. At parish level this generates over UGX 49 million monthly. Table 11 shows that this aggregates to an annual income of about UGX 592.5 for the frontline parishes. This income is more than the 2014 UWA revenue sharing contribution to frontline parishes (at UGX 500,240,000). The figure would be even higher if all other Bwindi-related employers (Uganda Wildlife Authority, Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation, Non-Governmental Organizations and Community-Based Organizations) were surveyed.

Table 11: Extrapolated total earnings of employees in 40 tourism facilities from frontline parishes.

	Number of employees (22 facilities)	Mean # of employees	Mean wage (UGX)	Extrapolated # of employees (40 facilities)	Extrapolated monthly earnings for 40 facilities (UGX)	Extrapolated annual earnings for 40 facilities (UGX)
Income to frontline villages'	95	4.54	194,853	181.6	35,385,238 (≈US\$12,637.6)	424,622,855 (≈US\$151,651.0)
Income to frontline parishes	147	6.68	184,789	267.2	49,375,652 (≈US\$17,634.2)	592,507,820 (≈US\$211,609.9)

Apart from salary, employees get other benefits including food, accommodation, medical assistance, holiday packages, and tips from guests. NSSF contributions are paid by few of the tourist facilities. This shows that income from park related employment is as significant as revenue sharing for local

¹⁰ Unfortunately a comparison with staff from beyond the frontline parishes is not possible because many of the lodges (especially high end and medium range categories) were unwilling to divulge the pay rates of other staff.

¹¹ By February 2015 2,800 Uganda Shillings were equivalent to 1USD.

development, and should be emphasised as part of the strategy to promote greater equity in the conservation of Bwindi Forest.

2.6 Lodge managers' perceptions

2.6.1 Benefits of employing locally

Tourist facility managers indicated that they would like to employ more people from the areas near their tourist facilities for a number of reasons. It is cheaper for tourist facilities to employ labour locally, because the employer does not have to meet the full costs of labour e.g. housing and transport. This is important in the tourism sector because tourism is seasonal and employers need to limit their costs to cover inactive seasons. Specific to the hospitality industry, workers who live in nearby communities are easy to reach when there are emergencies, e.g. chance tourist arrivals, and employee leave schedules can be more flexible. Emergency calls on staff on leave are possible when they live in nearby communities. Also, having local employees enables the tourist facility management to engage local leadership in cases of staff misconduct, and local leaders can help in disciplinary cases. Plus some managers informed us that it is good for the lodge when it is perceived by the community to contribute to local incomes. Local employees within the facilities also help in providing information to tourists curious to know about the local communities, culture and ways of life.

However, many constraints against employing local people around Bwindi were identified, and are elaborated below.

2.6.2 Key constraints to employing locally

Lack of qualifications and experience in the hospitality industry

This is a challenge that all the tourist facility managers identified. Potential employees lack exposure. Tourism in Bwindi is an up-market product, and thus clients pay for professional and high quality service. As a result tourist facilities have to give ongoing training to employees in order to achieve the performance levels required, especially by the up-market lodges. Local employees often lack sufficient understanding of what is required, and many times are un-professional. Not all the businesses have the resources to continually train workers, so unprofessional service undermines their businesses. Workers are frequently laid off when they fail to deliver, which results in unnecessary costs for the employer.

In general the education levels among communities around Bwindi, especially in front line villages, are low because of a combination of factors. There are too few schools around BINP and school drop-out rates are high. For example, in Ruhija Sub-county there is no secondary school, and people cannot afford to take children to far off schools. As a result, children rarely go beyond primary education. Many parents do not seem to appreciate the need to educate their children, while many poor households located close to the park boundary depend on the work of children to help with farming and especially protecting crops from wildlife damage.

Managers in Buhoma indicated that a sponsor syndrome has developed within the community where parents want a sponsor to pay for their children's education, and are not ready to invest at all in the education process. As a result, if sponsor funds stop flowing, children drop out of school. This is a result of a dependency syndrome created by many CBOs and individual tourist's hand-outs. People who have had little education often cannot express themselves well, and tourist facility managers are reluctant to employ them, especially in the up-market lodges. Language barriers also make it difficult for some potential employees to communicate with the guests.

Because the tourism facilities are located in such remote areas, they are willing to train workers on the job. Many of the tourist facility managers were of the view that anyone who can speak basic English and with the right attitude can be trained. But many managers also pointed out that often people from the local communities are not willing to learn new ways of doing things and to acquire multiple skills, yet tourist facility owners/managers prefer to employ a small number of multi-skilled workers.

Poor attitude towards work

A number of managers mentioned that local people perceive employment in tourist facilities as a right - they feel they should be given priority whether they are qualified or efficient as workers or not. This creates negative attitudes towards workers who are not local, and many times disrupts teamwork within individual facilities.

The hospitality service provision involves long work hours, and can be challenging if workers are not passionate about the industry. Some manager mentioned that local people seek employment in the tourism sector, not because they have passion for service, but because they think it is very remunerative. Once recruited, they take their job for granted.

The managers expressed the opinion that the poor attitude towards work makes local employees difficult to train or supervise. Both local and foreign managers pointed out that some local staff do not respect authority, especially that of local supervisors. Workers develop grudges against supervisors when they are directed to work or criticised for poor performance. Many managers said it is difficult for local supervisors to assert themselves and achieve collaboration from their team because they are part of the same community. This disrupts teamwork and negatively affects service delivery.

Some local men underrate work in tourist facilities, and see it as women's work (e.g. cooking, washing, cleaning and serving). Such men either do not apply for the jobs, or, if recruited, under-perform because of this attitude. To prevent negative impact on their businesses, managers eventually expelled such workers.

An issue that seems to be a serious problem mentioned by all managers interviewed was poor time management by local employees. Local workers frequently absent themselves from duty to attend to family issues (e.g. sickness, working in their gardens) or attend community functions (parties, funerals, meetings, politics etc.). Some managers expressed the opinion that local workers value their social relations more than their jobs and are not reliable. Failing to report for work and impromptu leave are common.

Two managers attributed this behaviour to the fact that families and communities impose too many financial and time demands on their local workers. Three managers pointed out that local workers come across as lacking personal targets, unlike workers from other districts. One manager in a high-end tourist facility pointed out that staff performance appraisals often reflect stark differences between staff from the local areas and those from other areas. Most managers said they prefer workers from far off places because they will not frequently preoccupy themselves from work due to the costs of travelling home.

The "quick money" fix

There are local people who have been educated to diploma or degree level. Such people are trainable in the industry. But tourist facility managers pointed out that many of them do not last on jobs because they prefer to earn quick money. This problem was identified mostly in Buhoma. Local people educated to a high level often want to start off in senior positions, which is not how the hospitality industry works. In this industry, potential managers are trained through all aspects of tourist facility operations, and usually start off on junior positions and rise through the ranks. But when educated local community members are hired, they come with the attitude that they deserve high jobs and pay. But the hospitality industry, especially that which is dependent on fragile and seasonal tourism, generally pays low salaries.

In Buhoma area informants mentioned that many young people are not interested in regular and hard work, where you have to wait for a monthly salary, and prefer to work as porters for tourists because they get daily payments and tips.

The desire to make quick money leads some employees to resort to fraudulent means of getting extra money. Some fall into the habit of tricking tourists by telling stories of deprivation (orphan hood, sickness, family burdens) to get hand-outs. Others go to the extent of stealing from tourists.

Some people around the tourism sites fix their minds on "getting a sponsor" to make a great leap in life. They do this by conceiving projects (e.g. a women's development project, a Batwa Project, an orphans' sponsorship project) aimed at getting donors. Many such projects turn out to be fraudulent. However the people who engage in such frauds are perceived as role models in the community, and so others aspire to do what they do. The practice is common around Buhoma.

2.6.3 Other constraints

Alcoholism

This is not specific to areas around Bwindi. It is a general problem in Uganda. Many people in both rural and urban areas spend a lot of time drinking, and this inhibits their performance.

Trust

As mentioned above, recruitment in tourism facilities is mainly through personal contacts. Tourist facility owners or tour operators prefer to bring in staff whose performance they already know and whom they trust. This is because theft of tourist facility equipment such as household utensils and theft of tourist property. In one high-end tourist facility the manager mentioned that staff had been stealing products from guest rooms (soap, tissue) and it was taking a toll on the tourist facility's profitability. After staff were apprehended and the practice stopped, the tourist facility realised about 60% savings recovered from unused toiletries in guest rooms. Thus some tourist facility owners opt for employees from outside local communities who do not regularly commute and who therefore have less interest in petty theft.

Preference to work away from home

Some skilled local people prefer to work away from their home area. Others prefer to work in foreign-owned and managed tourism facilities, rather than be employed or supervised by fellow community members. This is the case even if the foreign-owned tourist facilities pay the same or lower salaries. They do not believe that local supervisors can treat them fairly at work, or see it as improper to be ordered around by a fellow villager. Some believe local employers will cheat them, or not pay them on time.

2.6.4 Constraints of employing women

Only 22.3% of the 260 workers in the surveyed tourist facilities were women. Some tourist facilities had male-only staff. Managers attributed the low presence of women to a number of factors.

Even where women were rated better than men in some aspects of hospitality, like the waiting and housekeeping sectors, fewer women than men were educated, and fewer were trained in the hospitality industry. Apart from lack of education and the necessary skills, women have other hindrances to employment in the tourism industry.

Women's household responsibilities may prevent them from working away from home. Women workers often report late to work and show high levels of absenteeism. Home responsibilities prevent women from working away from home, more so in remote tourism areas. When women get married, they tend to quit their jobs. It is too difficult for them to balance family demands and job requirements. Husbands often do not like their wives to work in lodges.

Because the female/male ratio in remote tourism areas is usually low, women easily enter into intimate relationships with fellow workers and visitors, especially the tour guides, which distracts them from their jobs. This contributes to high female labour turnover and to managers avoiding recruiting women. Intimate relationships between workers often leads to conflicts among staff, while relationships with people outside the tourist facilities can facilitate theft of tourist facility property.

Women are less resilient to the remote tourist facility situations. Men can play multiple roles: keep security where there is a threat, lifting heavy loads of tourist luggage, water and fuel wood. Women cannot manage such tasks. In Ruhija zone, the acute problem of water shortage in the dry seasons means that workers are required to pump or ferry water from the valley streams. Firewood has to be ferried and split to warm showers and for cooking. Because tourist facility owners want to limit costs, they prefer to employ fewer staff who can play multiple roles. So men are preferred to women.

2.6.5 Constraints of employing Batwa

None of the 23 tourist facilities surveyed employed Batwa. The problem seems to arise from three main factors: Batwa are generally not formally educated, the dominant ethnic groups underrate the

capabilities of Batwa and shun them, and the Batwa are not confident enough to seek employment in the tourism sector.

Discussions with tourist facility managers indicate two sets of perceptions of Batwa: one held mainly by managers from the local community (from the park-adjacent districts), mainly managing budget to medium range facilities; the other held by managers of high-end lodges, who are non-local.

Many local managers perceived that Batwa simply cannot be employed in the sector because they cannot freely interact with other ethnic groups, let alone tourists because they do not have the necessary skills and attitudes. Some of the managers mentioned that Batwa cannot stand being ordered to do tasks or being disciplined, and are too aggressive and short tempered to work in hospitality that requires politeness and tolerance. They perceived the easiest role that Batwa can play in tourism as entertainment, and generally described Batwa as lazy or unable to concentrate on the same tasks for hours, instead preferring short-term assignments that earn them immediate payment. That is why this section of the respondents saw the main avenues of Batwa participation in tourism being employment as porters or entertainers. These same managers emphasised the perception of Batwa by other groups. Some managers mentioned that other ethnic groups cannot work or eat with Batwa, making it difficult to employ Batwa, since other ethnic groups do not like to be in the same space with them because they are considered unhygienic.

The mainly non-local managers were very positive about the potential role of Batwa, and saw the main challenge arising from Batwa marginalisation by other ethnic groups. These managers were of the view that as long as other community members develop a positive attitude towards Batwa, and the Batwa acquire the basic language and other skills, improve on their personal hygiene, develop an attitude of gentleness, pleasantness and confidence, they can be recruited and trained in the industry, just like other people. However, they pointed out, Batwa do not seek employment in the tourism facilities. This is again possibly due to the deep-rooted fear that has resulted from marginalisation by others.

Two of the non-local managers mentioned:

“There is no reason why we cannot employ Batwa. All staff in this tourist facility come here to be trained. Batwa can also be trained. However, for the last eight years I have been working here, I have never seen a Mutwa looking for a job”.

“Hospitality is not about who a person is, it is about what they can do. So if Batwa are trained, they can be employed”.

3. Discussion

This survey was designed to provide a picture of the current level of local employment around Bwindi, and to determine whether local communities might be perceiving lower levels of employment than the reality. The key data sources were thus the tourist facility managers, to get their perception of the situation.

The results above show that the levels of local employment within tourism facilities are pretty high at all administrative levels - the districts, frontline parishes and villages. The village level is considered the most difficult in ensuring equitable distribution of benefits from conservation. These results show that, 39% of lower level, 40% in mid-management and 17% in senior management are from front line villages.

At parish level, the figures are even higher: nearly two thirds in lower level, half of the mid managers and over a quarter of the senior managers were from frontline parishes. However, as shown in Text Box 1, the employment statistics of Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge skewed the results. Clouds employed the largest number of people from frontline communities through affirmative action: 19 more employees from frontline parishes than the next highest local employer: the Gorilla Forest Camp.

Given this situation, why is there the perception amongst local people that they are not being employed? Unfortunately the limitation of this study as mentioned above is that we did not interview local people or their leaders, so we only have the perceptions of the facility managers. Informal discussions with park staff indicate that the perception of limited park-related employment is mainly

expressed by politicians, and it is uncertain the extent to which it is a general perception among the community. However, a few factors may contribute to this perception.

A key explanatory factor is access to information on available employment opportunities. Recruitment in tourism facilities is mainly through personal contacts. Tourist facility owners usually recruit people whose performance they already know and whom they trust, mainly from other tourist facilities or from the neighbouring communities. This survey showed that proximity to the tourism centres is a factor determining who gets employed in the tourism facilities through access to information about available opportunities. People from parishes and villages located away from the tourist centres are less likely to access information on available jobs. Most of the employees recorded as coming from frontline villages and parishes were from those villages and parishes around the tourism centres. Thus people from remote frontline villages located away from tourist centres are unlikely to be employed, and yet they see economic returns being realised from tourism-related employment around the tourism centres, so feel left out.

It is likely that frontline communities (and the leaders who often speak for them) simply do not have a complete picture of the employment patterns in the tourism facilities, so they just assume foreigners are the main employees. And yet local people feel they deserve a bigger share of the employment opportunities associated with the park, because they lost more opportunities than other groups from the gazettement of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, and continue to bear other park-related costs like human-wildlife conflict in some areas caused by gorillas ranging outside the park. Possibly, local people also perceive that park-related benefits, especially employment and other business opportunities are increasingly being captured by other outsiders. It is also likely that even where local people are employed, they feel that the salary rates are low compared to income from former direct forest uses (timber cutting, mining etc.).

During the interviews some managers expressed concern that pay rates in the industry are generally low, others mentioned that some local tourist facility owners do not pay workers regularly, especially during low tourism seasons, to minimise costs. The result is that it discourages skilled potential local employees. The average net monthly salary for employees from frontline parishes was UGX 434,500 for senior managers, UGX 308,947 for mid-managers, UGX 169,505 for lower level employees and UGX 135,000 for casual workers. Moreover other employment-related benefits offered are minimal.

Compared to UWA, the lowest paid staff (the rangers) in BINP get a net salary of UGX Shillings, in addition to medical insurance for a family of five, National Social Security Fund contributions, food rations, paid leave and travel allowance to and from leave. Rangers are normally at secondary education level.

Day farm labourers around BINP earn an average of UGX 6,000 per day where lunch is provided, or UGX 8,000 with no lunch. A farm labourer who works an average of 26 days a month with lunch provided would thus earn UGX 156,000. This is higher than the average pay of casual labours in the tourism facilities, and in the same range with 'lower level' staff.

Primary school teachers in government-aided schools, who are mainly diploma holders, currently earn a net salary of about UGX 420,000, in addition to allowances paid by the Parents-Teachers Associations. This is in the same range with senior managers from frontline parishes around Bwindi, some of whom are university degree holders. These figures indicate that the pay rates in the tourism facilities are generally low.

And why do facilities employ so many local people but persist in thinking them poor employees? There is no straight answer to this. But the continued expression of discontent about employment of local people by local communities creates divisions and conflict within individual facility staff teams, making teamwork difficult. A few managers mentioned that local staff are often negative towards "foreign" staff. Plus there are incidences of local leaders intervening when local staff are laid off or disciplined, some amounting to confrontation with "foreign" managers. This may be a cause of negative attitudes of managers towards local employees and the local communities in general.

4. Actions to address constraints of local employment

The primary constraints of employment of people from frontline communities are lack of education and skills and perceptions of poor attitude among potential local workers. Several actions were identified through discussion with tourist facility managers to address these constraints.

- First of all, the tourism facility owners and managers will need to be given feedback from this survey, so that they too get a view of the wider situation. This will be the starting point of involving them in changing the current situation. The fact that connecting more to the local communities is positive for their businesses needs to be emphasised.
- Local communities need to be made aware that having Bwindi in their midst presents a great potential for their economic development, and that unless their children are educated, the benefits will continue to by-pass them. Parents need to be sensitised to appreciate the importance of investing in their children's education.
- This sensitisation should involve local role models who have developed through genuine work and innovation, and who can sensitise local communities on the value of education, good attitude to work and honesty. They should also talk about the importance of viewing employment as a process through which workers grow on the job and of being multi-skilled in today's world.
- Identify tourism facilities around the Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Area that are willing to participate in this process, to invest in local employees. These can participate in exposure visits to their facilities. Some managers demonstrated high interest in the need to connect more to local communities through local employment, if only the identified challenges are addressed. Such managers (e.g. the Managers of Gorilla Forest Camp (Buhoma) and Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge (Nkuringo)) can be asked to participate in community sensitisation programs, to talk to potential employees about what working in tourism hospitality requires and the work ethics and values of the industry. Managers can help point out the importance of experience and being positive about being trained on the job, as well as issues of communication, self-respect, individual empowerment and confidence, and respect for others at the workplace.
- Sensitisation should be extended to local schools, where students can be encouraged to opt for training in tourism service provision, hospitality and other tourism-related businesses.
- During the sensitisation process, potential employees who already have skills should be identified and linked to potential employers in different tourism zones for apprenticeship and mentoring. Recruits should be placed outside their home areas to avoid the problem of absenteeism.
- Tourist facility managers need to be convinced of the benefits of increasing local people of their employee pools. Employers who have tourist facilities chains can strengthen their in-house training program by recruiting people around Bwindi and moving them around different tourist facilities to encourage professionalism through exposure to other environments.
- Local employers need to be encouraged to advertise opportunities in their businesses, both for employment and other businesses, e.g supplies, more widely in the local area through the use of various media (FM radio, places of worship, community meetings, and announcements at local council offices of the different levels) so that all potential employees have equal access to opportunities.

4.1 Actions towards increased Batwa employment

Though Batwa generally lack formal education, there are some young Batwa who have gone through formal education and gained language skills. These need to be identified in collaboration with organisations working among Batwa (The Batwa Development Program in Buhoma, Bwindi and Mgahinga Conservation Trust, United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda, etc.) and

mentored on the skills and attitudes they need to work in the tourism industry. Then they can be linked to potential employers.

Uganda Wildlife Authority recruited Batwa as tourist porters. This was done as affirmative action. Five teams of guides and porters have two Batwa porters each, male and female, totalling 10 Batwa porters. The porters are directly paid by tourists. The UWA Assistant Warden informed us that they perform well as porters, but at times face communication challenges when tourist want to talk to them. Batwa have specialised knowledge of Bwindi Forest that should be capitalized on. The number of Batwa who have attained primary and secondary school education has increased due to intervention of different NGOs. UWA can be encouraged to recruit more Batwa porters for the other tourist guide teams. Some Batwa with basic English language skills can be trained as tourist guides. This would enable them to earn higher incomes from regular jobs. Similarly, UWA could, through affirmative action, recruit and train more Batwa with Basic language skills as rangers. The training should include both skill development and mentoring on attitudes they need to be effective workers.

4.2 Actions towards increased women employment

Increasing the numbers of female employees in the lodges is probably the best way to increase local employment and making significant economic contributions to individual households within the frontline communities. Though the managers attributed the low presence of women as in tourism service to low education and skills, the key explanatory factors are probably access to information on available opportunities as well as societal attitude to women's employment in the hospitality industry. Women's access to information is limited by their being less mobile than men, due to their household commitments. Some informants mentioned that husbands do not like their wives to work in lodges because it is associated with immorality, and some female employees have to quit jobs when they get married. These are clearly gendered perceptions of women as workers, which can only be changed through attitude change.

Most of the actions identified above also apply to women and girls. In addition, there is need of sensitising the community in general about the value of women's work. Local female role models who have successfully juggled work and family responsibilities should be utilised to sensitise local communities on the value of women's work outside the home. In local schools, girls should be encouraged to opt for training in tourism service provision and hospitality.

Tourist facility managers need to be convinced of the benefits of increasing women in their in-house training programs and employee pools. They should also be encouraged to advertise employment opportunities more widely in the local area through the use of various media so that women have equal access to information. Women who already have skills should be identified and linked to potential employers for apprenticeship and mentoring. The mentoring should include balancing of job and family obligations. For a start, women should be linked to tourism facilities in the vicinity of their villages to avoid unnecessary upset of their families until they are confident about balancing family and work obligations.

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Appendix 1: List of tourist facilities drawn at the stakeholders meeting held at ITFC, Ruhija in January 2015

District	Sub-county	Parish	Tourism Facility
Kisoro	Nyabwishenya	Nteko	Clouds Mountain Gorilla Lodge
Kisoro	Nyabwishenya	Nteko	Nkurungo Gorilla Camp
Kisoro	Nyabwishenya	Nteko	Albertine Campsite
Kisoro	Kirundo	Rubuguri	Wagtail Eco Safari Camp
Kisoro			Gorilla Safari Lodge
Kisoro			Nshongi Campsite
Kisoro			Gorilla Valley Lodge
Kisoro			Nshongi Gorilla Resort Lodge
Kisoro	Nyabwishenya	Ntungamo,	Bwindi Back Packers
Kisoro		Rutaka	Camillon Hills Lodge
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Gorilla Friends Resort Campsite
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Gorilla Mist Camp
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Ruhija Community Rest Camp
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Ruhija Gorilla Lodge, Asanyt
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Bakiga Lodges
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Trekkers Tavern Cottages
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Ruhija Gorilla Tour Association
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Ruhija Community Development Association
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Gift of Nature Lodge
Kabale	Ruhija	Kitojo	Broad Bill ForetCamp
Kanungu	Mpungu	Mpungu	Cuckooland
Kanungu			Ecomarver
Kanungu	Kanungu Town	Kanungu Town Council	Kanungu Inn
Kanungu		Kanungu Town Council	Kanungu Motel
Kanungu		Kanungu Town Council	Keroda Guest House
Kanungu		Kanungu Town Council	Cairo Guest House
Kanungu		Kanungu Town Council	Joy Guest House
Kanungu		Kanungu Town Council	Ngoto Rest Camp
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Buhoma Community Rest Camp
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Lake Kitandara lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Buhoma Lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Gorilla Forest Camp

Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Silverback Lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Havens Lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Lake Volcano Lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Gorilla Resort Camp
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Engagi Lodge
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Mahogany Hotspring
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Gorilla Conservation Camp
Kanungu	Kayonza	Mukono	Bwindi View Bandas and Campsite

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