



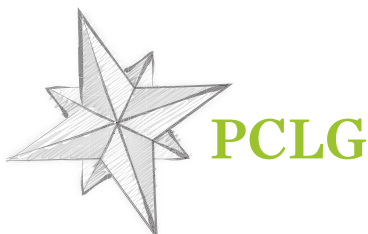
# Influencing policy change in Uganda

An impact evaluation of  
the Uganda Poverty and  
Conservation Learning  
Group's work

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PCLG RESEARCH REPORT



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## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank all informants who gave their time to be interviewed as part of the evaluation.

## Photo credit

Front cover: mountain gorilla photographed by M Mahboobeh in Uganda, 2013.

# Contents

<b>Acronyms</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>8</b>
The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group	8
Uganda-PCLG and the Research to Policy project	8
Origins of the PCLG evaluation	9
<b>Evaluation design and methods</b>	<b>10</b>
Investigating influence using process tracing	10
Collecting evidence	11
Assessing the probative value of evidence with Bayesian updating	12
Main limitations of the evaluation	13
<b>Findings</b>	<b>15</b>
Contribution claim one	15
Contribution claim two	32
<b>Reflections on the evaluation</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Annex 1 – Interview transcripts</b>	<b>40</b>
Transcript 1	40
Transcript 2	44
Transcript 3	52
Transcript 4	56
Transcript 5	60
Transcript 6	62
Transcript 7	65
<b>Annex 2 – Email exchanges</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Annex 3 – U-PCLG letter</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Annex 4 – Newspaper article</b>	<b>73</b>

## Acronyms

ACODE	Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment
BINP	Bwindi Impenetrable National Park
BU	Bayesian updating
CC1	Contribution claim one
CC2	Contribution claim two
ICDs	Integrated conservation and development interventions
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ITFC	Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation
LR	Likelihood ratio
PCLG	Poverty and Conservation Learning Group
PT	Process tracing
R2P-CTPA	Research to Policy Project - Conservation through Poverty Alleviation
ToC	Theory of Change
U-PCLG	Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

## Executive summary

In 2012, IIED and partners were awarded funding from the UK government's Darwin Initiative for the Research to Policy - building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation (R2P-CTPA) project. The aim was to build the knowledge and capacity of the newly formed Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group (U-PCLG) to effectively influence biodiversity conservation policy, decision makers and practitioners at national and local levels – and to maximise synergies between biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation in a protected area context.<sup>1</sup>

The project had two stages. The first stage was focused on research led by the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (ITFC) in Uganda in a collective effort that involved U-PCLG and the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) with advisors and students from IIED, Imperial College London, the Department of Geography at Cambridge University and the Chris Britton Consultancy. The research focused on Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP), southwest Uganda, and aimed to improve the effectiveness of integrated conservation and development (ICD) interventions by better understanding: *who* continues the unauthorised use of natural resources and *why* they are doing this.

The second part of the project involved strengthening the capacity of U-PCLG to use the research findings to engage in policy reform that improved development impacts and increased the effectiveness of conservation. Given the research findings – that feelings of injustice and inequity, as well as poverty, are driving illegal resource use at BINP<sup>2</sup> – one of the areas that U-PCLG members prioritised for advocacy follow up was an increase in revenue sharing with local communities. Specifically, U-PCLG identified the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fees (also referred to locally as the gorilla levy) at BINP, which they collectively decided should double from US\$5 to US\$10 per permit. With support from ACODE, U-PCLG embarked on advocacy-related activities in March 2014 to push for reform, including informally discussing the proposed change with UWA representatives, sending a formal letter to UWA requesting the policy change, and publishing a policy brief.

In October 2014, the board of UWA approved the policy change to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee from US\$5 to US\$10 per permit. This evaluation focuses on this policy change and interrogates the role and influence of U-PCLG who appeared to have accelerated and shaped the UWA's decision to give communities a greater share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee from the national park.

An evaluation team comprised of external consultants and IIED staff began by formulating a contribution claim (a statement describing the contribution made by an intervention to the policy outcome) based on available evidence pointing to U-PCLG's apparent influence. The team came up with a detailed reconstruction of the pathway to change, while simultaneously identifying complementary and mutually exclusive explanations. The investigation opened parallel lines of inquiry to assess the validity of different explanations and contributing factors. During this iterative process, different theories about what had happened were tested and gradually winnowed out until two contribution claims appeared to be most strongly and convincingly supported by the evidence.

### Methods

IIED used a combination of process tracing and Bayesian updating<sup>3</sup> to investigate how the Uganda Poverty and Conservation Group influenced a specific policy change. Process tracing was used to examine the case in detail, and establish whether a series of different factors had combined over time to produce the policy change. Bayesian analysis helped to measure confidence in U-PCLG's contribution claims, and to update the evaluation team's confidence in them according to the relevance

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<sup>1</sup> Darwin Initiative funded project page: Research to policy - building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation. Available online: [www.darwininitiative.org.uk/project/19013/](http://www.darwininitiative.org.uk/project/19013/)

<sup>2</sup> Twinamatsiko M *et al.* (2014) Linking Conservation, Equity and Poverty Alleviation: Understanding profiles and motivations of resource users and local perceptions of governance at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. IIED Research Report. Available online: <http://pubs.iied.org/14630IIED/>

<sup>3</sup> Befani B *et al.* (2016) Clearing the fog: new tools for improving the credibility of impact claims. IIED Briefing. Available online: <http://pubs.iied.org/17359IIED/>

of emerging new knowledge or evidence. This involved establishing prior and posterior probabilities, and estimating the probative value of the evidence as part of the Bayesian analysis.

## Findings

The evaluation established that U-PCLG's lobbying was not the only factor contributing to the policy change; several factors had to be incorporated into the mechanism explaining the change – such as community dissatisfaction at the communities' share of the gorilla permit. Furthermore, the outcome was split into two specific types of policy influence, and so the contribution claim was divided into two, more specific, claims. These are illustrated below.

**Initial contribution claim:** U-PCLG, together with the project partners,<sup>4</sup> undertook research to understand who was continuing to use BINP resources illegally and why. The research findings highlighted, among other things, that perceptions of unfairness related to conservation was a key driver of illegal activities in BINP. U-PCLG responded to this research finding by advocating for the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) to increase in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee as a way of reducing this sense of unfairness. Thanks to the leadership of key members of U-PCLG the UWA board agreed to increase the share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee going to the local community from US\$5 to US\$10.

### **Refined contribution claims after the investigation:**

The evidence gathered confirmed some of the components of the hypothesised contribution claims, however it also brought to light other unexpected components. The two claims were therefore amended as below:

- **Contribution claim one:** In a context of long-term community pressure, where the UWA board had tentatively started a discussion on changing the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee, **U-PCLG accelerated the process** by providing relevant research, and this gave the UWA board an opportunity to think about the change more thoroughly.
- **Contribution claim two:** In a context where the gorilla-tracking permit fee had increased from US\$500 to US\$600 and where UWA was expected to resist any request for a substantial increase in the community share of the fee, after considering a number of possible figures, **U-PCLG cautiously suggested an increase from US\$5 to US\$10** because they thought it would make a difference to the community and at the same time be acceptable to UWA. The latter took this suggestion on board.

Table 1. Confidence updating in contribution claims after observation of the evidence - first contribution claim

<b>First contribution claim: U-PCLG's efforts accelerated the change</b>	
<b>Mechanism component</b>	<b>Confidence updating<sup>5</sup></b>
1. The communities around the BINP have been dissatisfied with the amount of tourism revenue shared with them for a long time. The UWA board expected communities to exert further pressure for an increase in their share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee after the fee was increased from US\$500 to US\$600 per person per trek on 1 January 2014.	from 0.50 to 0.89
2. The UWA board was already considering a change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, but not much progress was expected by U-PCLG in the near future.	from 0.50 to 0.75

<sup>4</sup> Partners included: the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (Uganda), the Uganda-Poverty and Conservation Learning Group, the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), Imperial College London, the Department of Geography at Cambridge University and the Chris Britton Consultancy.

<sup>5</sup> This number indicates how the data collection and analysis increased the evaluator's confidence in the existence of the single components of the claim. An initial situation of "ignorance" or neutrality is represented by 0.5, while a figure above 0.5 indicates a situation where the belief that the claim existed was higher than the belief that the claim did not exist.

3. U-PCLG, in collaboration with R2P-CTPA project partners, had undertaken research on the causes of illegal activity taking place in the park. This research:	from 0.50 to 0.90
a) Had generated new/original insight that justified/motivated the decision; and	from 0.5 to 0.77
b) Was undertaken in a collaborative way, directly involving the UWA board in an attempt to build trust.	
4.	
a) U-PCLG submitted a formal request for the specific change in the community share to the UWA board.	from 0.5 to 0.99
b) The letter played a key role in accelerating the policy change, because it was a formal request coming from a broad coalition of stakeholders, prompting the board to acknowledge receipt and initiate a formal response process.	from 0.5 to 0.79
5. A U-PCLG member championed the change within UWA's formal response process through her role as a member of UWA's planning and research committee.	from 0.5 to 0.96.
6. The UWA board took the decision suggested by U-PCLG.	from 0.5 to 1.00

Table 2. Confidence updating in contribution claims after observation of the evidence – second contribution claim

<b>Second contribution claim: U-PCLG's efforts shaped the change</b>	
<b>Mechanism component</b>	<b>Confidence updating</b>
1. The communities around the BINP have been dissatisfied with the amount of tourism revenue shared with them for a long time. The UWA board expected communities to exert further pressure for an increase in their share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee after the fee was increased from US\$500 to US\$600 per person per trek on 1 January 2014.	from 0.50 to 0.89
2. UWA had been reluctant to increase the community share of the gorilla permits as they are an important source of revenue used by UWA to manage many other protected areas in Uganda's national parks, including those that generate little revenue from tourism. U-PCLG was unsure how much influence it held over the UWA but wanted to propose something the board could accept, so made a cautious proposal by requesting that UWA increase the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee from US\$5 to US\$10. U-PCLG felt that this small change would still make a significant difference to the communities around BINP.	from 0.50 to 0.73
3. No other group/source made the same suggestion to the UWA board.	from 0.5 to 0.93
4.	
a) U-PCLG submitted a formal request for the specific change in the community share to the UWA board.	from 0.5 to 0.99
b) The letter played a key role in shaping the content of the policy, because it suggested the same change in the share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee which was adopted by the UWA board (from US\$5 to US\$10).	from 0.5 to 0.82
5. A U-PCLG member championed the change within UWA's formal response process through her role as a member of UWA's planning and research committee.	from 0.5 to 0.96.
6. The UWA board took the decision suggested by U-PCLG.	from 0.5 to 1.00

## **Reflections on the evaluation**

### **Lessons learnt about policy change**

Several lessons can be drawn from the evaluation in terms of which conditions enabled U-PCLG to influence policy change. Below are those considered the most significant by the evaluation team:

- Importance of the research to substantiate the argument for a change in the community share of the gorilla tourist permit.
- Importance of U-PCLG members championing the requested policy change including the U-PCLG coordinator, Panta Kasoma, and U-PCLG member and UWA board member and committee chair, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka.
- Importance of considering UWA's agenda: need to respond to community pressure but also their limited openness to change, which called for a compromise.
- Importance of engaging policy makers in the process of knowledge creation.
- Importance of including policy makers who were knowledgeable about the issue.
- Importance of formalising the request for policy change in this case study.

### **Lessons learnt about the evaluation approach**

One of the purposes of the evaluation was to trial a new approach to assess the influence of the network over policy and practice. Below are some reflections after applying process tracing and Bayesian updating informed by our experience in this evaluation.

Process tracing:

- Enables a close dialogue between theory and evidence, facilitating learning.
- Interrogates the perceived wisdom of one or more contribution claims and investigates the validity of different explanations. It cannot handle single-cause causal models, but works very well with multiple-cause models, in particular generative causality.
- Places no restrictions on the types of evidence that an evaluation can use, including (but not limited to) interview transcripts, public speeches, meeting minutes, internal documents, memoirs and email exchanges.
- Distinguishes between the absence of evidence and evidence of absence. Absence of evidence has little inferential value; on the other hand, evidence of absence happens when expectations about observing evidence (after having looked thoroughly) are not met, and as such can challenge the validity of a contribution claim (namely, weaken confidence in it).

Bayesian updating:

- Provides transparency over the assumptions behind our confidence in the validity of the contribution claims. These assumptions are usually left implicit and not directly connected with pieces of evidence. Using Bayesian Updating to assess the evaluator's confidence greatly increases the internal validity of the findings, at least potentially, if the findings are challenged and reviewed by an appropriate group of stakeholders.
- Protects against confirmation bias by explicitly considering alternative explanations, including those rejecting the primary claim.
- Protects against conservative bias that makes humans undervalue empirical evidence by using the Bayes formula to update subjective confidence and calculate the posterior.
- Avoids exaggerating impact, as overall confidence in each contribution claim is equal to the confidence in its weakest component.
- Allows for the measurement of confidence in each contribution claim with a higher level of precision than other methods allow, at least potentially.



# Introduction

## The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group

The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group (PCLG) is an international network of more than 100 organisations and 700 individuals with a shared interest in building understanding about the linkages between biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation. The Biodiversity team at the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) has acted as a secretariat to the Group since its inception in 2004, facilitating research, knowledge sharing and advocacy.

Over the last five years, IIED has also supported the development of national chapters of the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group. At a meeting in Uganda in November 2010, participants from a number of African countries agreed that it would be valuable to establish national PCLG chapters in their countries to convene organisations and individuals with a shared interest in conservation and poverty issues. The Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group (U-PCLG) was the first, established in 2011. A national PCLG chapter in Cameroon followed in 2013, and in DRC in 2014. IIED is currently exploring opportunities to work with partners in Rwanda.

## Uganda-PCLG and the Research to Policy project

In 2012, IIED and partners were awarded funding from the UK government's Darwin Initiative for the Research to Policy - building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation (R2P-CTPA) project. The aim was to build the knowledge and capacity of the newly formed U-PCLG to effectively influence biodiversity conservation policy, decision makers and practitioners at national and local levels – and to maximise synergies between biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation in a protected area context.<sup>6</sup>

The project had two stages. The first stage was focused on research led by the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (ITFC) in Uganda in a collective effort that involved U-PCLG and the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) with advisors and students from IIED, Imperial College London, the Department of Geography at Cambridge University and the Chris Britton Consultancy. The research focused on Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP), southwest Uganda, and aimed to improve the effectiveness of integrated conservation and development (ICD) interventions by better understanding: *who* continues the unauthorised use of natural resources and *why* they are doing this.

The second part of the project involved strengthening the capacity of U-PCLG to use the research findings to engage in policy reform that improved development impacts and increased the effectiveness of conservation. This stage of the project included tailored training from a project partner, the Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment (ACODE), providing training on writing policy briefs and working with the media, for example. In March 2014, the final year of the R2P-CTPA project, partners and advisors met at a workshop in Uganda to review the project's Theory of Change (ToC) and vote on which targets they should pursue for policy reform. Attendees voted for seven targets related to four outcomes.

Given the research findings – that feelings of injustice and inequity, as well as poverty, are driving illegal resource use at BINP<sup>7</sup> – one of the areas that U-PCLG members prioritised for advocacy follow-up was an increase in revenue sharing with local communities. Specifically, U-PCLG identified the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fees (also referred to locally as the gorilla levy) at BINP, which they collectively decided should double from US\$5 to US\$10 per permit. With support from ACODE, U-PCLG embarked on advocacy-related activities in March 2014 to push for reform, including informally discussing the proposed change with UWA representatives, sending a formal letter to UWA requesting the policy change, and publishing a policy brief.

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<sup>6</sup> Darwin Initiative funded project page: Research to policy - building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation. Available online: [www.darwininitiative.org.uk/project/19013/](http://www.darwininitiative.org.uk/project/19013/)

<sup>7</sup> Twinamatsiko M *et al.* (2014) Linking Conservation, Equity and Poverty Alleviation: Understanding profiles and motivations of resource users and local perceptions of governance at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda. IIED Research Report. Available online: <http://pubs.iied.org/14630IIED/>

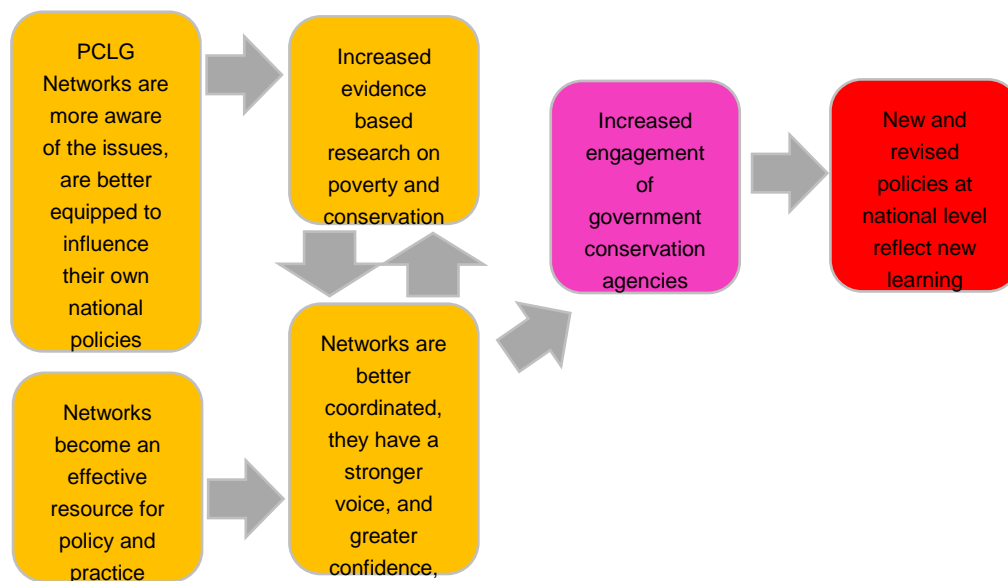
In October 2014, the UWA board approved the policy change for the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee to increase from US\$5 to US\$10 per permit. This evaluation report focuses on this policy change and interrogates the role and influence of U-PCLG's advocacy efforts.

## Origins of the PCLG evaluation

Over the last decade PCLG has received funding from a number of different grants, including from the UK government through the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs' Darwin Initiative, and from the Arcus Foundation. However, there was no formal evaluation of PCLG's international or national activities. In 2015, when funding became available at IIED for internal evaluations, PCLG was recommended by the Biodiversity team. The main purpose of this internal evaluation was to understand what PCLG had achieved so far. More specifically, the researchers set out to answer questions related to the impact of PCLG as a network and that of its national chapters, alongside other operational questions such as: is PCLG useful and, if so, for whom? Should PCLG continue and, if so, what should it do? What lessons have we learnt from running PCLG for ten years?

This report details only one aspect of the internal PCLG evaluation: the impact of the Uganda PCLG national chapter in influencing a specific policy change. The intention of this impact assessment was to dig deeper into the chain of necessary events and actions that eventually resulted in the policy change, and to understand the extent of U-PCLG's contribution to how the result came about. The assessment links to the overarching PCLG Theory of Change (ToC) because it helps to unpack the pathway to change leading to the approval of fairer national conservation policies through strengthened national PCLG networks and increased engagement from national conservation agencies (see figure 1 below).

Figure 1. PCLG ToC – Impact pathway leading to new and revised policies at national level reflecting learning



## Evaluation design and methods

This evaluation has been participatory in that the IIED Biodiversity team members, who act as key facilitators of PCLG, have been involved at different stages of the evaluation process (including Dilys Roe and Phil Franks). These team members have helped to reconstruct PCLG's ToC (through which PCLG envisages impact), provided contacts for key informant interviews, and in one case participated as a key informant. The evaluation process was guided by the expertise of the evaluators: Stefano D'Errico and Barbara Befani, with input from Maureen O'Flynn to design PCLG's ToC. Data collection for the evaluation was conducted by Francesca Booker.

As this was an internal evaluation, IIED staff recognised the need to adopt a robust methodology to handle conservative biases and to ensure that the findings would be trustworthy to an external audience. The evaluation team used a **combination of process tracing (PT) and Bayesian updating (BU)** for identifying, analysing and testing contribution claims towards a policy outcome that may have been influenced by U-PCLG.

### Investigating influence using process tracing

The evaluation team used a mostly deductive<sup>8</sup> version of process tracing because IIED staff had a relatively well developed contribution claim regarding how and why UWA's policy change had occurred. This approach acknowledges that policy change often results from a combination of factors or conditions. This includes complementary factors (they can all be true at the same time) or alternative / mutually exclusive factors (the existence of one automatically implies the non-existence of others). The deductive process tracing approach involved the following key elements: checking for the presence of the outcome, reconstructing the pathway to change, and investigating alternative explanations and multiple causes.

**Checking for the presence of the outcome:** the first step was to check if the outcome had effectively been realised, in other words whether the policy change had happened and it was effectively institutionalised.

**Reconstructing the pathway to change:** the second step was to reconstruct the pathway to change in the form of contribution claims. This was done by proceeding backwards from the identified outcome, working with IIED staff. Initially the evaluation team and IIED staff came up with one contribution claim. This was subsequently split into two separate contribution claims in order to better analyse the different factors that might have influenced the policy change.

**Investigating alternative explanations and multiple causes:** in many cases, policy changes result from a combination of multiple factors or conditions. These packages of conditions combine in complex ways to form "mechanisms" which describe and explain change under given circumstances. To account for and assess this level of complexity, the evaluation team explored:

- **The main contribution claims related to the impact of the PCLG network:** the statements describing the contribution made by an intervention which detail different activities that accelerated and shaped the content of the policy change.
- **Complementary contribution claims / explanations:** other factors that might have contributed to the same outcome, together with U-PCLG's work. For this evaluation, the main complementary explanation related to the long-standing discontent among the communities living around the BINP about the UWA's revenue sharing policies.

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<sup>8</sup> Deductive process tracing is mainly aimed at testing theories which are already relatively well developed and where an outcome has been identified. It does so by updating the initial theory in light of empirical evidence.

- **Rival explanations / claims:** the existence of alternative contribution claims which exclude / rule out the primary contribution claims about the influence of U-PCLG. To this regard two main mutually exclusive explanations were investigated:
  1. The existence of internal processes in UWA aimed at changing the communities' share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee which were advanced enough to warrant completion, with or without the intervention of U-PCLG.
  2. The existence of other pressure groups advocating for the same policy change lobbied for by U-PCLG and their partners.

## Box 1. Initial understanding of the contribution claim

The basic story of change as understood by IIED staff at the beginning of the evaluation:

Component one: Uganda PCLG, together with IFTC and other R2P-CTPA project partners, undertook a piece of research to understand who continued to illegally use BINP resources and why, despite many years of ICDs.

Component two: the results of the research highlighted, that perceptions of unfairness related to conservation was a key driver of illegal activities in BINP.

Component three: U-PCLG with UWA and other partners developed a ToC for improved ICD (improved for local people) at Bwindi based on the research findings.

Component four: based on the ToC developed, U-PCLG decided to advocate for an increase in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee as a way of ameliorating feelings of unfairness.

Component five: U-PCLG's chairman (the director of Jane Goodall Institute Uganda, a well-respected and influential conservationist) wrote a letter to the UWA board to ask for the portion of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee shared with the local community to be increased from US\$5 to US\$10.

Component six: a U-PCLG member, who at the time was also a member of the UWA's planning and research committee, championed the requested change in policy at internal UWA meetings.

Component seven: the UWA board agreed to increase the share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee going to the local community from US\$5 to US\$10.

## Collecting evidence

Data collection primarily involved key informant interviews. These interviews were undertaken opportunistically as there was limited time and the evaluation was completed from the UK and not in Uganda. The selection of key informant interviews was guided by the following considerations:

- The respondents' affiliated organisation - to ensure there was a diversity of views represented.
- The respondents' motivations for engaging in the interview process - to guard against conflicts of interest.

In total, the evaluation team conducted seven semi-structured interviews with key informants. Those involved in the design and administration of PCLG's project activities (AG, DR) identified possible key informants, and key informants were also asked for suggestions. Interviews were recorded, where possible, to allow for better note-taking.

During the interview process, key informants were encouraged to be both constructive and truthful in their responses, and the interviewer challenged them to be specific and provide examples to justify their reflections. Where key informants shared examples of U-PCLG's potential influence and impact, the interviewer probed for possible alternative explanations or complementary factors.

A desk-based review was also carried out, reviewing websites, meeting minutes, internal or published reports, the timelines of the pathways to change, and email correspondence. The desk-based review

was important as it allowed claims emerging from the key informant interviews to be triangulated with other sources of evidence.

A constant process of reflection, involving the evaluation team, occurred throughout the evaluation process. This was useful for recalibrating the evaluation team's understanding of the factors that led to the policy change and for assessing the probative value of each piece of evidence. It is important to stress that the evaluation team purposefully searched for evidence that either confirmed or disconfirmed the contribution claims.

## Assessing the probative value of evidence with Bayesian updating

Bayesian inference uses **Bayes' theorem** to update the confidence or belief that a hypothesis is true (or false) as more **evidence or information** becomes available. Bayesian analysis was used to measure confidence in the U-PCLG contribution claims, and to update the measures of confidence according to emerging new knowledge. The use of Bayesian analysis in combination with process tracing helped to assess how much different pieces of evidence increased or decreased confidence in each component of the contribution claim. Below is a step-by-step explanation of the analysis made by the evaluation team:

**Step one, estimating the prior level of confidence:** the first step was to estimate our prior (P) level of confidence in the theory (T) (the contribution claim) a.k.a. P(T). This involved transparently assigning a subjective value informed by existing knowledge. This confidence was established at 0.5 for both contribution claims to signal a situation of no prior information. In other words, before we started data collection, the contribution claims had no more chance of being true than of being false. For this reason, the P for each component of the casual claims was also set at 0.5.

### Box 2. Bayes theorem used in combination with process tracing

**P(T|E)** is the posterior probability of the contribution claim's components being true after the evidence has been observed. In other words, the score associated to our confidence in a particular component of the contribution claim, after the observation of evidence.

**P(T)** represents the score given to the probability of a component being real given our prior knowledge. In the case of our evaluation this was set at 0.5, which is equal to a situation with no information. This was a conscious choice made by the evaluation team to show our initial poor understanding of the theory, and to eliminate possible confirmation bias affecting the reconstruction of the pathway to change by IIED staff.

**P(E|T)** represents the sensitivity score - the probability of observing a specific piece of evidence if the hypothesis related to a component of the process of change is true.

**P(E|~T)** represents the value of the Type I error -the probability of observing a specific piece of evidence if the hypothesis related to a component of the process of change is NOT true.

**Step two, establishing the likelihood ratio of evidence:** the likelihood ratio (LR), a measure of the probative value of evidence (E), was estimated by calculating the probabilities of observing evidence if the theory holds (sensitivity), against the probabilities of observing the same piece of evidence if the theory doesn't hold (Type I error). Where the pieces of evidence were considered to be independent,<sup>9</sup> they were assembled into "packages",<sup>10</sup> and the probabilities associated with the packages were calculated automatically by multiplying the probabilities of each single piece of evidence. For packages where the single pieces of evidence were not very strong individually, but together had some confirmatory value (LR greater than one), both the sensitivity and Type I error were lower because multiplying numbers which are lower than 1 produce lower numbers. However, because the Type I error

<sup>9</sup> Pieces of evidence were considered to be independent when the observation of one event did not affect the probability of the other being observed.

<sup>10</sup> The chance of observing them is not related to whether other pieces of evidence have been observed (except through their connection with the claim).

was lower than the sensitivity across all single pieces of the package, it decreased more quickly than the latter, gradually increasing the likelihood ratio and hence the probative value of the package. To some extent, this can be considered a rigorous formalisation of how human intuition works: one clue is not evidence, two clues are some evidence, three clues are good evidence and four clues almost proof.

**Step three, establishing confidence for each component of the contribution claims:** the Bayes' formula was used to assess our confidence in each component of the contribution claim. The initial confidence in theory (T) (the component of the contribution claim) was updated after the observation of evidence (E) following the Bayes formula for post-observation confidence, a.k.a. the "posterior":  $P(T|E) = P(T) \cdot P(E|T) / P(E) = P(E|T) \cdot P(T) / [P(E|T) \cdot P(T) + P(E|\sim T) \cdot P(\sim T)]$ .

**Step four, comparing quantitative levels of confidence against qualitative rubrics:** the quantitative confidence values for each component of the contribution claim were compared with the qualitative rubrics for different levels of confidence (see table 3 below). If the value fell between 0 and 0.49, the evidence was more likely to reject that component of the contribution claim than to confirm it. If it fell between 0.51 and 1, it was more likely to confirm it than to reject it. If it was 0.5, it meant that there was no information which could help discriminate between the component being true or false. The greater the distance from 0.5, in either direction, the more strongly the evidence confirmed or rejected the contribution claim. The table below represents the qualitative rubrics for different quantitative levels of confidence (Befani and Stedman-Bryce, 2016).

Table 3. Qualitative rubrics for different quantitative levels of confidence.<sup>11</sup>

Practical Certainty	0.99+
Reasonable Certainty	0.95 – 0.99
High Confidence	0.85 – 0.95
Cautious Confidence	0.70 – 0.85
More Confident than not	0.50 – 0.70
No information	0.50

**Step five, establishing levels of confidence on whole contribution claims:** finally, in drawing overall conclusions about the credibility of the two contribution claims, the evaluation team ascribed them a level of confidence which equalled the minimum level of confidence achieved in any single component of the contribution claim. In other words, confidence about the entire contribution claim equalled the confidence in their weakest component. In this regard, **the evaluation team was 75 per cent confident about the first contribution claim and 73 per cent confident about the second.**

## Main limitations of the evaluation

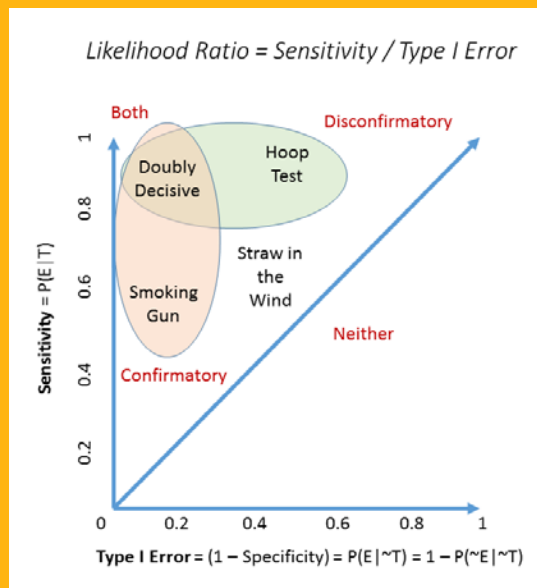
Despite attempts, we were unable to engage any representatives of UWA in this evaluation process. Nor were we able to gain access to internal documents (such as meeting minutes from UWA's planning and research committee discussion where the policy change was recommended for approval) or policy-related documents/statements from UWA. Reluctance to share information with the evaluation team is not surprising given the political context in Uganda where a strong civil society that advocates for policy change is not encouraged. Access to such information was also not helped by the remote nature of the evaluation, which due to limited resources was conducted from the UK.

<sup>11</sup> Befani, B and Stedman-Bryce, G (2016) Process tracing and Bayesian updating for impact evaluation. Forthcoming in *Evaluation*. Available online: <http://evi.sagepub.com/content/early/2016/06/24/1356389016654584.abstract>



### Box 3. Process tracing tests by Sensitivity and Type I error

The Sensitivity  $P(E|T)$  indicates the probability of observing a piece of evidence,  $E$ , if the component of the contribution claim is true, while the Type I error  $P(E|\sim T)$  is the probability of observing the same piece of evidence if the component of the contribution claim is false. Every piece of evidence can be put in a scatterplot with Sensitivity on the Y(axis), and Type I error on the X(axis). The process tracing tests can be positioned in this area: the further they are from the diagonal line, the higher their probative value is. Except for “Straw-in-the-Wind” (see below), all PT tests are useful to confirm or reject the contribution claim. (Figure source: authors' own, adapted from Humphreys and Jacobs 2015).



**Smoking Gun (confirmatory):** If the evidence is observed, the hypothesis is confirmed. If the evidence is not observed, the hypothesis is not confirmed, but this is not sufficient to reject the hypothesis.

**Hoop Test (dis-confirmatory):** If the evidence is not observed, the hypothesis is rejected. If the evidence is observed, the hypothesis is not rejected (it “goes through the hoop” or passes the test), but this is not sufficient to confirm the hypothesis.

**Doubly Decisive:** If the evidence is observed, the hypothesis is confirmed. If the evidence is not observed, the hypothesis is rejected.

**Straw-in-the-Wind:** If the evidence is observed, this is not sufficient to confirm the hypothesis. If the evidence is not observed, this is not sufficient to reject the hypothesis.

This meant that our inquiry was limited to interviews with key informants directly related to undertaking the R2P-CTPA research and/or implementing the associated advocacy activities. As such it was difficult to challenge and unpick the shared narrative of policy change that appeared to have collectively formed over time.

Additionally, given that all the seven key informants had a close relationship with IIED, each had an incentive to share a positive story of policy change with the evaluation team. However, given the key informants' candidness in interviews, we do not think that key informants made overly exaggerated claims.

Another important challenge for the evaluation team was that this was the first time that many of them had used the process tracing and Bayesian updating methodology. The team adopted a learn-by-doing approach which limited the time efficiency of some of the evaluation activities.

## Findings

During our iterative approach to process tracing, different theories about what happened were tested and gradually winnowed out. Following a review of desk-based literature and a first round of interviews it became clearer that there were two contribution claims convincingly supported by the evidence: that U-PCLG played a role in *accelerating* and *shaping* the UWA's decision to give communities a greater share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee levied at BINP.

It also became clear that U-PCLG's actions were not the only factor contributing to change. Below are the component-by-component analyses made by the evaluation team for the two contribution claims. The narrative provides insight into the evaluation team's reflections as they attempted to unravel the pathway to policy change. It also includes the figures used in the Bayesian analysis to calculate confidence levels for each component of the two contribution claims, and the overall confidence levels for both contribution claims.

During the Bayesian analysis, the value given to the probability of each component being real, given our prior knowledge, was set at 0.5. This equals a situation where there is no information available to conclude that the component did (or did not) occur, and reflects our initial poor understanding of the theory. It is also important to reiterate that the overall confidence value for each contribution claim is equal to the weakest component of the testable hypotheses. This forced the evaluation team to investigate more thoroughly the components with weaker evidence, though there were time limitations.

Another general comment is that the sets of observations from the key informant interviews and the meeting minutes from a quarterly meeting held in July 2015<sup>12</sup> were not considered to be independent from each other. This is because the quarterly meeting involved a discussion on U-PCLG's role in advocating for a change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee and, crucially, this discussion occurred before the key informant interviews. The evaluators were conscious that such a discussion in July 2015 could have helped to shape a group narrative on how the policy change occurred that was then shared during this evaluation. Similarly, because the key informants regularly collaborate, the single key informants cannot be considered independent from each other: the interviews are considered and assessed as one single piece of evidence.

## Contribution claim one

### U-PCLG work has *accelerated* the policy change

The first contribution claim was broken down into six components. The claim was formulated as:

*In a context of long-term community pressure, where the UWA board had tentatively started a discussion on changing the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee, U-PCLG accelerated policy change regarding the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee at BINP. It did so by providing new and relevant research findings to UWA, by advocating for and championing their requested policy change to UWA, and ultimately by successfully escalating the requested policy change to UWA's highest board of decision makers.*

Table four illustrates the different components of the claim and how confidence in each component was updated. The rest of the section discusses and assesses the evidence for each component, detailing the process of confidence updating.

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<sup>12</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group Quarterly Meeting Minutes. Held on 10th July 2015 at Protea Hotel, Kampala, Uganda. Access online: <http://povertyandconservation.info/en/pages/u-pclg-quarterly-meeting-july-2015>



Table 4. Confidence updating in contribution claims after observation of the evidence - first contribution claim

<b>First contribution claim: U-PCLG's efforts accelerated the change</b>	
<b>Mechanism component</b>	<b>Confidence</b>
1. The communities around the BINP have been dissatisfied with the amount of tourism revenue shared with them for a long time. The UWA board expected communities to exert further pressure for an increase in their share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee after the fee was increased from US\$500 to US\$600 per person per trek on 1 January 2014.	from 0.50 to 0.89
2. The UWA board was already considering a change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, but not much progress was expected in the near future.	from 0.50 to 0.75
3. U-PCLG, in collaboration with R2P-CTPA project partners, had undertaken research on the causes of illegal activity taking place in the park. This research:	
a) had generated new/original insight that justified/motivated the decision; and	from 0.50 to 0.90
b) was undertaken in a collaborative way, directly involving the UWA board in an attempt to build trust.	from 0.5 to 0.77
4.	
a) U-PCLG submitted a formal request for the specific change in the community share to the UWA board.	from 0.5 to 0.99
b) This letter played a key role in accelerating the policy change, because it was a formal request coming from a broad coalition of stakeholders, prompting the board to acknowledge receipt and initiate a formal response process.	from 0.5 to 0.79
5. A U-PCLG member championed the change within UWA's formal response process through her role as a member of the UWA planning and research committee.	from 0.5 to 0.96
6. The UWA board took the decision suggested by U-PCLG	from 0.5 to 1.00

**Component one:**

*The communities around the BINP have been dissatisfied with the amount of tourism revenue shared with them for a long time. The UWA board was expecting communities to exert further pressure for an increase in their share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee after the fee was increased from US\$500 to US\$600 per person per trek on 1 January 2014.*

Table 5. Component 1, first contribution claim

	<b>Key informants stating presence of mounting pressure from dissatisfied communities</b>
Prior	0.5
Sensitivity	0.8
Type I error	0.1
Posterior	0.89

In the interview transcripts (see Annex 1 for all transcripts in full), it is clear that U-PCLG key informants feel that UWA has been subject to community pressure over the last two decades to share more of BINP's revenue. Key informants also highlighted that this was likely a key contributor to UWA's decision check to change the community's share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. This information

challenged the initial theory developed by IIED staff - that the research and U-PCLG's advocacy work were the main contributing factors.

An important factor related to community pressure was a recent increase in the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee at BINP from US\$500 to US\$600, effective from January 2014. U-PCLG member Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, who was Chair of the UWA planning and research committee, highlighted the increase in the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee in her discussions with UWA committee members to justify the policy change.

Sensitivity of the evidence was estimated at 0.8 because it was thought that the key informants had a good knowledge of the context and would have their pulse on the community's "temperature", interacting with community members almost daily. It was also assumed they did not have a strong incentive to hide this information, but they perhaps had a moderate incentive because it detracted from their influence. These considerations made the evaluators "cautiously confident" (see table 5, 0.80) that the key informants would have informed the evaluators if there had been pressure from the community.

At the same time, if they didn't perceive any pressure from the community, it was assumed that they wouldn't have any incentive to say this, because the absence of pressure would have suggested the success of U-PCLG more convincingly. For example, the statements made by the U-PCLG coordinator have strong confirmatory power for this component because they are made against his own interests and motivations. By acknowledging the importance of community pressure in the process, he downplays the role played by the research and by U-PCLG's lobbying activities. The evaluators are highly confident that he would have not have made this comment if community pressure wasn't a central element in the debate, which results in a Type I error estimate not higher than 10 per cent.

When input into the Bayes formula, these values return 0.89 as the posterior confidence in this component of the claim.

## Evidence

U-PCLG coordinator, Panta Kasoma, said that UWA had been under pressure from local communities to share more of Bwindi's revenue for a long time. He stated that this pressure originated from a government decision to reduce revenue sharing from 12 per cent of all park income during a pilot phase, to just 20 per cent of gate entry fees.<sup>13</sup>

*"Well I think it's just that for a long time there has been discontent around Bwindi, the whole issue of revenue sharing was initially piloted at Bwindi, before it became a policy and a law. At that time the initial figure was 12 per cent of all income, now 12 per cent of all income was a very significant amount of money. Then when UWA decided to have this as a general policy... they zeroed down on 20 per cent of gate entry fees, now that meant that the income that had been going to Bwindi during that pilot phase reduced significantly, and so from that time onwards communities and even you know, politicians, other stakeholders around Bwindi, were complaining."*

Panta noted that community pressure on UWA had been building for years. He suggested that perhaps U-PCLG's request for a change came at the right moment for UWA.

*"I think the pressure has been building up over years for something to be done, and because they [UWA] operate in the area they see the levels of poverty... I think that word eventually trickles to the top that there is a lot of dissatisfaction down there. And I think it was just the right moment for them [UWA]...."*

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<sup>13</sup> In the early 1990s a national tourism revenue sharing policy for protected areas was drafted and piloted at BINP which required Uganda National Parks (now UWA) to share 12 per cent of their total revenue with the local communities. The policy was formally adopted in 1995, though a political decision meant that the revenue sharing changed from 12 per cent of total park revenues to 20 per cent of park entry fees. This change was intended to increase local shares of park revenues, and while this worked in areas popular for tourism, it did not in BINP as ecotourism limits the number of visitors (Tumusiime D M and Vedeld P (2012) False promise or false premise? Using tourism revenue sharing to promote conservation and poverty reduction in Uganda. *Conservation Society* 10:15-28.

R2P-CTPA lead researcher and U-PCLG member, Medard Twinamatsiko, echoed Panta's assessment.

*"[...] one reason is that there has been a local pressure from communities demanding for change in terms of the benefits that come from [Bwindi] national park that go to the communities. So one reason was the already prevailing pressure on the ground... the history of conflict."*

Medard added that local community pressure was manifesting itself in the form of conflict and that this would have been a significant factor in UWA's decision to change the community share of the gorilla permit.

*"...there has been big conflict ongoing between local communities and national parks, so even without U-PCLG I would think that would be a significant factor in affecting change in policy. They [UWA] already have that kind of conflict happening, people [from the local communities] burning national parks, people killing wildlife, people not being happy about conservation policy - that in itself creates change, it has to feed off them [the communities]."*

Phil Franks, senior researcher at IIED, suggested that in the context of increasing community pressure, U-PCLG's advocacy activities effectively 'tipped the balance' and triggered UWA's re-consideration of the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee.

*"Well like I see it, there has been pressure building up for quite a long time, before U-PCLG got involved, so they [U-PCLG] were more a help to tip the balance. You could not say this is uniquely attributable to the efforts of U-PCLG, assuming I'm right that this [community pressure] has been going on for a long time. But you could say it was their contribution that tipped the balance that might be a good way of putting it."*

U-PCLG member Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, who was Chair of the UWA planning and research committee, noted that when the committee discussed the proposed change, she highlighted the increase in the gorilla permit as an important reason for making the change.

*"So I started off by just introducing the topic [the policy request] by saying that if you're [UWA] going to increase the gorilla permit, you [UWA] should [also] increase the gorilla levy for the community, because people will question where the extra money will go. At least if something goes to the community, people [from the local community] will understand part of the reason for increasing the [the gorilla tourist] permit. So I started by introducing it to [UWA]."*

U-PCLG coordinator, Panta Kasoma, explained that with an increase in the gorilla permit, local communities became vocal that there should be an increase in the community share.

*"When they (UWA) came up with the gorilla levy that was five [US] dollars, that was good enough at the time, but then the [gorilla tourist] permit was going up in value [from US\$500 to US\$600] and people [from the local communities] started agitating for an increase."*

Panta added that he believed that UWA saw U-PCLG's proposal as a good option and that if they did not take it, it would be followed by a greater demand.

*"Personally I think when they [UWA] saw this proposal coming from the ten dollars [US], and this is just my perspective, they might have thought well let's just go for this ten dollars because these guys will come up with some other demand."*

Research advisor for the R2P-CTFA project, Julia Baker, added that UWA is a much changed organisation that has become aware of community conservation and as such was amenable to an increased in the gorilla tourist permit fee.

*"... another thing was that over the years UWA has changed quite dramatically – they used to be a very different organisation and have opened up somewhat. They used to view community conservation as a risk factor with concerns. With this changed organisation, we hit them at a good time as they were open to discussion and sharing their thoughts on community conservation."*

Julia Baker [at a R2P workshop]:

*"One of the UWA representatives stood up and said that they might be amenable to such a change – they had been thinking that a change might be needed and they were open to discussions."*

**Component two:**

*The UWA board was already considering a change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, but not much progress was expected in the near future.*

Table 6. Component 2, first contribution claim

	Key informants suggesting the above	Time passed between the submission of a formal request and the policy decision (less than seven months)	Combined Evidence
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.60	0.80	0.48
Type I error	0.40	0.40	0.16
Posterior	0.60	0.67	0.75

For this component, we have two types of evidence: accounts from key informant interviews and “sequence evidence” from the timeline of events.

However, the key informants might not necessarily have had information about the UWA board’s thinking – the policy making system in Uganda can be opaque and only one key informant was on the UWA board. It can, though, be assumed that there was a willingness to reveal the information, because not doing so would put the informants in an awkward position with the UWA board. The board might have been able to identify who was behind the remarks because the group of informants interviewed was relatively small. This made the evaluators more confident than not (0.6) that they would inform the evaluators about previous plans if these were in place.

For the same “limited confidentiality” reason (or imperfect anonymity), it was assumed that the key informants would not have lied if they knew UWA had no such plans in place (or had very advanced plans), but because of uncertainty around their access to this kind of information, they might have believed something that wasn’t the case. As a result, the probability of them mentioning such a process if it was not happening was estimated to be relatively high (40 per cent), making the evaluators just barely less confident that not.

Another piece of evidence which can be considered independently from the key informant accounts is the time passed between the submission of a formal request for the policy change (see component 4) and the policy decision, which was less than seven months.

This could be considered a reasonable amount of time for the letter and the work behind it to have been able to influence the process; and a much shorter amount of time might have raised suspicions that the change was already inevitable. The precise timing in itself does not confirm influence: just because the decision was taken seven months later doesn’t necessarily mean that U-PCLG contributed to it. However, it does weaken the hypothesis that the decision was already inevitable, or in other words it strengthens the hypothesis that no well-defined plans were in place and that not much progress was expected in the near future.

If plans were already in place and the decision was inevitable, we are more confident than not that the decision would have been taken in six months or less, which sets the specificity<sup>14</sup> at 0.6 and the Type I error for this piece of evidence at 0.4. At the same time, if the hypothesis is true and no advanced plans were in place, we are cautiously confident that the decision would have been taken in more than six months, setting the sensitivity at 0.8.

<sup>14</sup> Specificity, or true negatives rate, is the opposite of Type I error (false negatives rate). If Type I error is the probability of observing (positive) evidence if the theory is not true, specificity is the probability of not observing the evidence (or of observing negative evidence) if the theory is not true. Numerically, each is obtained by subtracting the other from the number 1. In other words, Type I error is one minus specificity and specificity is one minus Type I error.

If we assume that the two pieces of evidence are independent, we can estimate the probative value of the evidence package automatically, bringing our confidence about the component from 0.5 to 0.75.

## Evidence

Research advisor for the R2P-CTFA project, Julia Baker, underlined that UWA had previously discussed changing the community share. Julia explained that by providing relevant research findings, the R2P-CTPA project and in particular U-PCLG gave UWA the reason to make a change.

*“There had been discussions in UWA about increasing the permit fee – it was the right moment to have this conversation with them. This is fundamental really, they [UWA] had started the conversation, and the research gave them the opportunity to think more on it. They needed reassurance provided by the research that this was the right thing to do – to move from their fears to accept a change.”*

This assessment was echoed by U-PCLG member Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, who is Chair of the UWA planning and research committee.

*“...the environment was right... [UWA were] already talking about revenue sharing... and so the [R2P-CTPA] research... was used to convince the UWA that there should be change from five [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars.”*

Gladys noted that her UWA colleagues were sympathetic to the requested policy change because they recognised that the community needed to benefit more from conservation.

*“A lot of the [UWA] board members, a huge majority of the [UWA] board members felt that the community need to benefit more from conservation.”*

Seven months after the U-PCLG letter was sent to UWA, on 27 September 2014, Julia Baker emailed U-PCLG's coordinator, Panta Kasoma, and U-PCLG member and UWA planning and research committee member, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka. The email requested further information on behalf of the UK based researchers regarding UWA's response to U-PCLG's letter.

*“We were wondering about UWA's responses to the Gorilla Levy Letter issued earlier this year...”*

On the 9 October, Gladys replied with positive news that U-PCLG's request has been approved by UWA.

*“We had a planning and research committee [UWA] board meeting two weeks ago and had a positive response [from members of the committee] toward increasing the gorilla levy from US\$5 to US\$10 which was then approved at the full [UWA] board [of trustees] meeting this week, effective from July 2015 in the new financial year.”*

Gladys acknowledged the importance of U-PCLG's lobbying activities to get the issue of changing the community share onto the agenda.

*“[U] PCLG should be commended for bringing this issue to the UWA board, so that it could be discussed at this time.”*

The tone of Gladys' email is one of excitement and praise for U-PCLG and reflects her role as a U-PCLG member. Equally, the tone at times is official and reflects Gladys' duty as a member of the UWA Planning and Research Committee.

This email exchange is detailed in the Annex 2.

Gladys also reflected on the timing of the change:

*“...because there was pressure coming from the community, we [U-PCLG] thought that what U-PCLG did will help make change happen sooner than it would have happened. I think it would have happened eventually... If U-PCLG had not taken up the issue, it would still be 5 [US] dollars from the gorilla permit today.”*

## Component three:

*U-PCLG, in collaboration with others, undertook research on the causes of illegal activity taking place in the park. This research:*



- a) *generated new/original insights that justified/motivated a change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee.*

Table 7. Component 3a, first contribution claim

Key informants making statement 3a	
Prior	0.5
Sensitivity	0.9
Type I error	0.1
Posterior	0.90

Key informant transcripts detail the R2P-CTPA research findings as an important contributor to U-PCLG's success in advocating for a change in the community's share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. Interviewees said that the research findings – that feelings of injustice and inequity were driving illegal resource use at BINP<sup>15</sup> – provided new evidence that U-PCLG could use to justify why a change to the community share of the gorilla permit was necessary.

The evaluators assumed that the key informants would know if the research had generated new insights because they were experts in the field. They may have had an incentive to pay lip service to their colleagues, but given that the question asked during the interview was open, they didn't need to mention the originality of the research. A few interviewees mentioned several factors, including the new insights generated by the research.

These considerations made the evaluators highly confident but not certain (0.9) that – had the research been innovative<sup>16</sup> – the informants would have made such claim.

Since the key informants were free to identify any factors that they thought were relevant, it's unlikely they would have mentioned the research generating new insights if that was not actually the case. In particular, the three informants who did so were very senior and reputable in the field. They may have wanted to credit colleagues and show them in a positive light, but they were also well informed about the originality of the research and would not want to be heard to make false claims by their peers. Put differently, had the research not been innovative, the informants would not have made this claim. This makes the evaluators highly confident (0.9, with an error of only 0.1) that if they mentioned the originality of the research, it's because the research was actually original. These estimates increase the confidence value from 0.5 to 0.9 for this component.

## Evidence

Phil Franks, senior researcher at IIED, described the research results as novel and said they told a story that there had not been much evidence for previously.

*"... the research results showed, validated the assumption that illegal activity [in BINP] was partly because people were poor, and partly because people were resentful of the park - that was the new bit that we didn't really have much evidence for before..."*

Panta Kasoma, U-PCLG coordinator, said that the research findings were valuable to U-PCLG and helped to make the case to UWA for a change in the community share of the gorilla permit.

*"... Now this [R2P-CTPA] research gave us an opportunity [to give UWA] the facts. We [U-PCLG] could tell them [UWA], look this is what is happening on the ground [at BINP], this is where the people are most aggrieved, these are the issues they [local community members] are mentioning..."*

This perspective was corroborated by Arthur Mugisha, U-PCLG member and ex UWA director:

*"...the reason it was easy for U-PCLG to do it was because of the process of research and [that the research] clearly showed data to the UWA, saying look what you're doing is appreciated but it has downfalls. This [policy change] is what we [U-PCLG] suggest you can do."*

<sup>15</sup> See <http://pubs.iied.org/14630IIED/>

<sup>16</sup> The evaluators later discovered that the research was published in *Conservation Biology*, which should additionally be considered as a sign of originality and innovativeness.

**Component three continued:**

*U-PCLG, in collaboration with others, undertook research on the causes of illegal activity taking place in the park. This research:*

- a) *...was undertaken in a collaborative way, directly involving the UWA in an attempt to build trust.*

Table 8. Component 3b, first contribution claim

	Key informants stating the above	One network member also a UWA member; another network member a former UWA	Combined package: both pieces of evidence observed
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.9	0.6	0.54
Type I error	0.4	0.4	0.16
Posterior	0.69	0.6	0.77

Key informant transcripts reveal the perception that a collaborative R2P-CTPA process was an important aspect of U-PCLG's success in advocating for a change in the community's share of the gorilla permit. Informants said that the involvement of strategic partners in the R2P-CTPA process, in particular UWA, was important in building trust and interest.

Key informants, as network members, had an incentive to describe the research as collaborative, as it was a key part of the ToC for the R2P-CTPA project to collaborate with, and ultimately influence, UWA. As a consequence, the estimation of sensitivity is quite straightforward (high confidence, 0.9).

Estimating the Type I error on the other hand is trickier because the evaluators did not have the chance to interview UWA board members (except for one key informant who is also a member of the network). As a result, if the research process had not been collaborative, the likelihood of this emerging from the interviews (the specificity) would not be as high as it could have potentially been. The evaluator, however, is still more confident than not (0.6) about the chance of this emerging because the network members knew they were involved in a learning exercise and, in general, seemed to be as ready and open to discuss failures as well as successes. In other words, we can set the Type 1 error at 0.4, meaning that if the research had not been collaborative, the evaluators are more confident than not that this would have emerged.

If we look at the composition of the network, we can see that as well as one person being both a member of the network and of the UWA board, another respondent previously worked with UWA. We can consider this as a sign of shared understanding and purpose between the network and the UWA. In general, if we set the probability of having these connections with the board for random reasons at 0.5, we can argue that it can be slightly higher if there is a good collaborative environment between the two entities, setting the sensitivity at 0.6. Similarly, it's likely to be slightly lower if this collaborative environment is not in place (Type I error is 0.4). These estimates are very cautious and they could be refined by calculating the number of network members who are or have been part of a similar authority to the UWA in their professional lives (currently this number is set at 0.5 and the previous estimates are "anchored" to it).

**Evidence**

R2P-CTPH lead researcher and U-PCLG member, Medard Twinamatsiko, reported that U-PCLG was not the only group to use the research. He said that the R2P-CTPA process included other stakeholders who might also be involved in policy activities. They included:

*"...U-PCLG members; the Uganda Wildlife Authority, both at the HQ [headquarters] level (Kampala) and at the park management level; private sector, not necessarily members of PCLG, but have [an] interest in conservation and development work; local government and even central government, like Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Environment, but also had local leaders, local government structures - UWA partners with local government [in implementation]."*

He offered an example of how the inclusion of stakeholders such as local park management officials proved to be important when advocating for a change in the community share of the gorilla permit.

*“The other target was to involve the local park management to have you know some kind of authenticity. So when we [U-PCLG] are talking about increasing the [community share of the] mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, for example, the UWA board has to consult the lower park management level, they [UWA] will find them [local park management] already knowing of this process [policy change request]”*

Medard felt that the inclusion of these stakeholders was important for establishing trust, which he believed played a role in UWA agreeing the change in the community share of the gorilla permit.

*“...the way that we structured our policy campaign was very inclusive. When someone wants to resist something, but you find you are earning their trust, you can’t all of a sudden say no, I don’t agree with you here. So having UWA [involved] right from the beginning to the end [of the R2P-CTPA project] was enough for UWA to accept this [proposed] change.”*

This perception was consistent with that of Arthur Mugisha, U-PCLG member and ex UWA director, Arthur Mugisha. He said that UWA’s involvement in the R2P-CTPA process avoided damaging their relationship through a lack of communication, and acted to build UWA’s interest in the research findings.

*If they [UWA] had got this information, and had not been involved in the research and were approached [by U-PCLG] with the research findings, and they [UWA] [would] say what research are you talking about? They [UWA] would be very unhappy with us.”*

Similarly, the research advisor for the R2P-CTPA project, Julia Baker commented that including stakeholders other than U-PCLG contributed to a collaborative process for both the research and advocacy.

*“Through the research and the involvement of U-PCLG and UWA we created a collaborative atmosphere of research and advocacy together.”*

#### Component four:

- a) U-PCLG submitted a formal request for the specific change in the community share to the UWA board.

Table 9. Component 4a, first contribution claim

	Key informants stating the existence of such formal request	A formal letter constituting the request (probably emailed as an attachment).	Combined evidence
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.97	0.90	0.873
Type I error	0.05	0.25	0.0125
Posterior	0.95	0.78	0.986

Following the September 2013 R2P-CTPA results workshop, U-PCLG worked collectively to draft a letter to request a revision of the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. The final letter was addressed from U-PCLG’s coordinator, Panta Kasoma, to the chair of UWA’s board of trustees and was sent on 6 March 2014. This letter is considered an important piece of evidence and is detailed in full in the Annex 3.

In the letter, U-PCLG summarises the R2P-CTPA research findings to justify the basis for their request. This letter represents U-PCLG’s first formal request to UWA for a revision of the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee.



The evidence for component four a) are the accounts of two key informants (Gladys Kalema Zikusoka and Panta Kasoma)<sup>17</sup> and a formal letter, probably emailed as an attachment, representing the formal request.

The idea of drafting and sending the letter came from a workshop that IIED helped to convene. While IIED was following the progress with the drafting, U-PCLG was directly involved in the drafting. Since it was a relatively long process in which key informants were directly involved, it's extremely likely that they would have mentioned it when reconstructing the process of influence, if influence was actually taking place. They may have tried to hide any possible conflict about the process, but the evaluators were unable to identify any signs of such conflict. This makes the evaluators reasonably certain that if the letter existed, the key informants would have mentioned it (sensitivity set at 0.97).

If the letter was not drafted / sent, it's very unlikely that the network would have stated that it had been. It would have undermined their credibility towards their funders, especially considering that the existence of the letter would be easily verifiable by IIED. This made the evaluators set the Type I error at 0.05 (high confidence that a statement about its existence reflected the actual existence of the letter). These values in themselves would bring the posterior up to 0.95.

The team was also sent a copy of the letter. While the evaluation team was highly confident that they would get access to the letter if the letter existed and was sent (sensitivity at 0.90), they did not actually see the email through which the letter was sent. The probability of such a letter existing without having been sent is however quite low, especially knowing the work that the network put into its drafting. This makes the evaluators cautiously confident that if the letter existed, it was submitted to the UWA board; or in other words, that if such a letter had not been submitted, it did not exist and could not have been observed (Type I error set at 0.25). The existence of the letter raises confidence about this process from 0.5 to 0.78.

If the two pieces of evidence (the letter and the verbal statements made during interviews) are considered to be independent of each other, their combined existence raises confidence about this component from 0.5 to 0.99.

## Evidence

The tone of U-PCLG's letter to UWA is polite and informative, clearly setting out U-PCLG's intentions in the introductory paragraph.

*"We write to request Uganda Wildlife Authority to increase the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee for the long term conservation of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park based on new evidence from our research" (PP.1).*

U-PCLG is careful to state the relevance of the request by describing an increase in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee as important to achieving "*long-term conservation*", which is UWA's mandate. The letter continues by outlining the R2P-CTPA research findings on why unauthorised resource use continues in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park including the research finding that:

*"... local perceptions of the inequity of revenue sharing fuelled feelings of unfairness that led villagers to illegally collect resources from the national park" (PP.2).*

## Component four continued:

- b) The letter played a key role in accelerating the policy change, because it was a formal request coming from a broad coalition of stakeholders, prompting the board to acknowledge receipt and initiate a formal response process.

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<sup>17</sup> The accounts are reported under 4b.

Table 10. Component 4b, first contribution claim

	Key informants stating the above
Prior	0.6
Sensitivity	0.99
Type I error	0.40
Posterior	0.79

It is hard to believe that U-PCLG would have could put the increase in the community share on UWA's agenda for consideration unless they had made an official request as seen in the letter. It is also important to note that U-PCLG's letter is the basis of all their further advocacy actions. For example, following the letter U-PCLG members formally and informally met with UWA board members and discussed the potential change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. U-PCLG member Gladys Kalema Zikusoka advocated for change through her position as Chair of UWA's planning and research committee. Alongside U-PCLG's letter, such actions were likely to have helped build momentum for U-PCLG's request to be considered. Alone, such actions would most likely have lacked the formality to put the potential policy change on UWA's agenda.

The letter carried weight because it was penned by a coalition of stakeholders. Informants thought this was unique and different from how they typically operated, and that this was significant to why UWA listened and responded to their request. They noted that a request from several different NGOs was likely to carry more weight. By responding favourably, UWA had probably recognised that they could gain political support from multiple organisations, some of which can be critical of them.

In addition, the key informants said the letter played an important role, making UWA formally responsible for responding. In more informal situations or if the request had not come from such a broad coalition, the board wouldn't necessarily have felt the need to respond.

One of the key informants was the author of the letter. If the letter had played an important role, he (Panta Kasoma) would have certainly noticed and would have been willing to tell the evaluators, which makes them set the sensitivity for this piece of evidence at 0.99. In general, key informants had an incentive to say that the letter was important even it wasn't, because of the amount of work they had invested in it. However, in the July 2015 quarterly meeting minutes, U-PCLG are candid in admitting their advocacy work has not always been successful. "Perfect uncertainty" as to what statements they could make on the importance of the letter, if it had not actually been important, would mean a Type I error of 0.5; however, in the context of such an openness, it would also be pointless for the network to lie to themselves. This makes the evaluators more confident than not that, if the letter had not played a major role, the informants wouldn't necessarily have said that it did (Type I error at 0.4).

Unlike for all other components of the mechanism, the prior confidence for this component is set at 0.6 instead of 0.5, which means that the evaluators are more confident than not that the component is true even before analysing the empirical data. This is for two reasons: first, because the formality of the process makes actors accountable, facilitating processes of influence in decision making; and secondly because coalitions representing a wide range of actors tend to be more influential than smaller ones.

The above estimates raise the confidence on the existence of the component from 0.6 to 0.79.

## Evidence

In key informant interviews, U-PCLG's letter was perceived by U-PCLG member and UWA planning and research committee Chair, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, as a unique aspect of U-PCLG's advocacy efforts. Gladys said that by writing to the chairman of the board of trustees at UWA, U-PCLG were able to directly present their perspective on the communities' priorities (as informed by the R2P/CFPC research). This is something that is typically the responsibility of the community director, and can be subject to their bias.

*"I think what was unique was when Panta... the [U-PCLG] coordinator, wrote a letter. I think that was very strategic, because normally if it [a policy request] went through the regular channels [such as]*

*through the community director, this person [would] only present what they think is a priority to the [UWA] board."*

In an interview Panta Kasoma explained that UWA acknowledged receipt of the letter and confirmed that U-PCLG's request had been referred to UWA's management.

*"...so it [the letter] was addressed to the [UWA] chairman of the board of trustees coming from me as the coordinator of U-PCLG and that letter was delivered [to UWA], and the [UWA] chairman replied and said well I have received your letter and this issue now needs to be handled by the [UWA] management by way of putting it on our agenda..."*

In the transcript Panta describes UWA's referral of U-PCLG's letter. This is an important aspect of Panta's transcript as it offers insights into the process through which U-PCLG's letter prompted UWA's explicit consideration of the community share of the gorilla levy.

*"So really the whole process just involved me writing to the [UWA] board chair, the board chair writing to management, management referring the matter to the [planning and research] committee who were responsible, they discussed it and referred it to the main board [of trustees] who eventually passed (approved) it."*

Some of the U-PCLG key informants felt that as a coalition of organisations, U-PCLG could affect change in the community share of the gorilla permit. This is an important lesson to be learned for U-PCLG as a relatively new network of poverty and conservation organisations active in Uganda. Interviewee transcripts show that U-PCLG members considered working as a coalition unique to the way they typically operated, and is significant to why UWA listened and responded to their request. IIED's senior researcher, Phil Franks noted that from UWA's perspective, a request from a number of different NGOs would carry more weight and that by responding favourably UWA was likely to have recognised that they could gain political support from multiple organisations, some of which were critical of UWA.

*"Well I would imagine having a whole lot of NGOs all speaking with the same voice would have carried quite a lot of weight, because they [UWA] could see from their point of view... they could have been seen to be responsive to a whole lot of organisations...if UWA agree they are seen to be responding to the interests of many organisations. It gets them more credit and builds their own political support base among these NGOs - some of whom are quite critical of them at times."*

U-PCLG member and ex UWA director, Arthur Mugisha, explained that U-PCLG brought together well respected professionals in Uganda. He noted that given this, the government were highly likely to have taken the network's viewpoint into account.

*"I think that the uniqueness about U-PCLG is that it is a platform that brings together different voices, different minds, it's a meeting place to discuss different issues, which would not have always come up. Because it's a platform and members work together and they're professionals, they're respected people, so the [UWA] management within the government is bound to listen."*

This perspective was echoed by U-PCLG member Annet Kandole who stated that a key learning from U-PCLG's experience of advocating for a change in the community share of the gorilla permit was that it was more effective if individual organisations worked together.

*"... members within U-PCLG realised that a single entity or single organisation cannot influence policy decisions... we [as individuals] cannot get quick wins easily... but if we are many, we combine our voices, we exchange ideas, we exchange resources and many skills... we achieve better results."*

Additionally, minutes from a quarterly meeting from July 2015 showed that U-PCLG's members recognised that the value of being a coalition of organisations working together to advocate for change.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group Quarterly Meeting Minutes. Held on 10th July 2015 at Protea Hotel, Kampala, Uganda. Access online: <http://povertyandconservation.info/en/pages/u-pclg-quarterly-meeting-july-2015>

*“We worked as a strong network of different organisations, but with one vision. As a group, we are likely to be more effective than as single organisations.”*

#### Component five:

*A U-PCLG member championed the change within UWA’s formal response process through her role as a member of the UWA planning and research committee.*

Table 11. Component 5, first contribution claim

	Key informants and meeting minutes stating the above	Emails showing the above	Combined evidence
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.95	0.80	0.76
Type I error	0.3	0.1	0.03
Posterior	0.76	0.89	0.96

Most interviewee transcripts highlighted the role of U-PCLG member, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, as an essential driver of U-PCLG’s success in increasing the community share of the gorilla permit. At the time of U-PCLG’s letter submission, as well as being a U-PCLG member, Gladys was Chair of the UWA’s planning and research committee – the UWA Committee that U-PCLG’s letter was later referred to for discussion. Most key informants believed that Gladys’ role on this committee, as well as her standing as a respected professional, was invaluable in shaping UWA’s internal discussion on the policy change, and in particular in justifying and defending the proposed policy change.

The same opinions are repeated in minutes from the U-PCLG quarterly meeting held in July 2015 and attended by 29 members, two IIED researchers and Julia Baker (the research advisor of the R2P-CTPA project).<sup>19</sup> The agenda was for U-PCLG members to first update each other on actions and progress (not necessarily related to the R2P-CTPA project), and *“since U-PCLG is a learning group... [to] reflect on recent work from the group, teasing out lessons learnt about what went well/not well and why.”*

In the learning session, U-PCLG members discussed UWA’s policy change in the community share of the gorilla permit and described it as a *“successful activity”* undertaken by U-PCLG. Reasons given for this success include Gladys Kalema Zikusoka’s roles as championing the change within UWA.

From the meeting minutes it appears that the meeting participants discussed two advocacy actions specifically: one is the subject of this report, the other was another advocacy campaign that was largely considered a failure. Strengths and weaknesses of the two different strategies adopted in the two campaigns were discussed, comparing the case considered to have been successful with the one considered unsuccessful.

These sets of observations from the key informant interviews and the meeting minutes cannot be considered to be independent from each other, because the meeting might have helped to shape the group narrative that the evaluators believe emerged during the interviews a year later. For this reason, the meeting minutes and interviews are considered as the same piece of evidence. Similarly, we cannot consider the single key informants as independent, but only see the set of interviews as a whole.

If we assume that the group discourse explaining this policy change started to take shape or was mostly shaped at the July 2015 meeting, we need to consider who was present. The network member in the claim was at the meeting, so it is likely that interviewees would recognise her role (unless there was conflict and the evaluators did not perceive any). If Gladys really played the “champion” role, it is very likely that the group would have recognised that, especially as a representative of UWA board was present at the meeting, and it would be “politically correct” to stress the role of a person who had a foot

<sup>19</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Ibid

in both camps. As such, this sets the sensitivity of the component at 0.95 (between high confidence and reasonable certainty).

If this person had not played the stated role, there is a chance the members would have mentioned it, too, perhaps out of courtesy bias or out of considerations of political correctness. However, it could be argued that if her role had not been as important as claimed, the narrative established at the workshop in 2015 would not have survived the test of time, or at least not as strongly as it did, with the majority of key informants praising the member and stressing the importance of her role. These considerations bring the evaluators to set the Type I error at a value not higher than 0.3.

An important additional piece of evidence comes from emails repeating the same narrative and praising the role of the board member (Annex 2). UWA board members were not copied in the emails and their content can be assumed to reflect a more genuine appreciation for the role of the network member, made for reasons other than political correctness. The emails are also written evidence (less subject to data collection errors than interviews) and were sent in 2016, almost one year after the policy decision had been taken. For these reasons the evaluators are highly confident that, if the network member had not championed the change, the emails would not have been written, at least not as such, estimating the Type I error at a value no higher than 0.1. The sensitivity is slightly lower than the evidence that emerged from the wider group because – if the member had indeed played such a role – it wouldn't necessarily need to be mentioned in that correspondence. However, this is something still considered quite likely to emerge, and the evaluators are cautiously confident that it would have (0.80).

If the two pieces of evidence are considered to be independent of each other (the large-group narrative from the small-group narrative), we can calculate the probative value of the entire package multiplying the single-piece estimates. This raises our confidence about this component of the claim from 0.5 to 0.96.

## Evidence

Lead R2P-CTPA researcher, Julia Baker, described Gladys Kalema Zikusoka as a: “... *well respected person - both locally, nationally and internationally - and a member of the U-PCLG as well as the UWA board*”.

Julia underlined that Gladys worked hard to champion an increase in the community share, and that this was a key part of U-PCLG's advocacy actions.

*“She [Gladys] worked hard internally to promote the findings of the research. This was a key action, Gladys was championing the idea of the local allocation [of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee] changing...”*

U-PCLG coordinator, Panta Kasoma, said that U-PCLG were able to take “*advantage of one member of U-PCLG [Gladys Kalema Zikusoka] who also happened to be on the [UWA] board (of the planning and research committee).*”

He said that as a member of U-PCLG and as an experienced professional in Bwindi, Gladys was able to answer other UWA committee members' questions and help further the case for a change in the community share of the gorilla fee.

*“So this issue of the gorilla-tracking permit fee came to the [UWA planning and research] committee they discussed it and since she [Gladys] already had background information and active work around Bwindi, she knows exactly what the situation is, she was able to defend that position [request to change the community share] quite effectively and her committee voted for it and recommended it to the rest of the [UWA] board.”*

Gladys recognised that her role on the UWA committee was an advantage to U-PCLG. Corroborating Panta's testimony, Gladys said that as Chair of UWA's planning and research committee she was present when committee members were discussing the potential change to the community share of the gorilla permit, and was able to provide more information on why the policy change was necessary. She underlined that this was essential and without this, the policy on the community share of the gorilla levy may not have changed.

*“I mean it really helped that I was on the board of UWA [planning and research committee], if I was not on the board of UWA I'm not sure that we could have changed [the community share]. The fact that I*



*was on the board meant I was able to convince people more and I was also able to kind of push a lot of the board members as well that it was a good thing to do. So yeah, I think it helped that I was on the board, because people were in two minds, at the beginning they thought [there was] no need, but I think they were moved to thinking it was a good idea... yeah, it's a good idea because the community want it."*

Gladys also added that she felt her role at UWA enabled the policy change to be approved faster.

*"I think actually my being on the [UWA] board [of the planning and research committee] helped... the [policy] change moved faster than it would have gone [otherwise]"*

Echoing key informant interviews, U-PCLG members who participated in the learning session at the July 2015 U-PCLG quarterly meeting<sup>20</sup> also identified Gladys' role as important factor in their success in influencing the policy change. As reported in the minutes of the meeting: *"the fact that Dr Gladys was a board member really helped to push this issue forward."*

On 1 March 2016, U-PCLG administrator, Hellena Nambogwe wrote an email to all U-PCLG members to share the news and encourage messages of congratulations as two U-PCLG members had successfully secured places on the new UWA board. In a reply on 4 March 2016, U-PCLG member, Mark Infield, wrote an email that we consider here to be an important piece of evidence for this component of the first contribution claim. The full email chain is given in the Annex 2.

In the email he congratulated the two U-PCLG members, noting that as a result of their appointments the U-PCLG network would have the potential to share their insights on important conservation and poverty issues with UWA.

*"...we [U-PCLG] are in a strong position to carry messages on conservation and poverty to UWA."*

Noteworthy to the evaluation, Mark acknowledged the key role Gladys played as Chair of UWA's planning and research committee in influencing policy change.

*"The success we achieved on increasing the [community share of] the levy on gorilla-tracking permits was very much due to the role that Gladys played."*

### **Component six:**

The UWA board took the decision suggested by U-PCLG.

Table 12. Component 6, first contribution claim

	News magazine reporting details about the policy change	Email showing the above	Combined evidence
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.7	0.99	0.693
Type I error	0.2	0.01	0.002
Posterior	0.78	0.99	0.997

This is the last component of the process and it refers to the adoption of the communities' increased share of the gorilla tourist permit fee. This change was deliberated at the end of September 2014, less than seven months after the submission of the letter requesting it (see below for considerations on the timing).

The decision was not published as a policy document, but various sources have confirmed it is being enforced. In addition to the key informant interviews and the meeting minutes, for this component we have the emails referred to in Annex 2 and a newspaper item dated 17 February 2015 in Annex 4. We

<sup>20</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Ibid.

analyse in detail the last two pieces of evidence which appear stronger than the other two and are also independent.

The news item framed the decision in positive terms: “expensive gorilla permit to boost locals” and essentially praised the role of the authority, while specifying the amount of the increase from US\$5 to US\$10. How confident are the evaluators in terms of this news outlet reporting the change after it had taken place? The journalist responsible for that piece of news is affiliated with ACODE, a Ugandan organisation that was responsible within the R2P-CTPH project for training U-CLG on advocacy. For this reason, the issue will have been on ACODE’s radar, so we are more confident than not (cautiously confident) that they would have reported it (0.7). At the same time – even though the article seemed to include a lot of details – we have no information about the reliability of the news outlet, so we cannot be more than cautiously confident that, had the news been untrue, they would not have reported it (specificity at 0.8 and Type I error at 0.2).

On 27 September 2014 R2P-CTPH research advisor, Julia Baker sent an email to Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, asking whether and when the board would issue a formal response to the letter submitted by U-PCLG. Gladys replied on 9 October 2014, notifying Julia that the decision had been taken two weeks earlier at a UWA board planning meeting. The decision eventually became effective in July 2015.

The evaluators are practically certain that – if the decision had been taken – the member would reply, communicating the good news (sensitivity at 0.99). At the same time, it’s unthinkable that the member would state that the decision had been taken when it had not been, which makes the evaluators practically certain that the statement reflected reality correctly, confirming the existence of the outcome (Type I error at 0.01).

If the two pieces of evidence are considered independent, their combined probative value can be automatically calculated from the above estimates, and brings the confidence on this component from 0.5 to 1.00. The evaluators are practically certain that the outcome has materialised.

## Evidence

Seven months after the U-PCLG letter was sent to UWA on 27 September 2014, the research advisor, Julia Baker emailed U-PCLG’s coordinator, Panta Kasoma, and U-PCLG member and UWA committee member, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka to request further information regarding UWA’s response to U-PCLG’s letter.

*“We were wondering about UWA’s responses to the Gorilla Levy Letter issued earlier this year...”*

On 9 October, Gladys replied with positive news that U-PCLG’s request has been approved by UWA.

*“We had a Planning and Research Committee [UWA] board meeting two weeks ago and had a positive response toward increasing the gorilla levy from US\$5 to US\$10 which was then approved at the full [UWA] board [of trustees] meeting this week, effective from July 2015 in the new financial year.”*

Gladys acknowledged the importance of U-PCLG’s lobbying activities to get the issue of changing the community share onto the agenda.

*“[U] PCLG should be commended for bringing this issue to the UWA board, so that it could be discussed at this time.”*

This email exchange is detailed in the Annex 2.

In her interview, Gladys also reflected on the timing of the change:

*“...because there was pressure coming from the commFsunity, we [U-PCLG] thought that what U-PCLG did will help make change happen sooner than it would have happened. I think it would have happened eventually... If U-PCLG had not taken up the issue, it would still be 5 [US] dollars from the gorilla permit today.”*

## Components considered but not included in contribution claim 1.

One other component that was considered as part of contribution claim 1: that the research was tailored to support advocacy work. Initially included under component 3, it was later discarded because the evidence collected was relatively weak, neither decreasing nor increasing confidence in the existence

of the component. Retaining this component of the contribution claim would substantially decrease the overall confidence in the claim, so the evaluators decided to continue working on a slightly revised claim where this factor did not play a role. Below are the Bayesian updating estimates from the evidence collected and the explanation of how they were obtained.

### Component 3c:

*U-PCLG, in collaboration with others, undertook research on the causes of illegal activity taking place in the park. This research:*

*3c) ... was tailored to support advocacy work.*

Table 13. Component 3x considered but not included in contribution claim 1

	Meeting minutes showing that the research was directly applicable / easy to use
Prior	0.5
Sensitivity	0.95
Type I error	0.55
Posterior	0.63

In July 2015, U-PCLG held a quarterly meeting that was attended by 29 members, two IIED researchers and Julia Baker (the research advisor for the R2P-CTPA project).<sup>21</sup> The agenda was for U-PCLG members to first update each other on actions and progress (not necessarily related to the R2P-CTPA project), and “since U-PCLG is a learning group... [to] reflect on recent work from the group, teasing out lessons learnt about what went well/not well and why.”

In the learning session, U-PCLG members discussed UWA’s policy change in the community share of the gorilla permit and described it as a “successful activity” undertaken by U-PCLG. One reason given for this success was that the R2P-CTPA research project was tailored to support advocacy work.

From the meeting minutes it appears that the meeting participants were addressing two advocacy actions specifically: one is the subject of this report, the other was another advocacy campaign that was largely considered a failure. Strengths and weaknesses of the two different strategies adopted in the two campaigns were discussed, comparing the case considered to have been successful with the one considered unsuccessful.

IIED and the R2P-CTPA research advisor (Julia Baker) were present at the meeting, so there might have been an incentive to describe the action as successful and find reasons for it. Moreover, a member of the training team who trained network members from ACODE (a body that provided training to U-PCLG about how to develop an advocacy campaign) were also present at the meeting. As such, it is likely that U-PCLG similarly had an incentive to mention any desired result from the advocacy training: they knew the meeting minutes would be published online.

Sensitivity was therefore estimated to be quite high, with the evaluators highly confident (0.95) that – had the research been implemented in a way that was actually tailored to support advocacy work (as aspired to in the research proposal) – this would have emerged from the meeting minutes. In the opposite case – the research not being tailored to support advocacy work – it’s more likely than not that at least some participants would have still tried to stress this aspect as being successful. However, given the relative openness of the discussion (which led to the other case being described as unsuccessful), the evaluators reckoned that the probability of this happening would be lower than under the claim (0.55).

These considerations bring the value of the posterior confidence from 0.5 to 0.63 for this component.

<sup>21</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Ibid



## Additional Evidence

U-PCLG members noted that the research was directly applicable to supporting advocacy work. “There was research to support implementing lessons learnt from the research [this] was valid...”

Members also noted the value of working with advocacy experts ACODE.

“...normally there is a gap between the advocacy side [in research work]. In this case [of the R2P-CTPA project] the research was done in close contact with ACODE and U-PCLG members thinking from the start about the advocacy coming out of that research. Therefore [a] lesson learnt is that research should not be done in isolation, but together to the advocacy work/experts.”

## Contribution claim two

### U-PCLG work has *shaped* the content of UWA’s policy change

The second contribution claim (CC2) was also broken down into six components, some of which are identical to the components of the first contribution claim (CC1). The brief formulation is the following:

*In a context where the gorilla tourist permit fee had increased from US\$500 to US\$600 and where the UWA was expected to be reluctant to increase the community share of such a fee, after considering a number of possible figures, U-PCLG suggested an increase from US\$5 to US\$10 because they thought it would make a difference to the communities and at the same time be acceptable to the UWA. The latter took this suggestion on board.*

CC2 shares the following components with CC1: 1, 4a, 5 and 6. These components have been analysed in the previous section. Components 2, 3, and 4b, however, are different from CC1 and are addressed below. As table 14 shows, confidence in the overall claim is raised from 0.5 to 0.73.

Table 14. Confidence updating in contribution claims after observation of the evidence - second contribution claim

Second contribution claim: U-PCLG’s efforts shaped the change	
Mechanism component	Confidence updating
1. The communities around the BINP have been dissatisfied with the amount of tourism revenue shared with them for a long time. The UWA board expected communities to exert further pressure for an increase in their share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee after the fee was increased from US\$500 to US\$600 per person per trek on 1 January 2014.	from 0.50 to 0.89
2. UWA had been reluctant to increase the community share of the gorilla permits as they are an important source of revenue used by UWA to manage many other protected areas in Uganda’s national parks, including those that generate little revenue from tourism. U-PCLG was unsure how much influence it held over the UWA but wanted to propose something the board could accept, so made a cautious proposal by requesting that UWA increase the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee from US\$5 to US\$10. This would make a significant difference to the communities.	from 0.50 to 0.73
3. No other group/source made the same suggestion to the UWA board.	from 0.5 to 0.93
4.	
a. U-PCLG submitted a formal request for the specific change in the community share to the UWA board	from 0.5 to 0.99
b. This letter played a key role in shaping the content of the policy, because it suggested the same change in the share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee which was adopted by the UWA board (from US\$5 to US\$10).	from 0.5 to 0.82

5. A U-PCLG member championed the change within UWA's formal response process through her role as a member of UWA's planning and research committee.	from 0.5 to 0.96
6. The UWA board took the decision suggested by U-PCLG.	from 0.5 to 1.00

### Component two:

UWA has been reluctant to increase the community share of the gorilla permits as they are an important source of revenue used by UWA to manage many other protected areas in Uganda, including those that generate little revenue from tourism. U-PCLG was unsure how much influence it held over the UWA but wanted to propose something the board could accept, so made a cautious proposal by requesting that UWA increase the community share of the gorilla-tourist permit fee from US\$5 to US\$10. This would nevertheless make a significant difference to the communities.

Table 15. Component 2, second contribution claim

	Key informants stating the above during interviews; plus meeting minutes showing U-PCLG being cautious in establishing the amount from US\$5 to US\$10 (participants were the same as for interviews)
Prior	0.5
Sensitivity	0.80
Type I error	0.30
Posterior	0.73

The UWA board had been reluctant to meet the communities' demands regarding revenue sharing because the gorilla permits are an important source of finance for UWA in the management of all of Uganda's national parks, including those that generate little revenue from tourism. Key informant transcripts detail why U-PCLG advocated for a change in the community share of the gorilla levy from US\$5. The transcripts illustrate that U-PCLG considered a number of different amounts but settled on requesting an increase by US\$5 to US\$10 as they perceived it as an acceptable amount to UWA.

Evidence of U-PCLG's deliberations are key to understanding who shaped the content of UWA's decision to change the community share by US\$5. The interview transcripts show that members of U-PCLG suggested the amount in a final research workshop discussion in September 2013<sup>22</sup> where they debated different options.

If the claim is true, the evaluators are highly confident, if not reasonably certain, that key informants would know and would say as it is essential information in the context they operate in. That is, the evaluators would expect network members to know how much money UWA has, where it comes from and how they spend it. This information is most likely published somewhere, either in legal or programme documents: it is basic knowledge for network members.

It is difficult to think of a reason why key informants would not mention this information during an interview as it would describe their role in a positive way and would justify their cautious proposal of a small US\$5 increase. U-PCLG bought into UWA's narrative that the board does not have a lot of money, and essentially imply that other options which were more advantageous for the communities were considered unrealistic and unlikely to be adopted by UWA. However, the statements made by U-PCLG researchers are to some extent made against their own interests, because they acknowledge the fact that they eventually gave in to UWA's reluctance and decided to advocate for the lower option, i.e.

<sup>22</sup> Roe D and Kirkby A (2013) Research to Policy: Conservation Through Poverty Alleviation - Final Research Phase Workshop. IIED Workshop Report. Available at: <http://pubs.iied.org/G03708/>

a US\$5 increase. These considerations make the evaluators cautiously confident (0.8) that if the claim is true, the key informants would state that it is.

As for what key informants would say if the claim was not true, the first consideration is that they must tread carefully as they know the report is going to be published. Key informants are likely to be cautious to mislead IIED and say something about UWA that did not happen, especially over several different data collection moments, such as the meeting in 2015 and the evaluation a year later. It would affect UWA's and IIED's willingness to work with U-PCLG in the future, perhaps isolating them. U-PCLG have also showed that they can recognise failure (as exemplified in U-PCLG's quarterly meeting minutes July 2015<sup>23</sup>) so do not appear determined to hide any bad performance by the network.

However, there are a number of other considerations that increase the Type I error, or the probability of them coming up with this narrative, when it does not reflect what happened in reality.

First of all, in the absence of statements made by the UWA board members, the detailed reconstruction about the amount that was considered acceptable for the UWA board, (as provided through interviews with U-PCLG members) can hardly be considered conclusive. These statements are an indirect source informing the evaluators about the UWA board's attitudes and preferences.

These considerations make the evaluators more confident than not, and almost cautiously confident, that if the claim was not true U-PCLG would not have tried to mislead themselves or anyone else (Type I error at 0.3). These values increase confidence about this component from a prior of 0.5 to a posterior of 0.73.

## Evidence

Arthur Mugisha, U-PCLG member and ex UWA director explained that U-PCLG members discussed different proposals for changing the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. In making their decision, Arthur noted that U-PCLG members recognised that UWA depended on the revenue from the fee for their management costs, and so only a relatively small amount was likely to be acceptable to UWA.

*"There was an idea [from a U-PCLG member] that we [U-PCLG] should make it [the community share] ten [US dollars], twenty [US dollars], and there was another idea to make it a percentage of a certain value... because five [US dollars] is still [a] small [amount]. But we looked at the management needs of UWA and we said that five [US] dollars is a good starting point..."*

U-PCLG Member, Annet Kandole corroborated this, noting that given UWA's dependence on the mountain gorilla tourist permit fees, any proposal needed to be realistic and acceptable to UWA.

*"We did discuss that [other amounts]... we have to be realistic... you need to lobby for an amount that you think is acceptable... UWA does not have [much] income from other parks, and we [U-PCLG] had to look at issues around [UWA's] running costs and the rest... so I think I can't say there was any scientific calculation... it was just subjective."*

R2P-CTPA lead researcher and U-PCLG member, Medard Twinamatsiko also noted that U-PCLG considered an amount that would not have a big impact on UWA's operational budget.

*"...the [proposed] increase, [it] was not very significant to upset UWA. So you know when you see that this does not completely affect you, you have no choice but to accept. It is a relatively small percentage that would not have a very big negative impact on UWA's budget."*

The research advisor for the R2P-CTFA project, Julia Baker said that it was fellow researcher, Dilys Roe, who suggested advocating for a change in the community share of the gorilla-tracking permit fee at a research workshop.

*"Dilys suggested the five [US] dollars increase in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee."*

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<sup>23</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group Quarterly Meeting Minutes. Held on 10th July 2015 at Protea Hotel, Kampala, Uganda. Access online: <http://povertyandconservation.info/en/pages/u-pclg-quarterly-meeting-july-2015>

Julia added that U-PCLG members took up this idea and discussed different amounts. She noted that U-PCLG decided on US\$5 as it was a small amount that represented real change, but did not ask too much from UWA.

*“They [U-PCLG] chose five [US] dollars because they recognised that they had an opportunity to influence policy change, but they didn’t want to blow this opportunity. To make a difference they accepted that they would need to ask for a change that was quite low, but they still felt that it represented real change.”*

Panta Kasoma, U-PCLG coordinator, reported:

*“And we felt that this would be a good case study because this is something we can easily influence because it was within the jurisdiction of [UWA] board of trustees, rather than the Ugandan Parliament. So we then said ok it is currently at five [US] dollars, what do we ask for? Do we ask for twenty dollars, ten dollars, fifteen dollars? And then we said well there is likely to be some resistance because UWA have argued that the money that is coming out of Bwindi is not only used to support Bwindi but it is used to support many other protected areas under their jurisdiction that are not generating resources, and therefore they are likely to be resistant to any attempt to encroach on any of their income. So eventually we zeroed in on a doubling, we thought well from five to ten [US] dollars is a good step, first we need to get it accepted then maybe we could argue for more later, but for now we start with a five [US] dollar increase.”*

*“We sort of feared that we would meet a lot of resistance if we raised this too high, that’s why we said ok, if the permit is US\$600, if we take US\$10 from that at least that would be a doubling of what was previously given and is likely to have a, you know, a larger impact.”*

This description was echoed by other U-PCLG members who noted that U-PCLG considered other amounts but ultimately had to be careful in their request to UWA. For example, R2P-CTPA lead researcher and U-PCLG member Medard Twinamatsiko explained that U-PCLG expected an increase of US\$5 would be acceptable to UWA while also representing an important gain for local communities.

*“Some people [from U-PCLG] thought we should talk about percentages maybe from ten per cent, one per cent, thirty three per cent. There was a lot of debate within U-PCLG meetings. So we ended up on ten [US] dollars because we thought that would be a figure that would be well accepted by the UWA, but it will also create a relative impact on communities bordering Bwindi.”*

U-PCLG member and ex UWA director Arthur Mugisha emphasised that this request represented U-PCLG’s first ever appeal to UWA for a policy change, and they were keen not to overstep.

*“...we didn’t want the management of the board of UWA who received our suggestion to say you [U-PCLG] asked too much and then they refuse us...”*

The U-PCLG quarterly meeting minutes from July 2014 briefly detail the decision to advocate for a change in the community share of the gorilla permit by US\$5.<sup>24</sup> The bullet point from the minutes echoes key informant interviews in summarising that U-PCLG considered the increase in the community share to be small, but with no previous experience of making such requests to UWA, U-PCLG wanted to be cautious: *“Though the percentage is still small, some members think it’s better than 5 per cent, a US\$10 increment was based on the research and also the fact PCLG was starting its advocacy effort, it did not want to set the bar too high.”*

The key informants and meeting minutes, both point in the same direction: U-PCLG made a proposal that was considered to be acceptable to UWA because they *did not want to overstep*. The evaluation team considered the two independent pieces of evidence as two good hoop tests. In fact, since they were independent from each other, and they pointed to similar conclusions, their probative value increases, and so does our confidence in the component of the contribution claim.

U-PCLG member and UWA planning and research committee Chair, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka reported:

*“I think U-PCLG members wanted to something that would (make a) change... funding was limiting and this was something [for] the project to be done.... one of the quick ways because the environment was*

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<sup>24</sup> U-PCLG (2015) Ibid.

*right... [UWA were] already talking about revenue sharing... and so the [R2P-CTPA] research... was used to convince the UWA that there should be change from five [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars. It was an opportunity [for U-PCLG] to use the research [and] to have some impact on policy in a short space of time. Some of the things that came out [of the research] were more complicated, cannot happen in the life time of the [R2P-CTPA] project, things beyond our [U-PCLG's] control, but the gorilla levy could be influenced by U-PCLG."*

R2P-CTPA lead researcher and U-PCLG member Medard Twinamatsiko said:

*"So in this case, the increase in the gorilla permit was within the scope of the board of trustees of UWA, not the parliament of Uganda. In the parliament of Uganda you have to take a long process, but this one [policy change] [was] within the mandate of UWA board. And, fortunately we have one member [UWA] board member Dr Gladys, who was also a member of U-PCLG, so being a member of U-PCLG and being a member of the UWA board, it created a very strong opportunity for us to utilise."*

### Component three:

No other group/source made the same suggestion to the UWA board.

Table 16. Component 3, second contribution claim

	Key informants stating during interviews that the research generated new / original insights	Limited search showing no sign of alternative documents with similar suggestions	Combined evidence
Prior	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.90	0.60	0.54
Type I error	0.10	0.40	0.04
Posterior	0.90	0.60	0.93

Key informant transcripts detail the R2P-CTPA research findings as an important contributor to U-PCLG's success in advocating for a change in the community's share of the gorilla tourist permit fee. Interviewees detailed that the research findings presented new evidence that was useful for U-PCLG to justify why a change to the community share of the gorilla permit was necessary. Claiming that no other group made the same suggestion to the UWA board is the same as claiming that the research generated new / original insight, which no other group was bringing to UWA's attention. That is why we can consider the statements to this effect on behalf of key informants as evidence of this component (see component 3a of CC1).

For this claim (CC2) the evaluators can also consider the results of a limited desk review that the evaluation team was able to carry out, which to some extent confirmed the claim, albeit, not strongly. The evaluators have been unable to access UWA internal documents, which explains why the sensitivity of our limited search is relatively low (0.6) - not finding the documents does not necessarily mean that they don't exist. On the other hand, if the claim was not true and other groups actually made similar suggestions reflected in such documents, the chance of not finding them would still be relatively high (Type I error at 0.4). The evaluators, however, are still more confident than not that – if they existed – they would be able to find them (specificity at 0.6).

If we consider the two pieces of evidence as being independent of each other, we can combine them in the same package and calculate their probative value automatically on the basis of the estimates above. The two pieces of evidence considered together raise the confidence from 0.5 to 0.93.

### Evidence

Phil Franks, senior researcher at IIED, described the research results as novel and said they told a story that previously there had not been much evidence for.



*“... the research results showed, validated the assumption that illegal activity was partly because people were poor, and partly because people were resentful of the park - that was the new bit that we didn't really have much evidence for before...”*

Panta Kasoma, U-PCLG coordinator, said that the research findings were valuable to U-PCLG and helped to make the case to UWA for a change in the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee.

*“... Now this research gave us an opportunity [to give U-PCLG] the facts. We [U-PCLG] could tell them [UWA], look this is what is happening on the ground, this is where the people are most aggrieved, these are the issues they [local community members] are mentioning...”*

This perspective was corroborated by Arthur Mugisha, U-PCLG member and ex UWA director.

*“... the reason it was easy for U-PCLG to do it [change the community share of the gorilla permit] was because of the process of research and clearly showing data to the UWA, saying look what you're doing is appreciated but it has downfalls... this is what we can suggest you can do...”*

#### **Component four:**

The letter played a key role in shaping the content of the policy because it suggested exactly the same change in the share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee which was adopted by the UWA board (from US\$5 to US\$10).

Table 17. Component 4b, second contribution claim

	<b>U-PCLG letter suggesting US\$5 to US\$10 increase</b>	<b>Email and key informants acknowledging the role of U-PCLG in shaping the amount</b>	<b>Combined Evidence</b>
Prior	0.50	0.5	0.5
Sensitivity	0.80	0.95	0.76
Type I error	0.43	0.4	0.17
Posterior	0.80	0.70	0.82

We have two pieces of evidence for this component: the content of the letter, which recommended an increase in the fee of the same amount as was eventually enforced, and an email acknowledging the role of U-PCLG in shaping the content of the policy decision.

As for the former, if the network had shaped this aspect of the decision, we would almost certainly see this or a very similar amount in the policy content. The evaluators are cautiously confident that the amount would be *exactly* the same (0.8), because there didn't seem to be many feasible options in this sense and the UWA board might prefer a round amount for communication purposes. At the same time, the chances of the board raising the fee of exactly this amount if they had not been influenced by the network are not very high. We know the board wanted to minimise the increase, but were unsure as to where to strike the right balance between concessions to the community and minimising loss of income. From their perspective, without U-PCLG's influence they would have probably considered increases of US\$6, US\$7, US\$8, US\$9 or US\$10. We can consider the adopted amount as a compromise between U-PCLG's concerns about the causes of community discontent and the UWA board's reluctance to increase the fee. With these considerations in mind, we can assume that – without U-PCLG influence – the chance of the UWA board changing the fee by US\$10 was one in five; however, we could give more weight to the round amount of US\$10, and imagine that this amount had 3/7 probability of being selected, while the other four amounts 1/7 each. This would result in an estimate of the Type 1 error of 0.43. In other words, the evaluators are more confident than not that they wouldn't have done it by exactly that amount.

As for the emails and interviews stressing the role of U-PCLG in shaping the amount, the narrative explains how the network had considered different options but eventually argued that raising the fee by a lower amount would not be sufficient to appease the community unrest and requests. If the UWA

board was influenced by the network about this aspect of the policy change, we would definitely expect these stakeholders to say so. We are reasonably certain that they would (sensitivity at 0.95). At the same time, if the board had not been influenced by the network, it's unlikely that we would have seen the specific arguments about why that amount was appropriate, especially knowing from key informants that the board had discussed and formally responded to the letter. However, the network members still had an incentive to repeat the group narrative that had been created during the U-PCLG quarterly July 2015 meeting, so the evaluators are only more confident than not that these accounts confirm the claim component (Type I error at 0.4).

If we consider the two pieces of evidence as independent (the matching between the amount suggested and the amount enforced, and the accounts from emails and interviews), we can calculate the probative value of the entire package multiplying the single-piece estimates. This raises our confidence about this component of the claim from 0.5 to 0.82.

## Evidence

U-PCLG's letter unambiguously links U-PLG's advocacy efforts with the content of UWA's decision to change the community share of the gorilla tourist permit fee from US\$5 to US\$10. In fact, after detailing the R2P-CTPAR research findings, and in particular highlighting that *unauthorised resource use in Bwindi is linked to feelings of unfairness locally*, U-PCLG's letter clearly stated that they recommended that UWA should change the community share of the gorilla permit by US\$5. As stated in the letter:

*"In light of these research findings, the Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group would like to suggest to the board of Trustees that the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee be increased from [US] \$5 to [US] \$10."*

The letter continues noting that:

*"By doing so, the Uganda Wildlife Authority will gain several benefits at the national park, national and international levels."*

These benefits are then detailed including the possibility that by tackling the perceptions of unfairness through increasing the community share, UWA will gain local community support for BINP while also contributing to poverty alleviation. In the letter, U-PCLG are conscious to draw attention to the significant monetary investment involved in UWA's current law enforcement to deter people from illegally accessing Bwindi's resources.

Another piece of evidence analysed was the email correspondence. As explained in the analysis of the first contribution claim, U-PCLG's letter was sent to UWA in March 2014; six months later on 27 September 2014, the research advisor, Julia Baker emailed U-PCLG's coordinator, Panta Kasoma, and U-PCLG member and UWA committee Chair, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka to enquire about the outcome of their request. On the 9 October, Gladys replied with positive news that U-PCLG's request has been approved. In addition to commending U-PCLG for the role played in bringing the issue to UWA's attention, Gladys also acknowledged that U-PCLG played an important role in shaping the content of policy change, by stating the following:

*"As for the amount, UWA management referred to the [R2P] CTPA research by PCLG which also recommended that particular figure [of US\$10]"*.

## Reflections on the evaluation

### Lessons learnt about policy change

Several lessons can be drawn from the evaluation in terms of which conditions enabled U-PCLG to influence policy change. Below are those considered the most significant by the evaluation team:

- Importance of the research to substantiate the argument for a change in the community share of the gorilla tourist permit.
- Importance of U-PCLG members championing the requested policy change including the U-PCLG coordinator, Panta Kasoma, and U-PCLG member and UWA board member and committee chair, Gladys Kalema Zikusoka.
- Importance of considering UWA's agenda: need to respond to community pressure but also their limited openness to change, which called for a compromise.
- Importance of engaging policy makers in the process of knowledge creation.
- Importance of including policy makers who were knowledgeable about the issue.
- Importance of formalising the request for policy change in this case study.

### Lessons learnt about the evaluation approach

One of the purposes of the evaluation was to trial a new approach to assess the influence of the network over policy and practice. Below are some reflections after applying process tracing and Bayesian updating informed by our experience in this evaluation.

Process tracing:

- Enables a close dialogue between theory and evidence, facilitating learning.
- Interrogates the perceived wisdom of one or more contribution claims and investigates the validity of different explanations. It cannot handle single-cause causal models, but works very well with multiple-cause models, in particular generative causality.
- Places no restrictions on the types of evidence that an evaluation can use, including (but not limited to) interview transcripts, public speeches, meeting minutes, internal documents, memoirs and email exchanges.
- Distinguishes between the absence of evidence and evidence of absence. Absence of evidence has little inferential value; on the other hand, evidence of absence happens when expectations about observing evidence (after having looked thoroughly) are not met, and as such can challenge the validity of a contribution claim (namely, weaken confidence in it).

Bayesian updating:

- Provides transparency over the assumptions behind our confidence in the validity of the contribution claims. These assumptions are usually left implicit and not directly connected with pieces of evidence. Using Bayesian Updating to assess the evaluator's confidence greatly increases the internal validity of the findings, at least potentially, if the findings are challenged and reviewed by an appropriate group of stakeholders.
- Protects against confirmation bias by explicitly considering alternative explanations, including those rejecting the primary claim.
- Protects against conservative bias that makes humans undervalue empirical evidence by using the Bayes formula to update subjective confidence and calculate the posterior.
- Avoids exaggerating impact, as overall confidence in each contribution claim is equal to the confidence in its weakest component.
- Allows for the measurement of confidence in each contribution claim with a higher level of precision than other methods allow, at least potentially.



## Annex 1 – Interview transcripts

**Note:** [Brackets] are used to make clarifications on information omitted.

### Transcript 1

Medard Twinamatsiko, researcher for IFTC  
Transcript from November 2015

#### Questions on the initial research

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: We [research team] started the research in 2012, with the partnership that you listed [in the question]. And our main aim was to improve integrated conservation and development in Uganda, and that was very very important from the beginning. We did research first, because this was research to policy [project]. The first foundation was to generate big data that would be used as policy advocacy tools, without speculation. So we have to ask the research for the first year and a half [of the R2P-CTPA project], and the IFTC was leading that [research] and I was the lead researcher. So we generated areas [of research] that would inform our policy advocacy campaign. But to begin with we had to start with the end, where we wanted to do policy advocacy, so that could focus the research direction. So from the beginning we had to sit with the policy advocates, which was led by ACODE and U-PCLG. So we [U-PCLG] in a way we had to agree on the research mapping that would yield into proper advocacy messages. So we did research that was grounded on the proper policy output, that would help the role of U-PCLG begin doing that [policy advocacy] and have some key elements that would be identified that at the end of the day would contribute to improving integrated conservation and development practice.*

*And we did this for one and a half years, and in the mean time we kept updating the policy makers [UWA] and U-PCLG on how the research was progressing. And at the end of the day we agreed on four main components, that we agreed on the key areas that needed policy intervention. Those four areas included to 1) improve revenue sharing practice at Bwindi 2) to address human wildlife conflict 3) to improve the access programme 4) to improve the employment levels in the country, especially people born in Bwindi to have local employment in the community. So that was the areas of advocacy at the end of the research.*

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives? (Were UWA involved?)

*Response: The first aim of the [R2P-CTPA] project was to have a have a research component but also a policy component. So at the beginning the research component was led by IFTC, which I work for and was the main institute in that, I was the lead researcher. I worked alongside Julia Baker, who was the research advisor, and Professor EJ from Imperial College London who was an advisor as well. First of all we interviewed [U-PCLG] members [on what they] conceived to be the research in our inception meeting that was attended by all U-PCLG members before the research began. So the research started from the inception workshop which identified a matrix that would guide our research framework. The design was grounded more on our [research team's] ideas presented to U-PCLG members and then [with] those [U-PCLG members] that had worked around Bwindi and had developed the experience, and that formulated our research design. But the actual work was done by IFTC being advised by Julia Baker and Imperial College London. But also we had research meetings that were chaired by IIED... to continue to get the correct advice on how the research should operate. And the objective, our key question [was] why illegal activities are continuing to take place despite ICD interventions [at BINP]? So we were trying to understand who undertakes illegal activities and why for better targeting of ICD interventions. And, in the first place we wanted to understand the situation of people around Bwindi both authorised and non-authorised resource users. The second level of analysis was on the issues related to why people have benefited, in terms of impact but also governance. And then lastly we had to look at who continued to undertake unauthorised resource use. We investigated [this] using UWA*

rangers, they took records of who was undertaking unauthorised resource use [and] these people [were] incorporated in our research.

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

Response: *Actually, because there are many issues that didn't expect from the beginning, everybody was interested in knowing what had come up [the research findings]. That's why, at the end of day, they [the research team] focused on laying areas out of the information we had generated on four main areas that they [the research team] thought this was the direction for the policy advocacy campaign. And also, what increased the acceptability [of the research findings] was in line with the fact that every six months we would have a U-PCLG meeting, and in that U-PCLG meeting they [members] would discuss the research update. So they [U-PCLG members] would give direction on where we [the research team] should go and also advise on what other issues or information we need to have. So having periodic meetings with U-PCLG members increased acceptance of the results at the end of the day. And they [U-PCLG members] were looking at themselves as part of the research process right from the design, in the implementation but also in terms of the dissemination of results, we discussed what has been found out. That I think was one of the key critical areas of accepting the research findings and having a lot of interest in what we [the research team] found out.*

Question: Can you clarify on increased acceptance by whom?

Response: *When you are presenting research, there is issue of the interest of the audience. In this case the interest was there because the research was focusing on a policy output, it had the end line and where everyone wanted to be. And in that way it continued to make people interested in what had come out at the end of the day. So every time we presented results, we finding that people aren't meeting to be part of the audience, to listen what is coming out, because they are looking at the endline as policy advocacy. The other area of acceptance that I was talking about is the level of involvement in the design and the implementation of this research with U-PCLG members. When you are part of this process you don't much get surprised on what has been found out, because in a way you have been prepared enough. So the inclusiveness of the involvement U-PCLG members continued the credibility of the research that would come up. Then the other element, our methodology was very very good, we used a technique called the match counting technique and in that way we tried as much as we could to use indirect questioning methods using intriguing but not incriminating [questions]. So the methodology was also fascinating. But the value was made in the way that people have confidence and feel confident in the results generated.*

Question: Can you clarify who you mean by people, or the audience? Who are you referring to?

Response: *[The] audience was U-PCLG members; Uganda Wildlife Authority, both at the HQ [headquarters] level (Kampala) and at the park management level; private sector, not necessarily members of [U-PCLG], but have [an] interest in conservation and development work; local government and even central government, like Ministry of Tourism and Ministry of Environment, but also had local leaders, local government structures - UWA partners with local government [in implementation]. So we [the research team] tried our level best [to ensure] that those who [would] collaborate on implementation of [R2P-CTPA advocacy] activities were involved in the meetings. And, maybe something I didn't mention, we had categories in terms of the meetings we had, there were those meetings that were for U-PCLG members and [those] for stakeholders, meetings that were [for] local based government [representatives] like UWA.*

### Questions on advocacy

Question: Tell me about U-PCLG's decision to advocate for change in the amount of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee allocated to the local communities – how was this decision made, and who was involved?

*Response: We [U-PCLG] focused on the gorilla permit because we thought, you know when you are advocating for policy you realise that you need to target where you have the better opportunities. I mean in the first place we realised that it would create impact because, you know, this is money generated by [Bwindi] national park so when you increase that the communities are likely to benefit a lot from that. So we, in the first place, as one of the elements on the ToC engaged the UWA board because in Uganda there are two ways of influencing policy and law. At a policy level, you have to get into the top management of UWA and then it comes to something that has to come from Parliament. So in this case, the increase in the Gorilla permit was within the scope of the board of trustees of UWA, not the parliament of Uganda. In the parliament of Uganda you have to take a long process, but this one [policy change] [was] within the mandate of UWA board. And, fortunately we have one member [UWA] board member Dr Gladys, who was also a member of U-PCLG, so being a member of U-PCLG and being a member of the UWA board, it created a very strong opportunity for us to utilise. The other target was to involve the local park management to have you know some kind of authenticity. So when we [U-PCLG] are talking about increasing the [community share of the] mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, for example, the UWA board has to consult the lower park management level, they [UWA] will find them already knowing of this process. So we involved the local partners, like the [UWA] area conservation management, the [UWA] community conservation warden, they attended our PCLG meetings so they knew what we [U-PCLG] were talking about. We also involved ACODE, they know what kind of legal processes of policy advocacy we [U-PCLG] had to go through. So they helped in directing how to do advocacy. But maybe something I didn't mention, before anything we had a series of policy advocacy training [from ACODE] where all U-PCLG members were trained in advocacy campaigning. What this entailed, [U-PCLG] members were guided on how [policy] advocacy is done, for example, how to write a policy memo, how to write an information brief, how to you build a coalition, how to approach different stakeholders. So at any point every [U-PCLG] member was trained on what the [policy advocacy] process entails and how it will be achieved. So in our series of meetings, for example, we {ACODE and U-PCLG} would have case studies on how a policy memo is written. So that helped increase the capacity of U-PCLG members in advocating for the gorilla permit increase. The other element is that we also had the opportunity of having a person from the Ministry of Tourism, there is one member who is an assistant commissioner who has a lot of interest in U-PCLG activities. So he used to sit with us [U-PCLG] in those meetings and in a way that also increased our capacity and also management approaches in advocating [for policy change].*

**Question:** What specific activities did U-PCLG undertake to advocate for change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, and who did U-PCLG's advocacy efforts target?

*Response: Well, U-PCLG in the first place supported the research, they became so much invested in the design of the research - that is one contribution. If they [U-PCLG] had not invested in the research then the changes would not have taken place. The second element of what they [U-PCLG] did as a consortium was give their time in meeting and thinking through and reviewing some of the different approaches that we were supposed to be taking. So they contributed their time as a very very valuable resource. Also, U-PCLG managed to engage different stakeholders like the UWA board, they also engaged local communities because we have to generate some information from the ground on how that [policy change] would take place. So U-PCLG's engagement of different stakeholders at various levels to make sure the policy [change] [was] submitted [to] UWA [and] was well accepted. And of course, also engaging the UWA existing director The chairman of PCLG make a follow up of the letter that was submitted. One thing is to coordinate something but the other one is to monitor and follow it up. U-PCLG made sure, you know, they keep track and understand the feeling of the UWA.*

**Question:** You mentioned a letter – what was this?

*From the policy advocacy meeting we agreed that U-PCLG are going to write a letter to the UWA board requesting the increase the gorilla permit from five [US] dollars to ten {US} dollars. So we [U-PCLG] in a way we agreed on the key message that would be entailed in that letter. And then we [U-PCLG] drafted different letters and presented them then ACODE took up the responsibility of drafting the letter and later on they circulated it to the network for any input. So U-PCLG members reported back and wrote the comments we had. So ACODE continued the process and improved the letter and then submitted it to U-PCLG chairman who submitted it to the UWA board.*

Question: Were there any other activities besides the letter?

*So U-PCLG made a contribution in mobilising its members to work on certain aspects that we had agreed upon that had resulted from the research findings. That was a big part, you know when [U-PCLG] members are not part of an organised movement then they contribute to nothing. Even after that U-PCLG advocated for change with another letter for increasing resource access to the national park. ACODE also helped with that. Although, the letter has not yet been responded to. Then U-PCLG apart from that also increased the visibility of most of the interventions that were proposed. U-PCLG members spoke to different houses in Uganda and you know the different newspapers and that was in the name of U-PCLG. We had national television broadcasting most of our advocacy campaigns, so in a way U-PCLG increased the visibility of some of the things that had not been done... in terms of communication and also dissemination of findings.*

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the proposal of the US\$5? Did U-PCLG discuss other options (e.g. 10, 15... 60 US\$). If so, what were the main reasons for advocating for US\$5 than another amount?

*Response: Yes we [U-PCLG] focused on an amount that wouldn't create a lot of resistance from the UWA board because you know when you move to a high figure you create a lot of competition. Of course in our [R2P-CTPA] research meetings we had [representatives from] UWA, so we need to be careful what would be a viable figure [that] we [U-PCLG] could advocate for. Some people [from U-PCLG] thought we should talk about percentages maybe from ten per cent, one per cent, thirty three per cent. There was a lot of debate within U-PCLG meetings. So we ended up on ten [US] dollars because we [U-PCLG] thought that would be a figure that would be well accepted by the UWA, but it will also create a relative impact on communities bordering Bwindi.*

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

*Response: Yeah, one reason is that there has been a local pressure from communities demanding for change in terms of the benefits that come from [Bwindi] national park that go to the communities. So one reason was the already prevailing pressure on the ground and the main question local communities were talking to UWA saying 'we don't get enough benefits, we're actually affected by nature but dispossessed by you leaders who are here'. So that kind of history of resentment, the history of conflict could be one of the main reasons why UWA changed [the community share]. The second one [reason], the way that we structured our policy campaign was very inclusive. When someone wants to resist something, but you find you are earning their trust, you can't all of a sudden say no I don't agree with you here. So having UWA [involved] right from the beginning to the end [of the R2P-CTPA project] was enough for UWA to accept this [proposed] change. The other one [reason] was based on the increase, [it] was not very significant to upset UWA. So you know when you see that this does not completely affect you, you have no choice but to accept. It is a relatively small percentage that would not have a very big negative impact on UWA's budget.*

Question: What role/ impact did U-PCLG play in shaping the policy change? Please give examples.

*Response: Yeah I think there is something very interesting to come from that, one thing is that they [U-PCLG] have been able to come out and advocate for [is] the rights of you know the voiceless. Because in a way local communities do not have that mandate, they do not have the capacity they are not empowered. So U-PCLG has become a voice to the voiceless and that's how it has contributed to policy change in Uganda. .*

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported policy change and what might there have been?

*Response: I think one issue is that there has been big conflict ongoing between local communities and national parks, so even without U-PCLG I would think that would be a significant factor in affecting*



change in policy. They [UWA] already have that kind of conflict happening, people [from the local communities] burning national parks, people killing wildlife, people not being happy about conservation policy - that in itself creates change, it has to feed off them [the communities]. The other aspect I will talk about would be you know the kind of capacity of local people - how the local people were ten years ago is not how they are today. They have been empowered in a way, much as the capacity is still low but there is some level of empowerment. So I think those are some of the other factors that contributed to the U-PCLG campaign.

Question: What aspects of U-PCLG's approach do you think were instrumental in influencing change, and what do you think U-PCLG might do differently in the future?

Response: I think one key element was engagement of different stakeholders. You know, policy change requires every person who is part of that change, [they] must be brought to the table, must be included in the kind of change [you're proposing]. The [proposed] change must be with everyone who is part of that change who will implement it or be affected by change. U-PCLG did a lot in terms of engaging almost all stakeholders in conservation and development work, so that is one big area. But the other key thing was international support by IIED, because a lot of the activities were not done basically by U-PCLG as an organisation. We had funding that was able to do these activities and the funding was very much crucial.

## Transcript 2

Panta Kasoma, U-PCLG coordinator  
Transcript from November 2015

### Questions on the initial research:

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, ITFC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

Response: Well the purpose of the research was really to find out why after more than two decades of investment in and around Bwindi national park people still continued to engage in illegal activity. There had been a study a while back on the impact of integrated conservation and development projects around Bwindi, and that study had found that the attitudes of people [from the local community] had changed positively towards the [Ugandan] park management agency. You know at the time of establishment [of BINP] there was loads of antagonism between park management and the local community, the area had previously been a forest where people had relatively free access. But when that area was made a national park that access what limited and so people [from the local community] became very angry and used to do a lot of terrible things such as setting the park on fire. So over the years a lot of resources went to the community in order to try more or less to bring them on the side of park management. Several decades after that it was realised that people are still doing it [illegally harvesting], so while the attitudes have changed and people are more positive about the park, still there were illegalities in the park. So this research was really meant to find out who was involved and what motivates them, and yeah that's why ITFC with partners including U-PCLG got involved in this research at Bwindi.

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives? (Were UWA involved?)

Response: Well the original design really came from IIED and then they discussed it with regional partners such as ITFC who are based in Bwindi itself who are the main researchers. Then [IIED] partnered by Imperial College and a number of other researchers. So there was a platform for exchanging ideas about the research questions and the methods that would be used and eventually we zeroed in on agreed framework where someone from ITFC would spearhead the research on the ground with technical backstopping from Imperial College and a number of students also participated, I think there were two students from Imperial College in their Masters programme. And so from U-PCLG side, I was there basically on an advisory role, I would review what is happening in the progress report,

*I would chair meetings with the researchers, and the people from IIED would also be there technical backstopping.*

Question: Did the inclusion of all the partners shape the research?

*Response: Well I think you know, it must have brought in a broader perspective to the research. Instead of someone just coming straight, it was important to get the different perspectives from different players on the ground. And UWA is particularly key in this because they are people on a day to day basis who are involved in the community either through anti-poaching activities or community work, so the research benefited a lot from the perspectives of the UWA staff on the ground.*

Question: Are there any specific examples of this?

*Response: I don't know what examples I could give, but if you are looking for people, if you are looking for respondents and you are looking for people who have been arrested before, the only people who have that kind of information is UWA law enforcement department. So the researchers had to go to UWA law enforcement and look at their record and the two departments – the community department and the law enforcement department – keep records and they know, they actually know the people in the surrounding villages, they have their own opinions on repeat offenders and that kind of thing. So the researcher would know what the UWA perspectives were and the community that we were researching on.*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: Well yeah the research findings, well first of all there were four major outcomes from the research. These were things that came out of the research as being key for the continuing illegal activities. One of them was the perception by the community that probably they were not benefiting enough from the job opportunities offered by the park and the surrounding tourist facilities. They felt that maybe people who come from outside the areas are more favoured in getting access to employment and for that they were resentful, they were sort of saying...*

*[Call dropped]*

*...the feeling of inequity, the feeling that the benefit sharing was not fair. So that was the second one, there was the jobs issue and then this issue of sharing of benefits. And then the third one was the fact that people felt that they were not being compensated for crop losses from animals that come out of the [Bwindi] park, and therefore it wasn't fair deal in a way, this human wildlife conflict situation and they felt that it didn't ever end. The fourth one [finding] was on the issue of access to resources in the park. You know there is the policy of the multiple use zone in the park, where people get permits to use certain resources. But over the years this policy has sort of more or less been abandoned because people do not feel that what the management agency was allowing them to take out was really enough for them and so they felt that it wasn't working and gradually they were abandoning the scheme. But that didn't stop them from going to the park to access resources, so much as they were abandoning the initial scheme they still went and accessed the resources illegally. So, those four major issues coming out have obviously had certain implications for us, U-PCLG, and other stakeholders. For example, the issue of human wildlife conflict is an ongoing issue, it has been there for a long time. For example, gorillas sometime move out of the park and get into banana plantations of neighbouring communities and once they get into banana plantations they can be quite destructive, they tear the banana plant apart - so they are quite destructive. Because you know they are critically endangered species people have been told that they cannot harm them so they have got a system that they have set up where they get local community members to chase gorillas back into the park, but still this was not being very effective. So one finding that would enable whoever is interested including [U-PCLG] to advocate for better targeting of interventions to people who are closest to the park. In fact one of the things I didn't mention, it was found that people who are half a kilometre from the boundary of the park also happen to be the poorest people, but they also bear the biggest brunt of the existence of the park [BINP]. And yet when the [park's] revenue is shared [with local communities] these people often do not benefit because they are in very remote areas, hard to reach areas. So whenever there are [conservation] meetings or*



workshops or whatever these people never know about them in time, they only hear about them and so they continue to be resentful. So, the way that [research finding] has helped us is to advocate that UWA needs to change their approach in sharing more revenue in order to target these people more precisely because they are more aggrieved in the community. Fortunately as the research was going on, UWA was also revising their revenue sharing guidelines, and came up with new guidelines, which are not perfect yet, but they do address the concerns of better targeting of the revenue to be shared towards those people who are most affected by the existence of the park {BINP}. The research findings also enabled us to advocate for the increase in revenue, the one that you mentioned earlier. Because we said look if the research is showing that the people who are closest to the park are the ones who feel most aggrieved, the ones that feel that any [conservation and development] intervention is not reaching them, and the ones that go into the park by going to the forest and setting snares and hunting. You know you [UWA] really need to do something about increasing the amount of the money going back to the community. The unique thing about Bwindi is that it is based on gorilla tourism mainly, and gorilla tourism has a limit on the number of people that can visit in a day. So it's not like other [national] parks [in Uganda] where there are very many tourists going at any given time. Since the revenue sharing is based on a percentage of park entry fees it means that people around Bwindi are disadvantage, in that they do not get too many people entering the park and therefore the total income that can be approved is limited. And that was the reason for introducing the gorilla levy - the five dollars per [gorilla trekking] permit - to counterbalance the fact that Bwindi don't get huge number of tourists entering the park. However, these five dollars were introduced when there permit was at five hundred dollars and the permit has not gone up to six hundred dollars, so there was a need you know, for the community to get a little more. Now we [U-PCLG] had a little debate by how much we want to increase [the gorilla levy]. We sort of feared that we would meet a lot of resistance if we raised this too high, that's why we said ok, if the permit is six hundred dollars, if we take 10 [US] dollars from that at least that would be a doubling of what was previously given and is likely to have a you know a larger impact. So this kind of thing would not have been possible if this [R2P-CTPA] research had not shown that, you know, there was feelings of discontent amongst the community about the amount of revenue shared and also the manner in which it is being shared. So you know that research has helped us in those aspects.

Question: You were saying you had a debate on how much the gorilla levy, could you tell me a bit more about this?

Response: This was actually an internal U-PCLG debate, we felt that as members having seen the outcome of the research we really needed to do something. Now the twenty per cent entry fee tax of the revenue is something that is in the law, it is embedded in the Wildlife Act, and we felt that it would be very difficult for us to begin to challenge something that is in the law. On the other hand, the gorilla levy is something which the board of trustees of UWA have a say on, they can establish the amount that can be levied, so we felt that would be easier than tacking the 20 per cent gate entry fee. So that's why we opted to target the gorilla level, because the [UWA] board of trustees sets the price of the permit and they are the ones that set the level that is going to go to the community. So we thought that would be an easier entry point to focus on that and you know we expected we would get faster results. And so the debate was among us members of U-PCLG, you know, as the research was progressing we used to have regular updates, we would have workshops and they would report back on what was happening, and during those debates we thought that maybe one of the early things that U-PCLG could do was change the gorilla levy. One of the objectives of that research was to empower members of U-PCLG to advocate for certain positions, that is why it was called the research to advocacy project. And so we had one or two workshops where members of U-PCLG were trained by one of the members of ACODE. They trained us how to take various approaches in advocating for a cause. And we felt that this would be a good case study because this is something we can easily influence because it was within the jurisdiction of [UWA] board of trustees, rather than the Ugandan Parliament. So we then said ok it is currently at five [US] dollars, what do we ask for? Do we ask for twenty dollars, ten dollars, fifteen dollars? And then we [U-PCLG members] said well there is likely to be some resistance because UWA have argued that the money that is coming out of Bwindi is not only used to support Bwindi but it is used to support many other protected areas under their jurisdiction that are not generating resources, and therefore they are likely to be resistant to any attempt to encroach on any of their [UWA's] income. So eventually we zeroed in on a doubling, we though well from five to ten [US] dollars is a good step,

*first we need to get it accepted then maybe we could argue for more later, but for now we start with a five [US] dollar increase.*

Question: You mentioned earlier at the same time as the research to policy project, UWA were reviewing their revenue sharing guidelines. Can you tell me more about this?

*Response: Well that was mainly an internal process, but they [UWA] do consult a few stakeholders here and there. I think they [UWA] employed a consultant who went around the various national parks and tried to find out - one of the things they found out was that a lot of the projects they had been funding were not really projects that were the mandate of government to undertake, but because they were public projects they were more visible. For example, thing such as the provision of classroom blocks for local schools, or the improvement of a health centre, or the improvement of a water source. Those are the kind of things that revenue sharing was being targeted at, and yet the communities felt that their immediate needs were not being addressed by that. As I told you, many of the most aggrieved communities are remote and they really don't participate in the selection of these projects. So you might find that two or three classrooms have been added to a local school, this school might be miles away from the communities next to the park [BINP]. So they feel that much as this has benefited the community generally, it does not impact on them and yet the park impacts on them directly, when you lose crops you lose those crops at the household, not at the community. So for them [the frontline local communities] it still remains whether the revenue sharing was actually beneficial for them. But during the process of revising [the revenue sharing guidelines] they [UWA] have now come to accept that there might be individual projects or household projects that might need funding, as long as those individual projects are well formulated. The new guidelines would allow the funding of livelihood projects that would benefit households directly. There is the issue of how the money is channelled to the community. Government regulations have said that the money has to go through the district and then to the local government at the sub-county, and through all these process there are certain bureaucratic arrangement that result in the erosion of this money Some of this money gets lost along the way, for example, in organising meetings for the tender committee. So at the end of the day the actual amount that gets down to the community is much less than what is generally reported. So that again does not make the community happy because they feel that they are being ripped off. Because when the public announcements are made they say oh we are giving X millions of shillings to this parish, so when the money finally comes and they can see what has been done with it then they wonder how come that amount of money which was reported on the radio has only done that little thing. So I think that the new guidelines are trying to focus on some of those issues, so that a lot more of the money that comes from UWA trickles down to the community rather than getting lost along the way.*

Question: Within the discussion around these guidelines, were UWA thinking of increasing the gorilla levy?

*Response: No, there's been no talk of increasing. However, currently the Wildlife Act is under revision and I think that some of the proposals that are going in are instead of insisting on twenty per cent of gate entry fees, one of the proposals is that it should be twenty per cent of all revenues generated at the park [will be shared]. Obviously there will be resistance to that, the revised guidelines are still considering the twenty per cent gate entry fee.*

Question: So those guidelines that you mentioned from UWA – they were in draft as U-PCLG were doing their research...

*Response: They have been finalised, we had thought that there would be an entry point for us to come in with some proposal but it was too late at the time the research finished. They [UWA] said well these things have already been approved by the board, there is no way we can go back. So what U-PCLG has now decided to do is why don't we give the new guidelines a bit of time to work, a couple of years, but in the meantime strengthen the use of the revenue. So ITFC is still going ahead with using community monitors who have been trained to monitor other local government projects, they also look at revenue-sharing activities so they can keep track of what is happening, how much money has come in, what proposals were made which proposals have been accepted funding, and those that have been*

accepted are they being implemented? So that's the kind of thing that U-PCLG and ITFC is doing at the moment just to monitor how the new guidelines are working, because if they are working well then there is no cause for conflict.

### Questions on advocacy:

Question: Could you tell me about how the decision to advocate for the gorilla levy – and who was involved?

Response: Actually what happened was as we were getting updates from the [R2P-CTPA research] workshops on the research the issue came up you know on what we [U-PCLG] can do. As I said the twenty per cent was a legal matter which can only be changed by parliament. We [U-PCLG] said we can't really do anything about that, but we could do something about the UWA gorilla levy. So as [U-PCLG] coordinator I was asked to draft a letter, so a number of us you know got around and drafted a long letter and shared it amongst ourselves. Basically, we were sort of putting into a summary the outcome of the [R2P-CTPA] research and using that as a justification for improving the [gorilla] levy. Eventually of course after the letter had gone around we [U-PCLG] shortened it to something more manageable, the other [initial] one was reading like a manuscript and we thought oh these guys [at UWA] are not going to read such a long letter with all those results. And so we [U-PCLG] shortened it and so it was addressed to the chairman of the board of trustees [at UWA] coming from me as the coordinator of U-PCLG and that letter was delivered. And the [UWA] chairman replied and said well I have received your letter and this issue now needs to be handled by the [UWA] management by way of putting it on our agenda, the [UWA] management needs to write a memo to the [UWA] board based on your letter. And we [U-PCLG] said yes fine, there wasn't much we could do. The letter to the [UWA] chairman was copied to the [UWA] executive director, but we took advantage of one member of U-PCLG who also happened to be on the [UWA] board. So we were sort of using her to say look we really need you to you know put in a word for us, and she would tell us ok at the last [UWA] board meeting this issue came up but nothing happened yet. Eventually it [the policy change request] went to her [UWA] committee. She happened to be leading the [UWA] committee, I think it was a research and livelihoods committee, I don't remember the name of the board, but Gladys was the chair and this is where all these issues come up for discussion. So this issue of the gorilla levy came to the committee they discussed it and since she [Gladys] already had background information [on the policy change request] and active work around Bwindi, she knows exactly what the situation is. She [Gladys] was able to defend that position [for a policy change] quite effectively and her committee voted for it and recommended it to the rest of the board. So then a [UWA] board meeting was eventually scheduled, the levy issue came up again, it was discussed, there were questions on why ten [US dollars]? Basically we [U-PCLG] wanted some small increase initially, and you know they [UWA] bought into it and that I think was at the end of last year and they [UWA] said ok, but this can only take effect the next financial year which was July this year [2015] that decision came into effect. So really the whole process just involved me writing to the [UWA] board chair, the [UWA] board chair writing to [UWA] management, [UWA] management referring the matter to [UWA] committee who were responsible, they discussed it and referred it to the main [UWA] board who eventually approved it [the policy change]. But I must say that a lot of this [process] involved talking to various [UWA] board members and [UWA] management to really try and drum up support. Because we [U-PCLG] had been told in the [ACODE] advocacy workshops really you cannot take one approach you must take various approaches to lobbying and talking to people. And that's what we [U-PCLG] did talking to various members of the [UWA] board and senior management. First they [UWA representatives] would give us their reason for not wanting to raise the amount so much, for example, the fact that they [UWA] depend on Bwindi so much to support other parks. But we [U-PCLG] said look in the long run there are also certain international obligations, for example, it has been agreed that conservation should not by any means exacerbate poverty. So when we do conservation we should always try to alleviate poverty rather than make it worse. So we [U-PCLG] are saying if people feel that the existence of Bwindi makes them poorer because they are sent out of the park, UWA has to do something to change that perception so that people [from the local communities] feel at least that ok there is something that they are getting out of this park [BINP]. OK it [the policy change] may not be enough but, for now at least, it is a start and we are hoping that through the years and other interventions we will be able to get resources to those most affected communities around the national park [BINP].

Question: Can you tell me a bit more about actions to 'drum up support' – who was involved in this, and who did you target and why?

Response: The members of U-PCLG are different NGOs some of whom are working around Bwindi. For example the International Gorilla Conservation Programme and there are others such as Nature Uganda. So you find that different NGOs interact with either top management of UWA or sometimes with board members of the UWA. So we agreed that whenever you get a chance, whenever you get an opportunity, you know if you meet the vice chairman of UWA or you meet an UWA member, please mention this [policy change] to them. Tell them [the UWA representative] about what we have found out in the [R2P-CTPA] research, tell them it is important that the communities' perception, though some of it may be wrong, it should be addressed. For example, one of the issues is of jobs. Later on we got U-PCLG members to go down there and find out if the job issue is very genuine and they found that actually it is more of a perception, quite a lot of people from the local area are employed by UWA and tourism enterprises around Bwindi. But unfortunately, because the low levels of education in the area particularly those close to the park, they cannot possibly get any higher job within the organisation or enterprises. So the job thing needs to be addressed on a more long term basis, I mean education is not something that is going to happen overnight. But it is something that has been brought to the attention of the various stakeholders that it would be good to have affirmative action to try and help and at least get the communities to realise that they [UWA and tourism enterprises] are trying to employ as many of them [the local community members] as possible. So therefore their [community members'] sons and daughters are benefiting from whatever investments are happening around Bwindi.

Question: Examples of conversations you or U-PCLG members had with UWA?

Response: Yeah basically our [U-PCLG] argument was really straight forward, we were saying look this is what the research is showing. And we [U-PCLG] had a very good example to use, something that happened maybe three years ago now. There was a case, a very unfortunate case, where a gorilla was speared to death. Now this gorilla was speared by a local person, this local guy was motivated to do this because he happened to be going to the forest with his dog and then they encountered this gorilla that then threatened this dog. And so the action of this guy was to kill the gorilla. So what that shows you is that in the perception of this man, the dog is more important than the gorilla. So because the dog helps him when he goes hunting, when he sees a threat to his dog he has to kill the gorilla. Now when you are sitting out at UWA headquarters you believe that everyone must know that gorillas are important, they are bringing a lot of revenue to Uganda. But to the local guy that was not his perception. If gorillas were as important as they [UWA] say do you think that this guy would have speared it? It's just that he saw it as a threat to his livelihood, and his livelihood was the dog which helps him when he goes hunting. So when you have cases like that, those examples, you need to see the broader picture and say look you [UWA] need to address the concerns of this community because in the long term the only way the park [BINP] is going to survive is when you have communities on your side. The rate of population growth is so high and the [population] density especially in this area is so high, and the annual rate of growth is already very high, and interventions to reduce population could be there but they take time, and I told you people have low level of education and so they have very large families. So the problem is not about to go away, so unless we show the community that we understand and we are willing to share revenue, it is only then that they [the local communities] will begin to appreciate the value of the park [BINP]. Now of course, having said that, I must say that it is not as easy as it sounds because there is still a lot of resistance from UWA. Another issue is that we have tried to advocate for resource access, but unfortunately that [policy request] didn't go far. Perhaps we didn't handle it very well as the people on the ground the local Uganda wildlife authority staff on the ground felt slighted, they felt we were using them to push our agenda and that we were going straight to the top and reacted angrily. So we've had to step back and think how best to approach this. Because the research has shown that actually people access more resources from the park than is currently permitted, and so our argument was to try and get the [UWA] park authorities to give them more access. Unfortunately, we [U-PCLG] did not do this through the [UWA] local park management and that backfired on us. So I think we [U-PCLG] need to devise another strategy. So the results of the [R2P-CTPA] research are helping us find of ways we can advocate for more equitable solutions with the long term objective of



safeguarding Bwindi. Because we see that as an island in a mass, an ocean of people, it will not survive very long unless the people themselves see that it is a very important resource for them.

### Questions on the policy change:

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

Response: Well I think it's just that for a long time there has been discontent around Bwindi. The whole issue of revenue sharing was initially piloted at Bwindi, before it became a policy and a law. At that time the initial figure was twelve per cent of all [of Bwindi's] income. Now twelve per cent of all income was a very significant amount of money. But then when UWA decided to have this as a general policy, for some reason for which I don't recall, they zeroed down on twenty per cent of gate entry fees. Now that meant that the income that had been going to [local communities around] Bwindi during that pilot phase reduced significantly. And so from that time onwards communities and even you know politicians, other stakeholders around Bwindi, were complaining. They said when this whole thing [of revenue sharing] started we [local communities and government] used to get more money and now you [UWA] said you [UWA] made this [revenue sharing] policy into a law. Now we [local communities and government] get less money because fewer people can enter Bwindi. So that's why they [UWA] came up with the gorilla levy. When they [UWA] came up with the gorilla levy that was five [US] dollars, that was good enough at the time. But then the [gorilla] permit was going up in value and people started agitating for an increase. Personally, I think when they [UWA] saw this proposal coming from [U-PCLG], the ten [US] dollars, and this is just my perspective, they [UWA] might have thought well let's just go for this ten [US] dollars because these guys [U-PCLG] will come up with some other demand. Because it could have been another demand, it could have been why don't we [local communities] get twenty per cent of the gorilla permit? Now twenty per cent of the gorilla permit is much more than ten [US] dollars. So I think mainly it is that and they [UWA] deliberated and said yes it is better to go along with this than wait for a bigger demand, that's my take on it. But I think the pressure has been building up over years for something to be done, and because they [UWA] operate in the area they [UWA] see the levels of poverty. People get surprised even tourists get surprised, they come and pay all this money to see the gorillas and yet people are wallowing in poverty and information is given to the guide and this information is given to the [UWA] warden. And I think that word eventually trickles to the top that there is a lot of dissatisfaction down there [in the communities]. And I think it was just the right moment for them [UWA].

Question: What role/impact did U-PCLG play in shaping the policy change? Please give examples.

Was there anything unique that U-PCLG was able to contribute to shaping the policy change?

Response: Well I think basically all we did was use what we [U-PCLG] found. You see if you are advocating for something you must have facts because otherwise someone is going to shut down what you're advocating for if you do not have [the] facts. Now this research give us an opportunity, the facts, we could tell them [UWA] look this is what is happening on the ground, this is where the people [from the local communities] are most aggrieved, these are the issues they are mentioning. And one of the ways of redressing some of these grievances is by increasing the funds that go to the community. Of course, money is never going to be enough, but if we increase the amount [of revenue shared] and then also address the other concerns like how much of the money that you are allocating to the community actually gets down to the community and benefits them. And that's where we said we need to do a bit of monitoring to see how much [money] is going to community, how much is benefiting the community? So we have to accept this is a major issue in Uganda, the issue of corruption, corruption erodes lots of efforts to help the community and since many of the people [in the local communities] are not very well informed often they don't know what they should do. And that's what motivated us to do something else recently, which was to summarise the revenue sharing guidelines, put them into the local language and post them in the communities around Bwindi. So we summarised them [the revenue sharing guidelines] into the two local languages of the area so that whoever can read them and understand and know how the [revenue sharing] process works. So we translated [the revenue sharing guidelines] in the hope that there will be a clearer understanding of how the revenues is shared with them [the local communities]

and know exactly the process by which funds are supposed to go to them. And in so doing we hope they [local communities] will be more satisfied.

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported a policy change and what might these have been?

Response: I don't know whether there would be any other explanations. I do understand UWA's difficulty, they have ten national parks, maybe only half of generate enough resources. Bwindi generates the highest amount of money, and obviously they try to balance it out [between parks]. They [UWA] are not getting much support any more from government so they are pressured for resources as an organisation. So they look at this [revenue] as a way of sustaining the organisation. But on the other hand, we [U-PCLG] are saying if the community are dissatisfied it means you're [UWA are] going to have to invest a lot of money in law enforcement, it is quite expensive. It is better to put your [UWA] money on making the community a better partner, then you won't have to spend so much money on law enforcement. If you looked at the budget for UWA you still see a very strong skew to law enforcement and the resources going to the [UWA] community warden budget are still very limited, which means there is still resistance to a shift in policy towards the greater involvement of the community. And yet public opinion is such globally has shown that greater involvement of communities yields better results, better conservation results than just merely relying on law enforcement. You cannot totally do away with law enforcement that has to be there, but you need to put more resources into community issues. And I think gradually, it will be a gradual process but UWA will eventually get there, I hope. But you know you need to get more progressive people into positions of responsibility, people who are more open minded about these issues. We need to get more social scientists in UWA rather than just people who are into wildlife management, and in so doing you get this other aspect of better community involvement. But I think yeah, they [UWA] are also beginning to realise that they [UWA] need to give back a little more to the community for their conservation to be sustainable.

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported a policy change and what might these have been? E.g. UWA were already thinking of making a change due to pressure from other actors such as other networks of organisations or community members, or internal commitments, or a conducive policy environment - such as other ministries in Uganda making similar changes. Which of these are relevant, or not relevant, in this case?

Response: I don't see any pressure coming from ministries, from communities, definitely yes, communities have always demanded more, so that pressure has been there all the time. And you know it was revealed by the research, people feel that there is an inequity in the sharing of the benefits of the park. So I wouldn't be surprised even with the ten [US] dollars if people [from local communities] would still say we need more. That [community] pressure is already there and that is why U-PCLG think that for UWA to survive as an organisation they need innovative ways to improve peoples' livelihoods, not just from sharing of revenue. For example, right now, U-PCLG is pushing together with a private sector partner and UWA, we are trying to see if we can institute an event, an annual event at Bwindi which would generate resources that would be ploughed back into some of the marginalised communities around Bwindi. We are thinking of a Bwindi festival, the nature of that is still being worked upon, but we think it could be around top musicians focusing on Bwindi and just kind of raising the profile of Bwindi.

Question: What aspects of U-PCLG's approach do you think were instrumental in influencing change, and what do you think U-PCLG might do differently in the future?

Response: The approach I'd say, we [U-PCLG] were fortunate in having a member who was also on the board of UWA. We cannot underestimate the value of this, because you know there at meetings of the [UWA] board, there would be questions and she [Gladys] would be in a position to answer many of those questions. So I think one cannot underestimate the advantage of one of us [U-PCLG members] also being on the board of UWA - so that was quite key. Unfortunately, the board's term has expired so we no longer have a board member there, but maybe in the next board we might have another person



*[from U-PCLG]. But also, the fact that many of the U-PCLG members work around Bwindi and they know the place, and the people of Bwindi, and whenever they would get an opportunity they raise these issues, and I think once people repeatedly hear a complaint over a long period of time, they are bound to try and address that complaint in one way or another.*

### Transcript 3

Arthur Mugisha, ex UWA Director and member of U-PCLG  
Transcript from November 2015

#### Questions on the initial research:

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: Well the purpose of the research, the background was that Bwindi was one of the highly funded protected areas [in Uganda], so having been heavily funded, the question was... is Bwindi protected area a better conserved area... and if the answer was no, then there must be something wrong with our investment. So we need to understand why despite all the investment there is still increasing illegal activities and increasing complaints from the local communities around Bwindi, and why we even have enforcement. Because a lot of money ICD projects have unaffected [not improved conservation at] Bwindi, so that's when that research question began to form. Who is benefiting from Bwindi? And who is using Bwindi illegally and why are they using it illegally? So those questions were discussed, IIED took the lead, and Darwin was interesting in funding it, and IFTC as the member of U-PCLG took the lead in understanding and implementing this research and that how the [research] objective was agreed.*

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each organisation/individual influenced the research objectives?

*Response: The other partners that were involved were mostly the protected area managers, that's the Uganda Wildlife Authority... they were involved in the research. But the key people involved in the designing was U-PCLG, Panta in Kampala, IFTC so Medard, and there was also the Director of IFTC and the predecessor... and IIED... so those are the people that were really shaping the process.*

Question: Were UWA were involved in the research process?

*Response: Yes the protected areas managers [were involved], these are the chief wardens.... the conservation area manager who is called, I forget his name now, but you know those protected area managers were involved in the design of the research and they were the main people who were present from the Uganda Wildlife Authority, the director of research in Kampala was also involved in terms of issuing the permits.*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: Well the [research] findings as you have read them are there, and U-PCLG was interested because of the fact that there are still illegal activities [at BINP] and these illegal activities are being driven by people who are not benefiting [from conservation] and they are using it [illegal activities] as a protest. And the benefits which come from different [conservation and development] projects are instead going to other communities that are not the frontline communities... so that's where the interest of U-PCLG [came from] and that was the business of the negotiations to say look we need to understand that people who are suffering, who live close to Bwindi are not the ones benefiting from all those conservation projects, so can we re-visit and make sure that the people have their concerns addressed. And that's where the idea [came from], can we increase the revenue sharing, so that the money can go to people and target the people who are there, who are not receiving [benefits] and who are protesting...*

### Questions on advocacy:

Question: What specific activities did U-PCLG undertake to advocate for change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, and who did U-PCLG's advocacy efforts target?

*Response: Well first and foremost the research findings when they came out they were discussed by U-PCLG [members], and we understood the [research] outcomes and the policy implications, and secondly we presented this to the Uganda Wildlife Authority, and thirdly we discussed with UWA what can be decided to be done based on the research findings, and in order to improve conservation effectiveness. And fourthly, we spoke to some of the [U-PCLG] members of the [UWA] board, some were members of the U-PCLG team, so we spoke to them in terms of saying look you know considering the [research] findings can we now increase the gorilla levy, the revenue sharing going to the communities from the gorilla fee? After seeing there could be a possibility and a green light, then we formally wrote to the chairman of the [UWA] board and the chairman of the [UWA] board looked at it with the [UWA] director who looked at it with the [UWA conservation] managers on the ground, and the [UWA] board... came back positive and said yes we are willing to increase and this [increase] is going to go to communities. And so U-PCLG considered also working with [UWA conservation] managers on the ground to design how this additional money will go to the communities, those [local] people who were complaining about or who were protesting about the [UWA] management of the park. And so those were the certain things that took place...*

Question: Could you tell me in a bit more detail about the discussion with UWA, so when it started and how it progressed?

*Response: It [a discussion] started in Kampala with the [UWA] board of trustees, the members of the committees and these discussions and presentations went to the [UWA] manager, to the [UWA] director's office, this is where the [research] results were discussed and also the policy implications were also examined.*

Question: So to clarify, at this point the letter you mentioned hadn't been sent to UWA. Before this happened U-PCLG members went to the UWA and presented the results...

*Response: Yes*

Question: Were there any other activities that U-PCLG undertook to lobby for the gorilla levy change?

*Response: Yeah on the ground work that was done, there was more... U-PCLG went down and discussed in more details... there are a number of [UWA] committees, the research [and planning] committee, the private sector committee. So they [U-PCLG] sent two guys... who went down... [for] meetings and more discussion were held and we came up with policy changes suggestions.*

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the proposal of US\$5? Did U-PCLG discuss other options (e.g. 10, 15... 60 US\$)? If so, what were the main reasons for advocating for US\$5 than another amount?

*Response: Well the [proposed] policy change was meant to benefit the communities [around BINP] and UWA was already sharing its revenue by having that amount of money [US\$5] going to communities. And clearly the amount of money was not enough going to the local communities, especially considering that the [revenue sharing] policy that shared 20% of the collection with the community was limited for Bwindi. It was limited by the number of people who came to see the gorillas which is not many, like 10 [tourists], while other national parks [in Uganda] receive hundreds of visitors which increases their share [of the revenue] But for Bwindi the share [of revenue] cannot go up because entrances have to stay at few people, so it made a lot of sense to increase the share coming from those people going to see the gorillas.*

Question: So tell me more about the discussions about U-PCLG advocating for a change in the US\$5, and why this amount?

*Response: Of course another amount would have come up [in U-PCLG's discussions], but we [U-PCLG] were looking at what was feasible, rather than [to] suggest something that was not feasible. There was an idea [from a U-PCLG member] that we [U-PCLG] should make it [the community share] ten [US dollars], twenty [US dollars], and there was another idea to make it a percentage of a certain value... because 5 [US dollars] is still [a] small [amount]. But we [U-PCLG] looked at the management needs of UWA and we said that 5 [US] dollars is a good starting point, so let's start from there and we can continue [in the future]. And we didn't want the management of the board of UWA who received our [U-PCLG] suggestion to say you [U-PCLG] asked too much and then they [UWA] refuse us... so we [U-PCLG] said let's bite the bullet let's pick a figure and that figure came to be 5 [US dollars], and there was no magic about it... it was a consensus.*

### **Questions on the policy change:**

**Question:** Had this discussion around changing the local allocation of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee been happening before U-PCLG got involved?

*Response: No of course the debate has always been there around why and how much people [from the local community should receive], and what percentage should it be... the policy says it should be a percentage of gate collection, it doesn't say it should be a percentage of all income... all these debates have been going on and continuing on but the important thing that you're interested in is that this [U-PCLG's proposal for change] is something that came out of research to policy [project], that's the uniqueness about it...*

**Question:** I wanted to understand whether there were any other reasons why the policy change might have happened, other than U-PCLG?

*Response: I don't know how to answer this, but let me say one there was a research to policy process that came up with these issues, two, there was a follow up of the research to policy which was done by U-PCLG, and three, the proposal that came out made a lot of sense and was accepted by UWA. Any other person could have done this if they had a reason to do it. But the reason it was easy for U-PCLG to do it was because of the process of research and [that the research] clearly showed data to the UWA, saying look what you're doing is appreciated but it has downfalls. This [policy change] is what we [U-PCLG] suggest you can do. So any other person could have said it, the President could have said it, the Minister could have come up, but I don't know what basis they would have up with this an idea. But the important thing was that this was something, an idea that was come up with from research. So it's not magic about U-PCLG, it's magic about research.*

**Question:** Do you think there was anything unique about U-PCLG's approach in terms of the policy advocacy work that they did?

*Response: I think that the uniqueness about U-PCLG is that it is a platform that brings together different voices, different minds, it's a meeting place to discuss different issues, which would not have always come up. Because it's a platform and members work together and they're professionals, they're respected people, so the [UWA] management within the government is bound to listen. There was another issue recently with the [UWA] board which was going from Bwindi, and U-PCLG put some information together and we presented it to the [UWA] management... so the uniqueness is that U-PCLG is composed of professionals, respected Ugandans and we are now bring on board the private sector... so it's going to be a development platform.*

**Question:** Can we re-visit the question around whether there were any other reasons why UWA made a change. E.g. UWA were already thinking of making a change due to pressure from other actors such as other networks of organisations or community members, or internal commitments, or a conducive policy environment - such as other ministries in Uganda making similar changes?

*Response: Not that I know.*

Question: I'm interested to hear a bit more about 'the debate that has always been there around revenue sharing' – I wondered whether you could tell me a bit more about this?

*Response: The debate about revenue sharing is as old as when the national park started making money and people [from the local communities] were like but these are our national parks, how are we benefiting from this? We [the local communities] don't need national parks, let us go make cassava, let's destroy them, and the [UWA] managers said nooooo these [national parks] are very important, they contribute to the economy - that kind of debate. So it [the debate] has been going on and improving, so way back in 1998 it was the fines and fences approach... but what U-PCLG does is to address the issues of poverty and conservation. And the [R2P-CTPA] research indicated clearly that there were poor people [from the local communities] who were still interested in using the [Bwindi] national park [and] they are using it illegally, how can we reach them and what are we going to reach them through? For U-PCLG, it [the policy change] was about compensation, not just mere revenue sharing.*

Question: At the same time that the research was happening there was also advocacy training for U-PCLG. Can you tell me about this?

*Response: That was training, yes, it was going on, well it was not a training per say, it was sharing of experiences. We worked with the Forest Learning Group which is another arm, a similar organisation like U-PCLG, and they have been working in Uganda for longer than U-PCLG, so we are sharing experiences with them and it's under ACODE. So they [Forest Learning Group] were sharing experiences. But also in terms of the activities of U-PCLG it was the training of [national] journalists [that was important], because we wanted to improve our communication so the journalists were also trained, and the advocacy was being shared so that we [U-PCLG] can hope in writing good research papers that can attract attention and action [from journalists].*

Question: So tell me how did this contribute to the policy change?

*Response: Well in some instances, yes, but I also think that the main thing was the ability of U-PCLG to lobby the [UWA] board members, the managers of UWA, with good research, it was not the training we were sharing...*

Question: Are there any other reflections about the process that you think it is important that we should reflect on? Is there any other part of the story that I should know?

*Response: Not really... and I feel like I have given you the main ingredients - first the design of the research, second its implementation, third the results and how the results were used. So I think those were the main things and after that how to use the research findings in terms of lobbying [UWA] and I think those were the main things that were discussed [in this interview].*

Question: It has been mentioned to me that it has been important to have U-PCLG members that were part of UWA, or understood how UWA worked – that might be yourself, or Gladys, or Panta...

*Response: I think that is splitting the hair... U-PCLG is composed of senior citizens, and there's a reason why we are senior citizens, we've lived longer, we've worked longer, we've got experiences, we know many people. Look at our coordinator Panta, he's got experiences, he's worked with USAID, you know he is quite a senior guy. Gladys has been a member of the UWA board, I have been director, so have different members from different institutions. So we are senior, I don't think we should make this a personal issue, but if you look at in terms of the capacity of the organisation and the capacity of the contributions of its people. So I wouldn't go into saying that... let's say that U-PCLG is composed of senior citizens, it's composed of knowledgeable people in the field off conservation we have*

*researchers, we've got managers, we've got community advocates, we've got a number of professionals who are involved.*

Question: As some final reflections, what do you think was instrumental in the policy change, and what might UWA do differently in the future?

*Response: I think the most important thing was to know where to go, and when to go there, and with what do you go there and what with? Is it [research] information, and how do you use it? What are the right offices to visit? Who are the right people to talk to about the [research] information, and the right people to lobby? Because if you do it wrongly you may rub the people the wrong way. If they [UWA] had got this information, and had not been involved in the research and were approached [by U-PCLG] with the research findings, and they [UWA] [would] say what research are you talking about? They [UWA] would be very unhappy with us. But because they [UWA] helped with the research, when the research came out they were interested and said, what did you find? And when we made the presentation [of the research findings to UWA] and when we went to the [UWA] board, we had already got support from the [UWA conservation] managers... so when the [UWA] board came to ask the [UWA conservation] managers they said yes we know this and we support it and the [UWA] board said ok.*

Question: Is there any part of the research to advocacy process that you think should be done differently next time?

*Response: I think that I've already said it, when in the future when design research and you want to have change, make sure that it is local, that you get the buy in of the key people.*

## Transcript 4

Gladys Kalema Zikusoka, U-PCLG member, UWA board member and chair of the UWA planning and research committee

Transcript from November 2015

### Questions on the initial research:

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: I think the research was conducted to try... and establish the link between poverty alleviation and conservation. So what motivates people to go into the forest [at BINP] to carry out activities that are illegal...does poverty have a connection?*

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives? (Were UWA involved?)

*Response: Mainly U-PCLG, which is coordinated by the Jane Goodall Institute, and some of the partners in the research, one of the main partners in Bwindi the ITFC, and IIED, and Julia Baker, I think she was with Imperial College at that time. In the initial design I think they involved U-PCLG members. One thing I can say is that during the research we got involved because Julia and Medard came to me and wanted to know how our health data could also be used in the research...*

Question: What about local stakeholders?

*Response: I think Uganda Wildlife Authority may have been consulted because they had to look at their data for research use, so to ensure they were part... they must have been consulted*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: The research findings have been used by U-PCLG to, number one, to help with informing research to policy, informing the policy makers about the research and relevance to conservation. This*



was done in consultation with ACODE to develop research to policy advocacy work, to develop on some of the important findings of the research. Some of it [advocacy work] was to look at more specific issues of that came from the research, for example, tourism lodges, communities feel that it is people outside the communities getting the jobs - how can we get tourism lodges to give more jobs locally? Another [issue] was revenue sharing, how can it be more equitably shared? Then another issue that came up in the research was human wildlife conflict. Then at the end of it [the research], it looked like everything was kind of connected to each other so some of it [the research findings] was used to educate the general public. So, for example, we went on the radio and talked about revenue sharing, so that was for people to understand what the issues are. So that was some of the things that came out of the research.

Question: Can you tell me more about the radio show you mentioned?

Response: The only problem is that tourists pay US\$600 for the [gorilla] permit now and [at BINP] only allowed a few tourists in a day... so it meant that Bwindi have very few tourists... whereas Queen Elizabeth [national park], there is no minimum number of tourists[and this] generates more money for revenue sharing than Bwindi. Early on there was the gorilla levy and five dollars per [gorilla trekking] permit was shared [with the local communities]... and the communities felt that five dollars wasn't enough and that this should be increased. And so... the NGOs, us U-PCLG... all of us got a feel as to what the community wanted as an increase and started working on that.

Question: So when did the radio show happen and who was involved? And why did you choose to go on the radio as part of the research to policy project?

Response: The radio show wasn't part of the research, it was an output of the research, to let the general public know what was coming out of the research. What the radio show mainly did was just to try get a feeling about how everybody feels about the revenue sharing... another way to validate the research... because people were allowed to call in... and UWA were invited and they were allowed to make comments about using revenue sharing... and improving the relationship between the community and the park.

### Questions on advocacy:

Question: Tell me about U-PCLG's decision to advocate for change in the amount of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee allocated to the local communities – how was this decision made, and who was involved?

Response: I think U-PCLG members wanted to [do] something that would [make a] change... funding was limiting and this was something the project to be done.... one of the quick ways because the environment was right... [UWA were] already talking about revenue sharing... and so the [R2P-CTPA] research... was used to convince the UWA that there should be change from five [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars. It was an opportunity [for U-PCLG] to use the research [and] to have some impact on policy in a short space of time. Some of the things that came out [of the research] were more complicated, cannot happen in the life time of the [R2P-CTPA] project, things beyond our [U-PCLG's] control, but the gorilla levy could be influenced by U-PCLG.

Question: What specific activities did U-PCLG undertake to advocate for change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, and who did U-PCLG's advocacy efforts target?

Response: The specific activities were, first of all talking to the community members [to understand] what change they wanted. Community members wanted [an increase] from 5 [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars, some of us talked about a percentage, but people [from the local community] don't understand percentages they understand specific amounts. Another part of it was Panta Kasuma wrote a letter to the board chair of UWA. At the time we [U-PCLG] were talking about this [policy change], I was as a member of UWA so we [U-PCLG] talked about it in our meeting and we[U-PCLG] were convinced it was the right time to do it, so when the [UWA] board chair [raised] that particular issue [internally], it



*was up to me when we had a meeting [at UWA] to talk about it. At the same time the UWA were discussing their general management plan of national park, it was being reviewed, so at the same time that the general management plan was presented to the [UWA] board, we [UWA] all got together and started to talk about it [the policy change] again and I brought it up that the communities would like more money from the gorilla levy.*

Question: It would be great to talk about some of the different activities that U-PCLG did in more detail. Can we start with U-PCLG's action to talk to community members?

*Response: It was just more like consultations...when [UWA] park management spoke to the community they would say they want to go from five [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars, when the NGOs would speak to the community the same kind of thing would come up. So I was actually one of the [UWA] board members, I was like how can we be sure that people want ten dollars and it was [through] consultation with the community.*

Question: So you mentioned Panta wrote a letter to the UWA board chair, can you tell me more about this?

*Response: He wrote a letter to the [UWA] board chair saying the reason why we [U-PCLG] thought that they [UWA] should change the gorilla levy. The letter was a summary of the [R2P-CTPA] research findings. It was quite a good letter, but as we continued to meet more often and improved the letter. One other thing that came out was [from U-PCLG] an advocacy policy brief and how it should be written and presented to the UWA board, and so U-PCLG worked with ACODE to produce a policy brief. So the policy brief was in addition...*

Question: You told me that you played a role as a UWA board member, could you tell me more about this?

*Response: Some of the role that I played, an opportunity came for it [discussing the policy change] when UWA increased the gorilla permit from 500 [US] dollars to 600 [US dollars] - because it [the permit] hadn't changed for a number of years and [in] Rwanda was at 750 dollars. So when she [someone from UWA] made the presentation for 650 [US dollars] [and] said that the reason [UWA] wanted this was because they wanted 10 [US] dollars to go to marketing, marketing tourism in Uganda - because Uganda tourism board has a very small budget and were coming to UWA to ask for money for marketing. So that's when I said, well if you increase the money for marketing without increasing money for the community some people [from the local community] may frown upon that and complain. Some [UWA] board members felt that the community was getting enough [revenue], but those board members had not really been to the community, some joined wildlife conservation 20 years ago when there was no money for the community so now they feel that there was already an improvement from 20 years ago. But what they didn't realise is that the benefit wasn't perceived to be enough [by the local communities] - the costs that communities [bear]. So we [U-PCLG] tried to say that no, the community would like more. So I started off by just introducing the topic, by saying that if you're [UWA] going to increase the gorilla permit, [UWA] should [also] increase the gorilla levy for the community, because people will question where the extra money will go. At least if something goes to the community, people [from the local community] will understand part of the reason for increasing the [the gorilla trekking] permit. So I started by introducing it to [UWA]. I think actually my being on the [UWA] board helped... the [policy] change moved faster than it would have gone.*

Question: You also mentioned a policy brief, could you tell me more about that?

*Response: It was ACODE which wrote the policy brief. We [U-PCLG] went through an exercise of how to write a policy brief based on the [R2P-CTPA] research that had come out from the conservation to poverty alleviation research. So we had a workshop on that, U-PCLG, and everybody contributed to it, on how to write a policy brief using the gorilla levy as a case study. And then ACODE put that [policy*

*brief] together and Panta used information from that session to write a letter to the [UWA] board chair and that kind of helped us work on the letter.*

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the proposal of US\$5? Did U-PCLG discuss other options (e.g. 10, 15... 60 US\$)? If so, what were the main reasons for advocating for US\$5 than another amount?

*Response: That was just what the community wanted, that is what they thought they wanted. That came from the community that wasn't us deciding this or that, somebody talked about percentages but it was clear that the community wanted something actual, they didn't want to talk about percentages.*

### **Questions on the policy change:**

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

*Response: I think that the main reason was, number one, a lot of the [UWA] board members, a huge majority of the [UWA] board members felt that the community need to benefit more from conservation. Because at least four of us [at UWA] regularly visit the field or used to work in the field and had time with community members... at least four or five of us, actually six of us had been in conservation many years so we understood that the community needed to benefit more, that's number one.*

*And then number two, me as a [UWA] board member. [U-]PCLG saw an opportunity to push this forward. The atmosphere was right, the [UWA] board wanted to do more for the community, I was on the [UWA] board and a member of U-PCLG so I was familiar with the issue and then the [UWA] executive director also felt that it was the right thing to do based on talking to the community and other NGOs. And actually, sometimes the UWA park chief warden would attend the U-PCLG [R2P-CTPA] meetings so everyone was talking about it. UWA had been in consult[ation] with the community, and the [UWA] board felt very strongly that it should happen based on the work of U-PCLG and the fact that the permit was going to go up anyway so the community should have a share of that.*

Question: Was there anything unique that U-PCLG was able to contribute to shaping the policy change?

*Response: I think what was unique was when Panta... the [U-PCLG] coordinator, wrote a letter. I think that was very strategic, because normally if it [a policy request] went through the regular channels [such as] through the community director, this person [would] only present what they think is a priority to the [UWA] board. So using a top down approach worked on this particular issue, but it was a combination because also the [UWA] board chair cannot say that something is going to happen without consultation with the [UWA] board so using the top down approach worked, but it also needs to be backed up by the bottom-up approach.*

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported a policy change and what might these have been?

*Response: The UWA consulted the community, the community wanted a change but I think it may not have happened now, it could have happened a year later. But because there was pressure coming from the community, we[U-PCLG] thought that what U-PCLG did will help make change happen sooner than it would have happened. I think it would have happened eventually... If U-PCLG had not taken up the issue... it would still be 5 [US] dollars from the gorilla permit today.*

Question: What aspects of U-PCLG's approach do you think were instrumental in influencing change, and what do you think U-PCLG might do differently in the future?

*Response: Sending the letter [from U-PCLG] to the board chair of UWA was a good approach. What would U-PCLG do differently next time, was to also use, I don't think U-PCLG used enough of the bottom-up approach like talking to the park managers enough, so that could have helped improve*

*things better. I mean it really helped that I was on the board of UWA, if I was not on the board of UWA I'm not sure that we could have changed [the community share]. The fact that I was on the [UWA] board meant I was able to convince people [at UWA] more and I was also able to kind of push a lot of the [UWA] board members as well that it [the policy change] was a good thing to do. So yeah I think it helped that I was on the [UWA] board, because people were in two minds, at the beginning they thought [there was] no need, but I think they were moved to thinking it was a good idea... yeah, it's a good idea because the community want it.*

## Transcript 5

Annet Kandole, U-PCLG Member  
Transcript from November 2015

### Questions on the initial research:

Question: U-PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: I know there are a number of research [projects] that has gone on, the purpose [of the R2P-CTPA] research] was actually... was to review the effectiveness, because the issue of resource sharing around Bwindi has been there started by other partners, but the research was really looking at reviewing the best practices, what is happening currently and then giving recommendations that can help Bwindi National Park and the stakeholders develop a new direction of how we can handle issues of resource access, issue of equity, issues better sharing of benefits.*

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives?

*Response: What I know – IGCP, Stephen Asuma – played a very critical role and the definitely ITFC and then Dr Panta Kasuma was very critical to the research. I may not have been [involved in the] development of the tools, or CARE was not involved in the development of the tools, but we interacted with the [R2P-CTPA] researchers... we attended the PCLG meetings where the research findings were presented... and also Dr Arthur Mugisha was important.*

Question: Can you tell me a bit more about U-PCLG's role, and the role of any other regional organisations in the project?

*Response: Well what I know is that they [U-PCLG] played a coordination role... the members of the [R2P-CTPA] team are knowledgeable... the role really was to guide the research, to facilitate, to coordinate... to ensure the logistical part of the research are well arranged. But also technical assistance...*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: Now which research are you talking about... [there has been a lot]*

*[Clarification given, the R2P-CTPA Project].*

*Some of the issues were the challenges of distribution of the benefits... some of the findings were looking at equity, there are those who bear the biggest cost in terms of the existence of the [BIN] park, but then in terms of the returns are... not going to the frontline communities. I think the research was looking at the issue of benefits sharing... and also the delay in implementation... [of] revenue sharing.... The other issue that was discussed in January in the meeting [was] around the benefits of the Batwa [people] in particular...*

*[Clarification given over why interviewing Annet, not trying to test her knowledge, but trying to understand the change in the community share of the gorilla permit]*

*UWA was reviewing their revenue sharing benefits, and U-PCLG discussed comprehensively a strategy of how to support and produce a position paper and to discuss [revenue sharing] with UWA... we [U-PCLG] elaborately discussed... who we should influence, what should be the political points that we should present... the role of the U-PCLG was to inform UWA on some of the options and some of the key challenges that are there. So there was a meeting actually, I remember we recommended that Dr Panta Kasuma and two other people meet with the director of UWA, so those advocating meetings were on, and yes they definitely influenced some of the discussions and the thinking of UWA.*

### **Questions on advocacy:**

Question: What specific activities did U-PCLG undertake to advocate for a change in the gorilla levy.

*Response: So after the research, they [U-PCLG] developed the [research] paper and held consultative meetings with the stakeholders... the second thing was to meet the management of UWA...*

Question: Could you tell me about how the decision to advocate for a change in the gorilla levy – and who was involved?

*Response: Who was involved was the whole U-PCLG members, the whole team... those are the ones that are involved... including the IUCN, Care, ITFC, IGCP, Jane Goodall Institute. Normally in those meetings, decisions are agreed during the meeting and the coordinator is tasked to make follow ups, or a small team of people are selected to meet with UWA.*

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the amount to change the gorilla levy by?

*Response: At that [U-PCLG] meeting I don't recall that, unless there was a meeting I missed. There are two of us from our organisation that attend the U-PCLG meetings....*

*We [U-PCLG] did discuss that [other amounts]... we [U-PCLG] have to be realistic... you need to lobby for an amount that you think is acceptable... UWA does not have income from other parks, and we [U-PCLG] have to look at issues around [UWA's] running costs and the rest... so I think I can't say there was any scientific calculation... it was just subjective.*

Question: It has been mentioned to me that a member of CARE International raised concern about the chosen advocacy work – and that the attention should perhaps be on how the money at the moment is being spent.

*Response: I think I myself have had that question... my colleague would say the same thing. If we are going to lobby part of the case should be about effectiveness and efficiency of what is happening now. Because often... civil organisations... there is this agenda less money for more... but how have we used this amount that we already get.*

Question: Can you elaborate a little more on this?

*Response: I think what we [my colleague and I] wanted, as we go to lobby for more, you present a best case scenario if you could provide information about achievements... and form the rationale of why you think you need more... we are asking for more, but why? The issues why... we are concerned about resource use and minimising the misuse of resources... the more resources you put at people's exposure, the more vulnerability you create... it is good to know how the resources are being used as one of the foundations to be used to lobby for an increment...*

### **Questions on the policy change:**

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

*Response: I think one of the things... was the specific increment [that U-PCLG proposed]... and there was stakeholder demand... so UWA obliged. UWA would not on their own increase the gorilla levy fees, I think that the increment is a result of the stakeholders demanding.*

Question: Which stakeholders?

*Response: U-PCLG and the local governments, they added their voice to the U-PCLG, to see that they support, they were consulted and they provided their input. They were part of the stakeholders... and their voice or their recommendations were taken into account in the discussion.*

Question: Was there anything unique that U-PCLG was able to contribute to shaping the policy change? Please give examples.

*Response: What is unique... I think that I wouldn't say that it was unique... It was a function of the research... the data... the second thing is that U-PCLG is representing a number of stakeholders and that is a voice, for me that is unique about it. It is better than individuals from one organisation going to UWA, but if it is U-PCLG it is seen as a block of organisations, and that is unique really, it brings together like minded organisations...*

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported a policy change and what might these have been?

*Response: No, I don't think there were other reasons that were really pressing, but what I know... that most of the local governments in their own discussions have been asking for more funds, but I don't think that was more pressing... I think it was the dialogues [U-PCLG] that led to the change.*

*[More information local governments...]*

*Yes, what I was saying is that there are normally discussions there, because the area manager sits in district council meetings... they mention their wishes...*

Question: What lessons did the U-PCLG learn from this experience?

*Response: ...the other lesson is actually to see that you need others... members within U-PCLG realised that a single entity or single organisation cannot influence policy decisions... we [as individuals] cannot get quick wins easily... but if we are many, we combine our voices, we exchange ideas, we exchange resources and many skills... we achieve better results.*

## Transcript 6

Julia Baker, research advisor for the R2P-CTFA project.  
Transcript from November 2015

### Questions on the initial research:

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: The research came from back when I was doing my PhD and was talking to Tom Blomley who was also researching in the area - we were wondering, given the sheer investment in the ICD approach, what really it has achieved for conservation? A question that as yet remains unanswered from a purely conservation research focus, we still don't really understand this. We know that ICDs (from some of Tom's work) can improve conservation attitudes, but we don't know about the conservation impact. So the research came out of discussions about ICDs and we wanted to understand what they had achieved, given the large investment.*



Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives?

*Response: IIED came up with the proposal for Darwin and brought in partners from Imperial College London. And then IIED took this research to UPCLG, ACODE and UWA to say is this research on track, is it asking timely questions? Initially, I was nervous about this stage, as a researcher I had worked hard on the initial proposal and I was worried about opening it up to these actors – what if they don't like it? We have all this funding to do the research. But this approach advocated for by IIED was the best thing. Rarely do researchers speak with those people on the ground to understand what are the key questions, and how can we frame this better? Initially we had a two-day workshop - and there is an inception report on the website from this. At this meeting, U-PCLG and UWA were able to highlight other things that we [the research team] should be considering, one major part was including governance in the research framework. The meeting with U-PCLG and UWA helped to guide our [the research team's] key questions.*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: At the second workshop we [the research team] convened, we presented some of the initial findings of the research to UPCLG, representative of the UWA – including representatives from headquarters and Bwindi park staff. This workshop helped us to shape and interpret the data. At this workshop, we asked how can we use the research findings to improve the ICD experience from the community perspective – and most importantly we focused on how can U-PCLG use the research themselves? This is where the empowerment really happened as there is involvement in using the research findings. The outcome of increasing the gorilla levy by five [US] dollars was mainly down to this involving relationship that began and continued throughout the process of the research.*

### **Questions on advocacy:**

Question: Tell me about U-PCLG's decision to advocate for change in the amount of the Mountain gorilla tourist permit fee allocated to the local communities – how was this decision made, and who was involved?

*Response: U-PCLG were growing and developing as a group, by the time the third and final research workshop was convened, the group were very engaged. This was because running parallel to the research, ACODE were training U-PCLG members on advocacy. When I first met the group there were quiet members, but as they progressed and it came to the final research workshop U-PCLG were really raring to go. Through the research and the involvement of UPCLG and UWA we created a 'collaborative atmosphere' of research and advocacy together. Another thing was that over the years UWA has changed quite dramatically – they used to be a very different organisation and have opened up somewhat. They used to view community conservation as a risk factor with concerns. With this changed organisation, we hit them at a good time as they were open to discussion and sharing their thoughts on community conservation. They [UWA] had not been like this in the past - if they had been approached to change the local allocation of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee in the past, we would not have seen this impact. As part of the research workshop at the end of the research – so the third workshop – we all worked together the researchers, U-PCLG, and UWA on a ToC. We discussed as part of this if we improved the ICD approach what would it look like for local communities? Dilys suggested the five [US] dollars increase in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. It was noted down as one of the actions in the ToC. But this was the one action that was tangible versus the others, for example, another action identified 'more jobs for local people was a bit more vague. This action to increase the allocation to local communities was specific, it was tangible and we talked about it with U-PCLG and UWA. One of the UWA representatives stood up and said that they might be amenable to such a change – they had been thinking that a change might be needed and they were open to discussions. After this workshop, U-PCLG quickly mobilised to draft a letter. They were quick so they could maximise on the discussion that we all had with UWA at this workshop.*



Question: Can you tell me more about your statement around UWA was already considering this change in the gorilla levy?

*Response: UWA have been receiving feedback from local communities for a number of years. Communities see rich tourists come to the area to see gorillas, they see all this care for gorillas. If a gorilla is sick a helicopter with a vet will come to take care of the gorilla. This doesn't happen when they or their children are sick. So there was a growing conversation at the park level that community members need more. No other parks have tourism like Bwindi so UWA have been reluctant to change their policy on revenue sharing, but as they [UWA] have become more open they [UWA] have become more aligned with the idea and more interested. This work came at the right time. It was a combination of factors:*

*UWA are now a different organisation than they were – more open for discussions around community conservation issues*

*U-PCLG with the help from ACODE training were gaining momentum.*

*Cracking research that tackled a question that was relevant to UWA and introduced a new and valuable perspective. It was a combination of this, all these factors coming together.*

Question: What specific activities did U-PCLG undertake to advocate for change in the community share of the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee, and who did U-PCLG's advocacy efforts target?

*Response: Gladys, is a well-respected (both locally, nationally and internationally) person and member of the U-PCLG as well as the UWA board. She worked hard internally to promote the concerns of the research. This was a key action, Gladys was championing the idea of the local allocation changing by five [US] dollars. The process that led to change wasn't an isolated set of activities, it was everyone. It was an open research process that was inclusive. Normally researchers turn up at the end, no particularly input from local organisations or stakeholders. We [the research team] did not do this, and it was fundamental that U-PCLG and UWA were involved.*

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the proposal of US\$5? Did U-PCLG discuss other options (e.g. 10, 15... 60 US\$)? If so, what were the main reasons for advocating for US\$5 than another amount?

*Response: U-PCLG wanted to act quickly and this prospective policy change gave them that opportunity. Following on from the discussions we had at the third research session, the next day U-PCLG drafted a letter with a specific request for an increase in the allocation to local communities. U-PCLG saw this as an opportunity to advocate for change, and they moved fast. They chose five [US] dollars because they recognised that they had an opportunity to influence policy change, but they didn't want to blow this opportunity. To make a difference they accepted that they would need to ask for a change that was quite low, but they still felt that it represented real change. It might be a small amount, but it is still a lot for those communities around Bwindi. They felt that it would make a difference. Actors like Gladys and Panta were key in deciding how much the increase [in the community share] should be – it was local knowledge, a recognition of the context and the opportunity that led to the request for this specific change.*

### **Questions on the policy change:**

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

*Response: From where I stood, it was a fantastic bit of research on a question that UWA have always had. UWA are not clear on who to target they do lots of law enforcement and some community work, but they don't know who to target. They know that poverty is important, but what they don't know is that this is only half of the story. The research showed that people feel a sense of unfairness – UWA didn't know this. It's a question they have been longing to answer, why do people keep using resources illegally? And this research result was not one that they had considered or one that they were familiar with. And this really shone a light on the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee. U-PCLG were able to make a direct link between the feeling of unfairness and the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee themselves. And UWA was open for this conversation – this was important. Then with champions from U-PCLG*

*such as Gladys and Panta working together with UWA there was real momentum for change.*

Question: Could there have been other reasons why UWA supported a policy change and what might these have been?

*Response: UWA is always in the press and the media and on many occasions this is for the wrong reasons. They got press out of making this change, not just in newspapers but they were on TV. This might have added to the overall picture of saying yes – the good press. There aren't really other organisations that are working specifically on the gorilla permit. There are many that work on poverty and conservation issues. In the past this has been a problem as there is no way to coordinate everyone that is working. There are many NGOs in one space. There is a genuine will within UWA to change – to recognise and open-up to these issues. There had been discussions in UWA about increasing the permit fee – it was the right moment to have this conversation with them. This is fundamental really, they [UWA] had started the conversation, and the research gave them the opportunity to think more on it. They needed reassurance provided by the research that this was the right thing to do – to move from their fears to accept a change.*

Question: What lessons did you learn from this experience?

*Response: As a researcher, I learnt that to have a direct impact on the ground the process needs to be open and engaging, [you] have to open up the discussion to help shape the research and outputs. Should grab hold of researchers before they run off to the field with their clipboard...*

Question: What aspects of U-PCLG's approach do you think were instrumental in influencing change, and what do you think U-PCLG might do differently in the future?

*Response: Shouldn't just hand over the results of research in a vague way. The process of building the ToC with U-PCLG and UWA and the discussions on how to use the TOC were significant. Also, those actions that are identified as part of this process need to be tangible – this, from my perspective, is one reason why we ran with the increase to the local community allocation from the gorilla permit (versus other actions identified in the ToC) – because it was a tangible and practical action.*

Julia also followed up her comments on this question with an email pasted below.

*The project was originally set up as two distinct stages of 1) research and 2) capacity building for UPCLG. The way that the collaborative nature of the research, in combination with ACODE's training for UPCLG, gathered a momentum for change caught us by surprise. So in terms of doing things differently, it's one project and one process of an engaging research project in combination with advocacy and developing collaborative relationships with project partners.*

## Transcript 7

Phil Franks, Senior Researcher IIED  
Transcript from November 2015

### Questions on the initial research:

Question: Uganda PCLG – alongside IIED, IFTC and Imperial College – two years ago undertook research to understand who continues to use Bwindi's natural resources illegally and why. Can you start with telling me the purpose of the research?

*Response: So my understanding, I came into this as you as know after the research was designed, was that the research was supposed to explore the motivations for illegal or unauthorised resource use in Bwindi, why people do it? And also there was a second bit to look at the governance arrangements at a local level for involvement of local communities in PA decision making.*

Question: Added to this, can you talk to me about who was involved in the design and fieldwork, and how each partner influenced the research objectives? (Were UWA involved?)

*Response: Well the whole thing was designed by Julia and the people who did the research was the ITFC, which will be Medard.*

Question: Can you tell me about the research findings and explain how U-PCLG has used them?

*Response: Well, this is where I don't have a very clear picture, but I can tell you I came into this in January 2014 when I attended a meeting of the U-PCLG in Kampala, just towards the end of the research phase. And it's been long discussed that the gorilla levy wasn't very much and should be increased, and I believe that predates this project. So when I attended that meeting in January 2014, one of the issues on the agenda was increasing the gorilla levy from five [US] dollars to ten [US] dollars. My assumption is that the evidence from the [R2P-CTPA] research spurred people into thinking that this is something that we should really push now and use the research results to help make that case. And the research results showed, validated the assumption that illegal activity [in BINP] was partly because people were poor and partly because people were resentful of the park - that was the new bit that we didn't really have much evidence for before. And so at that meeting in January [2014] that bit about the resentment hadn't really come across that clearly, at least not to members of U-PCLG as far as I know. And we [U-PCLG and the research team] had a discussion over whether an increase in the gorilla levy would be a good thing or not, and almost everybody said yes and U-PCLG should push for it. There were a couple of dissenting voices, one was from my former colleague in CARE who said, well most of the revenue sharing money is being wasted anyway by being spent on inappropriate projects and some corruption, so what's the point in pushing twice the amount of money down the pipe when it's extremely leaky? Why don't we fix the leaks before we lobby for more money? Certainly the research results helped make the case for a change in the gorilla levy. My understanding is that the case was made not only around the fact that people are poor and therefore if the park did more for them it would generally support conservation. But also, this resentment thing was coming out of the research, that a lot of people who bear the burden of conservation from problem animals, you know human wildlife conflict, were not getting the benefits from revenue sharing, or not getting enough benefits. So therefore increasing the revenue shared would help to ensure more money went to the people who are suffering the negative impacts and therefore it would address this resentment issue as well. And I'd love to think it was because of this powerful argument.*

#### Questions on advocacy:

Question: So in terms of activities to advocate for change, you've mentioned the letter. Are there anything other activities that I should be aware of?

*Response: As far as I know that was the only formal communication, wasn't there also a policy brief that supported that letter? The other thing that happened you see is that the chairman of the UWA board or at least the chairman of the key committee of the UWA board which considers things like this, you'll have to clarify this, that's Gladys whether she was the chairman of the board or the sub-committee. Anyway, she was highly influential in this, she's an active member of U-PCLG and was at the meeting in January 2014 when this proposed change was discussed. Actually, I'm not totally sure whether she was at that meeting in January, I think it was one of the members of her staff at that meeting. But as I said this issue of increasing the gorilla levy has been discussed for a long time and as far as I know she [Gladys] was aware of it and she's someone that you really have to talk to because questions like how long was this on the agenda, did it really just appear because of U-PCLG, or did U-PCLG just trigger renewed interest in it and provide the evidence to make it happen? As you probably know I've been involved on and off in these issues for 25 years. I wasn't surprised the [policy] change happened, I was surprised at how quickly it happened. Mainly because the argument that revenue sharing funds are insufficient and need to be increased - if you do it in one park you set a precedent. The other communities at other parks could say well we don't have gorillas but we do have tourists, why can't we have a bigger share of say bed night fees in tourism lodges, or park entry fees or some other fees? I imagine it could set off a ripple of requests from other protected areas that would be an issue for UWA. But I mean they are very progressive so let's assume they did it for all the right reasons, there's definitely a case of the right message at the right time with the right champion right in the right spot, that's Gladys, and all those converging. Also just in terms of the enabling context, when that five [US] dollars was first agreed, the gorilla permit was much less, a couple of hundred dollars, I think it's now*

double that. And the number of tourists has gone up from 5,000 to nearly 20,000/year, so the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee funds basically half of UWA so this is a really an important thing for them and I think they should probably be very amenable to this proposal of a small increase in the fee given how crucial it is to their budget - the last thing they want is some fuss from local politicians about what is basically half their revenue stream. I imagine they [UWA] thought that this change will keep everybody happy, yeah let's do it. I mean again, I'm just saying it was a very enabling environment to be doing this in, but undoubtedly U-PCLG made it happen. So this was nothing like a big lobbying campaign, they [U-PCLG] just wrote a letter and they must have done some follow up, though I'm not sure what this was. I don't imagine it was just the letter and then Gladys made the case at UWA. I also imagine some U-PCLG members in informal interactions with UWA were generally pushing things a bit.

Question: How did U-PCLG decide on the proposal of US\$5?

Response: Ummmm no, you'd have to go back I think it predates the research to policy project and even the support to U-PCLG. I think somewhere further back there was a proposal to double it. That was just a... I mean it certainly when we were discussing it with them it was seen as do-able, while more of an increase than that was considered as a stretch for UWA.

Question: Was anyone else apart from U-PCLG making such proposals?]

Response: Well you see the U-PCLG is a network of organisations and some of them particularly IGCP, may have been making that proposal anyway outside of their involvement in U-PCLG. You could check, I mean the director of IGCP, Anna we have good relationship, it might be worth asking her, she's been with IGCP for a long time, she could tell you from her perspective where that came from. I think that U-PCLG was key to tipping the balance.

### Questions on the policy change:

Question: What are the main reasons UWA decided to increase the mountain gorilla tourist permit fee?

Response: Well you can't really quote me on this because it would be speculation, but I imagine UWA are quite sensitive to community needs and the argument that people are, well the argument that people are poor, I'm not sure this carries much weight anymore. But the argument that sharing more revenue with people will help build support for conservation is what will carry more weight with UWA. And that's actually the focus of the revenue sharing guides. I would assume that they [UWA] saw the proposal [to change the gorilla levy] as very much consistent with the goals of the revenue sharing programme in Uganda. And I'm sure also, because all the revenue sharing money goes through the districts, I'm sure they [UWA] saw this as a good way of maybe building a bit more political support for the park from the local governments around the park, which is not necessarily a specific goal of the revenue sharing programme, but I expect they saw that. I mean the only argument you could possibly make against it would be either that UWA couldn't afford it, that they were giving away money that they desperately needed, or that it sets a bad precedent that lead to lots of other national parks [in Uganda] asking for money and then that would be a problem. Otherwise I can't think of any reason why. And the argument that they couldn't afford it doesn't really count for much really as in the case of Bwindi its small amount of money to them [UWA], so I don't think that would have been much of an issue. It's the one about setting up the precedent that would make the bill for UWA ultimately much bigger - that would probably be the main counter argument.

Question: Was there anything unique that U-PCLG was able to contribute to shaping the policy change?

Response: Well I would imagine having a whole lot of NGOs all speaking with the same voice would have carried quite a lot of weight, because they [UWA] could see from their point of view that they'd be killing many birds with one stone. In other words, they [UWA] could have been seen to be responsive to a whole lot of organisations. So I suppose that's arguing for the power of the U-PCLG network, because it puts more pressure on UWA. But from the other perspective, if UWA agree they are seen to be

*responding to the interests of many organisations. It gets them more credit and builds their own political support base among these NGOs - some of whom are quite critical of them at times. Again I'm speculating, but that's the power of an advocacy network that it makes voices louder, but it also makes the organisation in question feel better because they appear to be addressing the ask of many organisations.*

Question: Any other reasons why UWA supported a policy change? Other to U-PCLG?

*Well like I see it, there has been community pressure building up for quite a long time before U-PCLG got involved, so they [U-PCLG] were more a help to tip the balance. You could not say this is uniquely attributable to the efforts of U-PCLG, assuming I'm right that this has been going on for a long time, but you could say it was their contribution that tipped the balance - that might be a good way of putting it. But that's going to be always the same in policy work, issues rarely pop out of nowhere but they've been sort of bubbling away for a while and eventually something tips the balance, or doesn't and nothing happens.*



## Annex 2 – Email exchanges

### Email Exchange, September – October 2014

**From:** Julia Baker  
**Sent:** Sep 27, 2014, at 11:45 AM  
**To:** Gladys Kalema Zikusoka  
**CC:** Panta Kasoma; Phil Franks; Mark Infield; Onesmus Mugenyi  
**Subject:** UWA response to the USD10 request?

Dear Panta, Gladys,

We were wondering about UWA's responses to the Gorilla Levy Letter issued earlier this year – from memory, I think UWA acknowledged receipt of the letter but did they also say that the request would be formally considered by UWA Board? And if they did, any news since then from UWA?

Best wishes,

Julia

**From:** Gladys Kalema Zikusoka  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 09, 2014 12:37 AM  
**To:** Baker, Julia  
**Cc:** Panta Kasoma; Phil Franks; Mark Infield; Onesmus Mugenyi  
**Subject:** Re: UWA response to the USD10 request?

Dear Julia

Thank you very much for the email. Sorry for the delay in responding I have been travelling, was presenting at a Students Conservation Conference in Science at Bangalore in India, and also wanted to get back to you when I had more concrete news.

We had a Planning and Research Committee board meeting two weeks ago and had a positive response towards increasing the gorilla levy from \$5 to \$10, which was then approved at the full Board meeting this week, effective from July 2015 in the new financial year.

Thank you very much for all the efforts towards this. UWA will inform stakeholders, most likely after this decision is ratified at the next full Board meeting most likely in December.

Best wishes

Gladys

**From:** Phil Franks  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 09, 2014 13:37 AM  
**To:** Baker, Julia  
**Cc:** Panta Kasoma; Phil Franks; Mark Infield; Onesmus Mugenyi, Julia Baker  
**Subject:** Re: UWA response to the USD10 request?

Hi Gladys,

Very good news indeed and many thanks for your efforts on this.

Could you clarify please – what is the significance of the remaining ratification step? Is it possible that the Board may not ratify? It is clearly up to UWA to make an announcement but I am concerned that news may leak out and raise expectations that might then get dashed.

All being well, the Bwindi stakeholders workshop that we are planning for the week on Jan 19<sup>th</sup> will provide an excellent opportunity to reflect on results of recent work on revenue sharing around Bwindi and future needs in terms strengthening of the revenue sharing mechanism and its monitoring. Over

the next couple of months we will explore options with U-PCLG members and UWA and funding possibilities.

Best regards

Phil

**From: Gladys Kalema Zikusoka**

**Sent: 09 October 2014 12:59**

**To: Phil Franks**

**Cc: Panta Kasoma; Mark Infield, Onesmus Mugenyi; Baker, Julia; Arthur Mugisha**

**Subject: Re: UWA response to the USD10 request?**

Dear Phil, Julia, Panta,

Thank you very much for the emails. Yes the increase in gorilla levy has been approved from July 2015, new financial year.

PCLG should be commended for bringing this issue to the UWA Board, so that it could be discussed at this time.

I was excited that most people agreed, there was some debate about making it a percentage rather than an actual amount, and how much to increase to. But UWA management assured us that the community preferred an actual amount because it was more tangible than percentages as they could understand a figure from each permit. As for the amount, UWA management referred to the CTPA research by PCLG which also recommended that particular figure. Though we all felt strongly that the revenue has to be shared more equitably to bring the desired benefits to the community that will eventually lead to greater support for the park and conservation. So it was easy for me to chair this particular issue on the Board Planning and Research Committee because management was supporting it, and Board members wanted more benefits for the community. Though it was acknowledged that Bwindi communities benefit more than most park communities and we would like to look into how to support all park communities more.

The UWA Board usually ratifies every decision made as a legal procedure. That is when the ED can start to implement the Board decisions. Usually 99% of the time decisions are not overturned.

As Julia said I would also recommend between now and December for Onesmus to complete the policy brief, as back up information to support this decision, and for future learning.

Also, the new revenue sharing guidelines approved by the Board, have now been printed and about to be disseminated.

I look forward to the stakeholders workshop on 19th January 2015.

Best wishes

Gladys

**From: Baker, Julia**

**Sent: 09 October 2014 13:51**

**To: Gladys Kalema Zikusoka; Phil Franks;**

**Cc: Panta Kasoma; Mark Infield; Onesmus Mugenyi; Arthur Mugisha ; Dilys Roe ; Alessandra Giuliani**

**Subject: RE: UWA response to the USD10 request - YES!**

Dear Gladys,

Excellent news!! The increase needs to be formally ratified but this is excellent news and it sounds as though you did a fantastic job chairing this session. Thank you for all your support for this.

That's also good news that UWA Board would like to look at how to support all park communities more, possibly something for future work in other national parks.

But for now a great result!!

Best wishes,

Julia

### **Email Exchange, March 2016**

**From:** Nambogwe Hellena  
**Sent:** 1 Mar 2016 23:38  
**To:** U-PCLG Google Group Member  
**Subject:** Congratulatory Message

Dear members,

Please join me in congratulating Dr. Panta for being elected on the new UWA board.

Dear Dr. Panta, we congratulatory upon your new position on the UWA board, we wish you a successful and productive term.

Regards

Hellena Nambogwe

**From:** Nambogwe Hellena  
**Sent:** March 2, 2016  
**To:** U-PCLG Google Group Members  
**Subject:** Re: Congratulatory Message

Dear Members,  
 In the spirit, Please also congratulate Dr. Akwankwasa too for joining the UWA board.  
 Dr Akwankwasa, we wish you very productive term of office.

H

**From:** UPCLG Google Group On Behalf Of Mark Infield  
**Sent:** 04 March 2016 06:16  
**To:** U-PCLG Google Group Members  
**Subject:** Re: Congratulatory Message

Dear Dr Akankwasah,

Congratulations on this achievement. With two members of UPCLG on the UWA Board, we are in a strong position to carry messages on conservation and poverty to UWA. This is really exciting, as, for example, the perspectives we are developing on the Batwa and conservation story will have greater relevance due to our strengthened capacity to lobby the Board. The success we achieved on increasing the levy on gorilla tracking permits was very much due to the role that Gladys played.

Best wishes

Mark Infield

## Annex 3 – U-PCLG letter



the Jane Goodall Institute

PO Box 462, Entebbe, Uganda  
Telephone/Fax: (+256) 41 322 777  
Mobile: 0772 587 284

Email: [panta@janegoodallug.org](mailto:panta@janegoodallug.org)/[pKasoma@janegoodall.org](mailto:pKasoma@janegoodall.org)

March 6, 2014

The Chairman,  
Board of Trustees,  
Uganda Wildlife Authority.

Dear Sir,

**RE: REQUEST FOR A REVISION OF THE GORILLA LEVY**

I am writing to you on behalf of the Uganda chapter of the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group. This is a consortium of conservation and development organizations with a shared interest in how conservation can alleviate poverty. We write to request Uganda Wildlife Authority to increase the community share of the Mountain Gorilla permit fee for the long term conservation of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park based on new evidence from our research.

*Background*

Over the past two years, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in collaboration with the Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation (ITFC), the Jane Goodall Institute (JGI) and Advocates Coalition for the Environment (ACODE) have been implementing the “Research to Policy: building capacity for conservation through poverty alleviation” (R2P) project in and around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. JGI coordinates activities of the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group in Uganda.

*Research Aim*

The aim of the R2P research was to improve the effectiveness of Integrated Conservation and Development (ICD) by better understanding who continues with unauthorized resource use - despite ICD - and why. Using an innovative mixed method approach, the research addressed these critical gaps in the knowledge base that have been hitherto hard to establish.





the Jane Goodall Institute

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## *Research Findings*

### *Poverty*

Frontline villagers living close to the national park boundary are significantly poorer than villagers living further away. These villagers are in a poverty trap - they have little education so are disadvantaged when seeking employment or other livelihood means and are at risk of disease from poor sanitation facilities. Furthermore, poorer villagers lived in remote areas further from trading centres and road transport that benefit other villagers, and the loss of food and income from crop raiding by wild animals exacerbated the poverty issues that they face.

### *Drivers of unauthorized resource use*

Subsistence needs and livelihood security of poorer villagers living in remote areas close to the national park were drivers of unauthorized resource use. However, poverty was not the sole threat to Bwindi's conservation, as villagers engaging with unauthorized resource use were also those who perceived that they benefitted least from ICD. Villagers throughout parishes neighboring the national park shared a belief that their proportion of tourism fees is insufficient to address poverty and goes to villagers living far from the national park who never suffer from crop raiding. These local perceptions of the inequity of revenue sharing fuelled feelings of unfairness that led villagers to illegally collect resources from the national park.

### *Recommendation*

In light of these research findings, the Uganda Poverty and Conservation Learning Group would like to suggest to the Board of Trustees that the community share of the mountain gorilla permit fee be increased **from \$ 5 to \$10**. By doing so, the Uganda Wildlife Authority will gain several benefits at the national park, national and international levels.

### *Conservation through poverty alleviation at Bwindi*

From a national park management perspective, local perceptions of inequity of revenue sharing and the poverty of frontline villagers are undermining efforts to conserve Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. While law enforcement is undertaken to protect Bwindi forest, it requires significant investment, does not address the root causes of biodiversity loss and can exacerbate



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the poverty of frontline villagers thereby increasing their dependency on resources inside the national park.

By increasing the community share of the gorilla permit fee, the Uganda Wildlife Authority will make a significant step towards gaining the local support for the national park that is crucial for the long-term conservation of Bwindi. In addition, this enhanced contribution towards poverty alleviation will benefit local communities of Bwindi who will also accrue the benefits from successful conservation programmes. The long-term benefit to Uganda will be the improved conservation of critically endangered Mountain Gorillas, thus helping Uganda to fulfill its conservation objectives under the Convention of Biological Diversity and the Convention of Migratory Species.

#### *Achieving national and international commitments*

The Ugandan government has moral obligations and national and international commitments to ensure that conserving Bwindi Impenetrable National Park does not exacerbate the poverty of local communities. IUCN states that pro-poor conservation is not just an ethical response but “an opportunity to contribute to the growth of the environmental sphere of sustainable development by proving its fundamental importance to economic and social outcomes in some of the world's poorest but most biologically diverse regions”. In addition, the 5<sup>th</sup> IUCN World Parks Congress adopted as a principle “protected area establishment and management should contribute to poverty reduction at the local level, and at the very minimum must not contribute to or exacerbate poverty” (Recommendation 5.29, Annex 1). By increasing the community share of gorilla permit fee, the Ugandan government will demonstrate to the international community its commitment to alleviating the poverty of local communities of Bwindi.

Uganda's Sector Investment Plan (SIP) for the environment sector includes the aim “to promote the long-term conservation of the country's wildlife and biodiversity in a cost-effective manner that maximizes the benefits to the people of Uganda”. Increasing the community share of gorilla permit fee will also enable the Ugandan government to achieve the SIP aim and apply lessons learnt from Bwindi to improve ICD at other national parks in Uganda.



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*Supporting implementation of the new Revenue Sharing Guidelines*

The new Revenue Sharing guidelines focus on providing benefits to frontline villagers. Our research supports the implementation of the new guidelines at Bwindi, as the research highlights the importance of targeting the poorest more remote villagers within the frontline. Our research also explored the governance conditions that will maximise the conservation and poverty impact of an increase in the community share of the gorilla permit fee – we will provide you with recommendations on these governance structures in two months.

We therefore hope that, as this is in your mandate, you will consider this request favorably so that the threats to Bwindi are minimized and the long-term conservation of the national park is secured.

Yours faithfully,

Dr Pantaleon M.B. Kasoma,

**EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

**on behalf of the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group-Uganda**

CC. Executive Director,  
Uganda Wildlife Authority.

## Annex 4 – Newspaper article



**Mary Karoro Okurut, Minister**

## Kyankwanzi retreat was perfect NRM's Valentine Day connection

Most Ugandans are now familiar with the Valentine Day. This day which is very critical for lovers world over was celebrated on the February 14, 2015 a day to the closure of the Kyankwanzi National Resistance Movement (NRM) parliamentary caucus retreat. On Valentine Day lovers or couples are supposed to retreat to some good location and use the moment to reconnect, resurrect dead feelings (if indeed the feelings are dead) and reflect on their undying love for each other and probably forge a way forward to keep the "fire" burning.

Equally so, the one week retreat of the NRM parliamentary caucus from February 7 to 15, was a kind of "Valentine Day" for the members to reconnect and reflect on the future of NRM as a ruling party. As a party in power, we needed to retreat and take stock of what has been achieved, what has not been achieved and why and then design the way forward. Several heads of various departments of government were invited to give briefs so far on the progress made and any challenges therein. Speakers from outside Uganda were also invited to give presentations. For example, Dr. Datuk Chris Tan from Indonesia presented a paper, *The Journey from Low Income to Middle Income Status, the Malaysian experience*. Professor Vincent Anigbogu from Nigeria equally made an instructive presentation: *The making of a transformational leader*. I wish these two people's presentations could be offered space in our dailies.

The immeasurable value of a retreat is that it refreshes, revitalises and gives the opportunity for more time spent in deep and interactive thinking. The purpose of the NRM retreat, was to temporarily leave behind the usual distractions we all face for a time long enough to allow relaxation and for an inner change to occur so that one can have an on-going conversion of heart that is critical to deepening the party ideology.

Contrary to what some sceptics are saying, the Kyankwanzi retreat was mainly convened to evaluate what has been achieved regarding the NRM party manifesto of 2011 but within that context of course other issues like wealth creation for out people were discussed at great length. I was highly amused to read a screaming front page headline in the our dailies; "NRM Caucus summoned to Kyankwanzi again". Again! But the Kyankwanzi retreat is annual! It is something akin to the *Barokole* (Born Again) fellowship except that the retreat is annual. The *Barokole* usually hold fellowships to renew and recommit their focus to the Almighty.

Needless to state, the NRM is the party in leadership and so it is prudent that party members retreat and boldly evaluate their performance in the last four years as the party prepares to face Ugandans to give them an account of what has been done.

Equally so, the Kyankwanzi retreat was meant to discuss the political roadmap of the party especially

now that we have new leadership. It was critical that this meeting deliberates on how the party primaries should be conducted such that we do not have a repeat of the messy primaries in some areas like it was in 2010. No doubt the party has to be very thorough this time round because it was as of the scattered bad incidents of NRM party primaries then that several NRM candidates defied the rules and stood as independents. It is these independents that this time round chose to join us in Kyankwanzi fully donned in the NRM party colours because they belong to the NRM after all.

The good news from the Kyankwanzi retreat is that members came back more resolute having reached a consensus on all contentious issues like the fate of independent MPs who might want to change to a party of their choice in the last year in parliament. Members agreed that we support the constitutional amendment to allow independent MPs join a party of their choice in the last year of their tenure in parliament. Many other critical issues were peacefully agreed upon after intense debate and as we prepare to resume parliamentary work, there is no doubt these amendments will sail through.

The party chairman, who is also the president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, took us through what had been achieved and the roadmap of finishing the unresolved business as promised in the 2011 manifesto. In his characteristic way, he passionately challenged NRM party MPs to be the vanguards to economic transformation for our rural citizens by teaching them tactical and improved farming methods. One of his points that caught people's attention was that leaders should not allow *wainchi* to be spectators; like those watching football but all Ugandans should be brought into the active circle of having wealth creation projects.

The retreat registered over 90% attendance and even some members who had skipped previous retreats (names withheld without request) were this time in attendance. Some people harzaded a guess that it was because there was a team in place! Mobilisation was good, and the general mood and discipline of members during plenary and after was excellent. There is no doubt that a new sense of harmony and direction within our party members is now back. Unlike the previous retreats where some members were unruly and at times uttering uncoordinated statements, this time round the deliberations were smooth. Many members were upbeat and vowed that the Kyankwanzi spirit would be the guiding mirror and creed to Ugandans.

As for sections of the opposition who are always playing the victim, if they can't organise themselves, let them keep agonising. They get busy shredding to bits issues in NRM instead of organizing their disorganised houses. Party cohesion in the NRM is now at one of its highest levels.

**The writer is the Minister of Gender, Labour and Social Development**



*The retreat was convened to evaluate how much the party has so far achieved*



**Anna Amumpiire**

## Expensive gorilla permit to boost locals

According to the Uganda Wildlife Policy 2014, it became clear that the Government could not exclusively conserve Uganda's wildlife. The policy observes that stakeholders can play different roles in the sustainable conservation and management of Uganda's wildlife resources. These stakeholders include local communities, private sector, and public institutions. This subsequently increased opportunities for communities who are the greatest stakeholders to engage and benefit from wildlife conservation.

Revenue sharing in the wildlife sector is a mechanism aimed at improving management and promoting cost-effective management so as to enhance communities' commitment to wildlife conservation. As part of revenue sharing, the Uganda Wildlife Act section 69 (4) provides for payment of 20% of park entry fees collected from wildlife protected areas to the local government of the area surrounding the protected area from which the fees are collected.

The premise of the revenue sharing scheme is that the shared revenues will contribute to poverty reduction and act as an incentive for participating communities to support conservation since they bear the costs of conservation. Such costs include; crop raiding, damages caused by problem animals through destruction of crops, property and human injury. Besides, it has been noted that the people living around protected areas in developing countries are often poor. Tourism revenue-sharing has funded community development projects such as construction of schools, roads and health centres and also generated employment opportunities for the local communities.

Apart from the above mentioned payment of 20% park entry fees, there is the community levy on gorilla permits of \$5 per permit sold reserved for communities adjacent to Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks (MGNP). The gorilla levy was introduced to boost the share communities around BINP and MGNP get from the prestigious gorilla tourism.

Gorilla tracking is one of the major tourist attractions at BINP which is home to almost half of the world's population of mountain gorillas and was declared a world heritage site in 1994. Gorilla tourism has been a significant tourist attraction in Uganda since 1991 and has the capacity to generate income for Uganda specifically the communities, since over 90% of BINP's tourism activities are attributed to mountain gorilla tracking.

Whereas gorilla tourism has thrived economically, there is rising unease that communities are getting a raw deal out of the gorilla tourism. In order to balance the costs and benefits of national parks, there is need to increase the community share of the gorilla permit levy. In this regard, last year, Uganda Wildlife Board of Trustees committed to increase the gorilla levy at BINP from \$5 to \$10 per permit.

By increasing the community share of the gorilla permit fee, the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) will make a significant step towards achieving the local support for the national park, which is crucial for the long-term conservation of national parks in Uganda. UWA will have demonstrated to the local people the economic importance of protecting the biodiversity. This may in turn change their attitudes and prompt support for conservation and further improve the welfare of these communities still living in poverty.

**The writer works with Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment**





The PCLG is coordinated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), one of the world's most influential policy research organisations working at the interface between development and environment.



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## **Biodiversity, Poverty**

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*Keywords:*

Ape conservation, Global Learning  
Network, Evaluation

The Poverty and Conservation Learning Group (PCLG) is an international network of organisations and individuals that promotes learning on the linkages between biodiversity conservation and poverty reduction, in order to improve policy and practice.

