

Determinants of spatial patterns of human  
activity in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park



F.M.O. Olsthoorn  
August 2017

Supervisors:

Dr. Marcus Rowcliffe (Imperial College London, Institute of Zoology)  
Dr. E.J. Milner-Gulland (University of Oxford)  
Dr. Henry Travers (University of Oxford)  
Gladys Kalema-Zikusoka (Conservation Through Public Health)

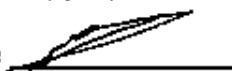
A thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master  
of Science at Imperial College London  
Submitted for the MSc in Conservation Science (CID: 00884286)



Declaration of Own Work

I declare that this thesis, "Determinants of spatial patterns of human activity in Bwindi Impenetrable National Park" is entirely my own work, and that where material could be construed as the work of others, it is fully cited and referenced, and/or with appropriate acknowledgement given.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping, sweeping strokes, positioned above a horizontal line.

## Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .....	1
KEYWORDS.....	1
INTRODUCTION .....	2
METHODS.....	5
Study area .....	5
Methodological approach.....	6
RESULTS.....	13
What are the different types of human activity taking place in BINP?.....	13
What are the levels of human activity taking place in BINP?.....	16
What factors influence human activity in BINP?.....	20
How can human activity in BINP be made more sustainable?.....	23
DISCUSSION .....	25
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	28
LITERATURE CITED.....	29
SUPPORTING INFORMATION .....	31
Appendix S1: Overview of respondent data collection: participatory mapping exercises (PMEs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) .....	31
Appendix S2: Positionality statement.....	33
Appendix S3: Ethical review process .....	34
Appendix S4: Guide for participatory mapping exercise (PME).....	35
Appendix S5: Guide for key informant interviews (KIIs).....	38
Appendix S6: Different species of resources mentioned by respondents.....	43
Appendix S7: map of compiled patrol data of 2016. Patrols took place at varying levels of efforts in various locations throughout the year. ....	43
Appendix S8: Pictures of instances of resource uses.....	44
Appendix S9: Regression models for resource use on the boundary, number of illegal trails and resource use on trails (results of negative binomial regression).....	46

Photo: Bwindi Impenetrable National Park border and tea plantation. F. Olsthoorn 2017

Word count: 6000

## List of acronyms

BDP	Batwa Development Program
BINP	Bwindi Impenetrable National Park
CTPH	Conservation Through Public Health
DBH	Diameter at breast height
GPS	Global Positioning System
ITFC	Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation
KII	Key informant interviews
MGVP	Mountain Gorilla Veterinary Project
MUZ	Multiple Use Zone
PME	Participatory mapping exercise
QGIS	Quantum Geographic Information System
URP	Uplift the Rural Poor
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

## Acknowledgments

I thank Dr. E.J. Milner-Gulland for accepting me as a student to work on this project and for her perceptive and insightful guidance. I thank Dr. Marcus Rowcliffe for accepting to supervise this project and for his patient and devoted guidance. I thank Dr. Henry Travers for his tireless efforts in creating the best conditions possible for fieldwork, his valuable guidance and his excellent company.

I thank Gladys Kalema-Zikusoka for her guidance, advice and encouragements in preparation of and during my project and for hosting me at CTPH in Entebbe and at the Gorilla Conservation Camp in Buhoma. I thank Rose Mugide and Richard Bagyenyei for providing logistical support, Amy and Shaban for welcoming me in Uganda and in their home, Alex Ngabirano and Enos Nahabwe for going out of their way to help me during fieldwork, Solomon Ngabirano for his daily support and for being an amazing host, cook and bird guide at the Gorilla Conservation Camp, and Apophia, Naomi, Thomas and Saul for their daily help at the Camp.

I thank the Uganda Wildlife Authority for giving permission to carry out fieldwork, I thank Raymond Kato for his support during the research and Samsom Luanga, for being a devoted researcher and not missing a single day during the long forest surveys.

I thank of course my field assistant Christopher Byaruhanga without whom this project would not have been possible. I thank all the UWA respondents and resident respondents for taking the time to share their thoughts with me, their participation was invaluable to this project.

I thank Moses Musiimenta for his logistical support and for being a safe motorcycle rider, I thank Richard from ITFC for driving us safely and tracking us down after forest surveys.

I thank Dr. Julia Baker for all her advice on conducting research in Uganda, devoting her time to help me and putting me in touch with valuable connections. I thank Dr. Medard Twinamatsiko for providing me with insights on conducting social research in Bwindi and Prof. Robert Bitariho for his advice on MUZs, I thank Dr. William Olupot for taking time to write and meet me to give advice on conducting forest surveys in Bwindi. I thank Mariel Harrison for her advice on conducting research in Bwindi. I thank Andrew Kirkby for his advice on finding shapefiles for GIS. I thank Dr. Andrew Knight for his tips on analysing social data. I thank Ans Vercammen for her help in statistics

I thank Victoria Griffiths for advising me on conducting social research in Uganda. I thank Dr. Jamie Samson for his help in statistics. I thank the whole ICCS team in Oxford for warmly welcoming me and supporting me in writing up the project.

I thank my friends for keeping me virtual company during fieldwork and providing continuous moral support, listening to endless stories about slippery terrain and data analysis. I look up to and thank my mother, my brother and my grandparents for being sources of inspiration to me and unconditionally and continually supporting me in every way possible, they are the reason I can pursue a career in a field I love and I am eternally grateful for that.

I thank Imperial College London and the Darwin Initiative for funding this project.

1 **ABSTRACT**

2 As protected area (PA) management goals are shifting from strict protection to sustainable  
3 management (McShane & Wells 2004; Brockington & Igoe 2006), measuring the threat  
4 status of PAs has become crucial to assess the effectiveness of these management  
5 strategies (Salafsky & Margoluis 1999). One of these threats is human activity, including  
6 access and resource use. In this study I examined the types, levels and four observable  
7 factors that influence human activity in Bwindi Impenetrable Park by combining respondent  
8 data (participatory mapping exercises and key informant interviews) with observational data  
9 (surveys carried out on the boundary of BINP and existing ranger patrol data). The four  
10 factors are (1) variance of elevation (2) legal trails, a proxy for ranger activity (3) presence  
11 of Mauritius thorn, a shrub planted at the boundary to prevent animals from crop raiding (4)  
12 the presence of Multiple Use Zone, areas where residents can access resources legally.  
13 Combining results from the different data sources, it is apparent that wood and bushmeat  
14 are the most extracted resources from the Park, and collection of medicinal and edible  
15 plants, weaving materials, honey, water and grazing also take place. Forest surveys, which  
16 allowed to quantify mostly wood-based resource extraction showed a frequency of 11  
17 resource use instances per km on the boundary, 10.5 trails per km on the boundary with  
18 71 instances of resource use per km trail, Regression analysis of the four above-mentioned  
19 factors showed that resource extraction on the boundary was inversely correlated with the  
20 presence of legal trails ( $p=0.022$ ) and also negatively associated with Mauritius thorn  
21 ( $p=0.053$ ), which calls for more attention of these factors in future management practices.  
22 Respondent data showed discrepancies between solutions proposed by respondents  
23 (more park benefits) and authorities (more awareness on existing benefits), which calls for  
24 better tailoring of interventions involving local residents.

25 **KEYWORDS**

26 mixed method, mountain gorillas, natural resource use, poverty, protected area  
27 management, tropical forest, Uganda

## 28 INTRODUCTION

29 PA management is shifting from traditional fortress conservation to more inclusive  
30 approaches combining conservation and development, with the goal to achieve sustainable  
31 management (McShane & Wells 2004; Brockington & Igoe 2006). Measuring the threat  
32 status of protected areas is crucial to assess the effectiveness of these management  
33 strategies (Margoluis & Salafsky 1998; Babu & Reidhead 2000; Hockings 2003). One of  
34 these threats is human activity (legal or illegal access and resource use), however, it can  
35 be difficult to measure, especially when it is illegal or sensitive (Nuno & St. John 2014). In  
36 this paper I use a mixed-method approach to measure levels of human activity in Bwindi  
37 Impenetrable National Park (BINP) to draw recommendations on its management.

38

39 Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is one of the most biodiverse places in Uganda and it  
40 harbours half of the world's population of mountain gorillas (*Gorilla beringei beringei*)  
41 (Robbins et al. 2011). It was gazetted as a National Park in 1991 and made a UNESCO  
42 World Heritage Site in 1994 (UWA 2014). However, the strict protection of the forest has  
43 created many conflicts with the residents of surrounding areas who depend on forest  
44 resources. As a result, resource extraction by residents has continued illegally (Wild &  
45 Mutebi 1996; Baker et al. 2012). The Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), which is responsible  
46 for the management of BINP, implements a programme of law enforcement through ranger  
47 patrols and a number of interventions that are meant to improve residents' attitudes and  
48 reduce dependence on forest resources. These include (1) the employment of residents as  
49 a ranger or porter (2) the sharing of revenue from gorilla permits and park entrance fees to  
50 fund development projects for residents surrounding the park (3) the establishment of  
51 Multiple Resource Use Zones (MUZ) in which residents with permits are granted access to  
52 extract medicinal plants, basketry materials and honey on a limited amount of days per  
53 year, accompanied by rangers (4) the mitigation of human-wildlife conflict through the  
54 training of Human-Gorilla guards (HUGOs) who chase away gorillas that raid crops and the  
55 planting of Mauritius thorn (*Caesalpinia decapetala*) along the park boundary, a thorny bush



56 that, once it is fully grown, is supposed to prevent animals from coming out of the park to  
57 village land to raid crops (UWA 2014). A range of NGOs also implement conservation  
58 activities relating to human health and development, e.g. Uplift the Rural Poor (URP) and  
59 the Batwa Development Program (BDP), activities relating to conservation, e.g. the  
60 Mountain Gorilla Veterinary Project (MGVP) and integrated conservation and development,  
61 e.g. Conservation Through Public Health (CTPH) (Baker et al. 2013; UWA 2014).

62

63 Previous studies using observational data (Olupot et al. 2009) and respondent data (e.g.  
64 Harrison et al. 2015) have shown that despite law enforcement and community-based  
65 interventions, dependence on forest resources including poaching, wood harvesting, plant  
66 collection and the creation of illegal access routes remains high. Building on these previous  
67 efforts, I aim to draw a complete picture of human activity by combining different  
68 data sources to draw recommendations on rendering human activity more sustainable in  
69 BINP by answering the following questions:

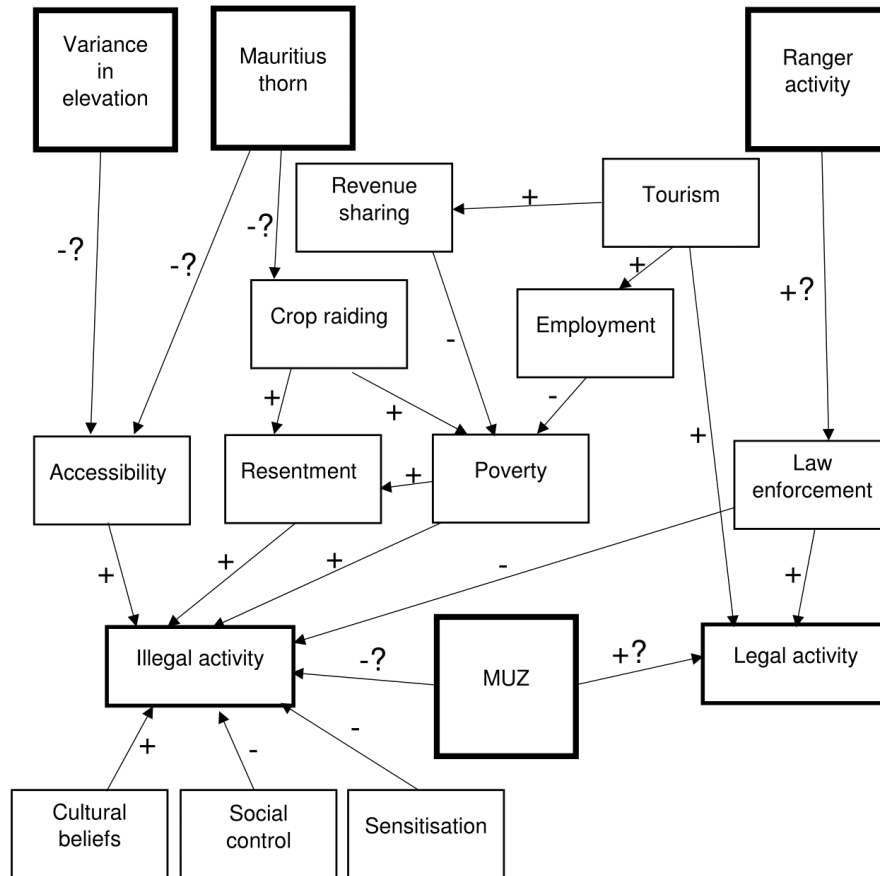
70 (1) What are the different types of human activity taking place in BINP?

71 (2) What are the levels of human activity taking place in BINP?

72 (3) What factors influence human activity and resource use in BINP?

73 (4) How can human activity in BINP be made more sustainable?

74 For my third research question, I chose four factors that I hypothesised could influence  
75 human activity and that can be drawn from both respondent and observational data to  
76 allow comparison (Figure 1).



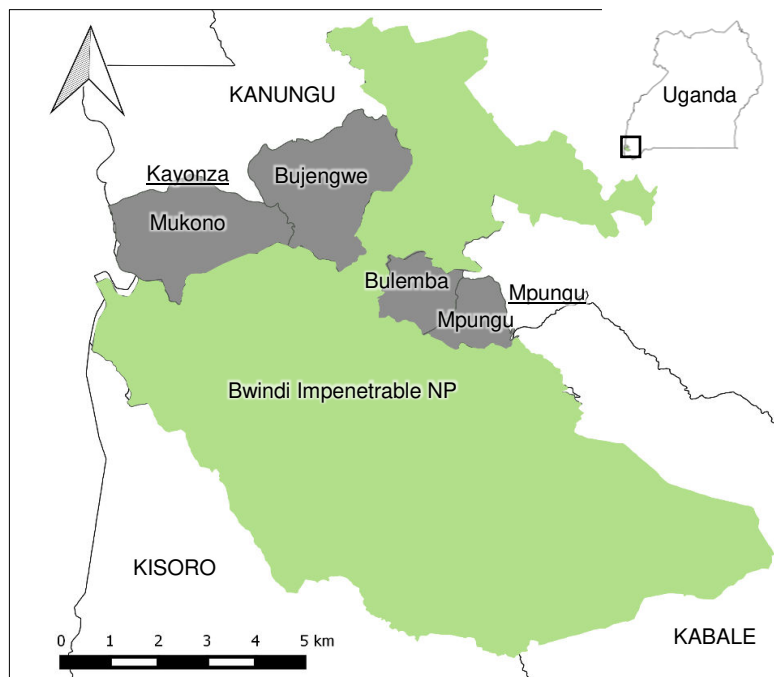
77 **Figure 1:** A conceptual framework on factors that influence human activity in BINP. Factors  
 78 that have previously shown to influence human activity in BINP by Harrison et al (2015),  
 79 are integrated with four observable factors that I assessed in this study as a means to test  
 80 whether the combination of observational data and respondent data can increase our  
 81 understanding of human activity These are variance of elevation, presence of Maruitius  
 82 thorn, ranger activity and presence of a Multiple Use Zone (MUZ). The arrows represent  
 83 the direction of the relationships I hypothesise and are further explained in Table 1b.

84 **METHODS**

85 This study is in compliance with the ethics requirements of Imperial College London and  
86 was undertaken with permission of the Uganda Wildlife Authority (see Supporting  
87 Information).

88 **Study area**

89 Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is situated in the Southwest of Uganda, bordering the  
90 Democratic Republic of the Congo (0°53' to 1°8' South; 29°35' to 29°53' East). It covers 321  
91 km<sup>2</sup> and is one of the few extended areas of Afromontane forest on the African continent.  
92 With its altitude ranging between 1990 and 2607 meters, it is a combination of medium  
93 altitude moist forest and high altitude forest (UWA 2014). It forms a significant part of the  
94 Albertine Rift ecosystem and harbours exceptional biodiversity, including half of the entire  
95 population of the critically endangered mountain gorilla (*Gorilla beringei beringei*) (UWA  
96 2014) .



97 **Figure 2:** Study area: Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda

98 The park is spread over the Kabale, Kanungu and Kisoro districts of Uganda. The park is  
99 surrounded by 21 parishes – with around 10 villages in each parish, which are among the  
100 poorest and most highly populated in the country (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016). The

101 main ethnic group is the Bakiga. The Bakiga live in villages and each village has an elected  
102 chair who is responsible for liaising with the government and other authorities. All Bakiga  
103 adults are part of one of the stretchers groups in the village, a locally-led governance system  
104 with by-laws which was originally created for local health care and insurance (Katarwa  
105 1999) but have evolved to include conservation education and sometimes a fining system  
106 for trespassers to BINP (C. Byaruhanga, personal communication). There is also a Batwa  
107 minority, former forest dwellers who were evicted after gazettement of the park and now  
108 live in settlements surrounding the park (Wild & Mutebi 1996). The study took place in  
109 Kanungu district, in two parishes in Kayonza subcounty, Mukono and Bujengwe, and two  
110 parishes in the Mpungu subcounty, Bulemba and Mpungu (Figure 2)

111 .

## 112 **Methodological approach**

113 We used a mixed method approach, collecting observational and respondent data to  
114 answer the research questions outlined in the introduction (also see Table 1a). Respondent  
115 data collection consisted of examining patrol data from 2016 and conducting participatory  
116 mapping exercises (PMEs) with residents and key informant interviews (KIIs) with leaders  
117 among the resident population and UWA members. The aim of KIIs and PMEs was to obtain  
118 data on the different types of human activities that take place in the park, different deterring  
119 and inciting factors of these activities and possible solutions to make human activity more  
120 sustainable. Observational data collection consisted of conducting forest surveys on the  
121 village-park boundary of BINP, with the purpose of quantifying and mapping human activity  
122 (trails and instances of resource use) and four different observable factors that might impact  
123 them. A summary of these observable factors along with the hypotheses for each can be  
124 found in Table 1b. The mixed method approach allowed me to compare the results  
125 generated from the two sources of data to build a clearer picture of human activity in the  
126 park.

127

128 **Table 1a:** Methods of analysis for each research subject, derived from the four research  
 129 questions

Subject	Method	
	<i>Respondent data</i>	<i>Observational data</i>
(1) Types of human activity	Types of human activity as mentioned by respondents	-
(2) Levels of human activity	Frequency of mention of different resources	Average resource density Average trail density Unit of measurement: - Boundary segment
(3) Four factors that impact human activity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ranger activity</li> <li>• Mauritius thorn</li> <li>• Variance of elevation</li> <li>• MUZ</li> </ul>	Mention of these factors by respondents	Three regression models: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resource use on the boundary</li> <li>- Amount of trails by residents</li> <li>- Resource use on trails</li> <li>- Predictor variables*:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ranger activity</li> <li>• Mauritius thorn</li> <li>• Variance of elevation</li> <li>• MUZ</li> </ul> </li> </ul> Unit of measurement: - Boundary segment
(4) Recommendations	Recommendations as mentioned by respondents	Recommendations based on factors that influence human activities

130 \*see Table 1b for hypotheses

131

132 **Table 1b:** Variables that are hypothesized to have an impact on the level of human  
 133 activity

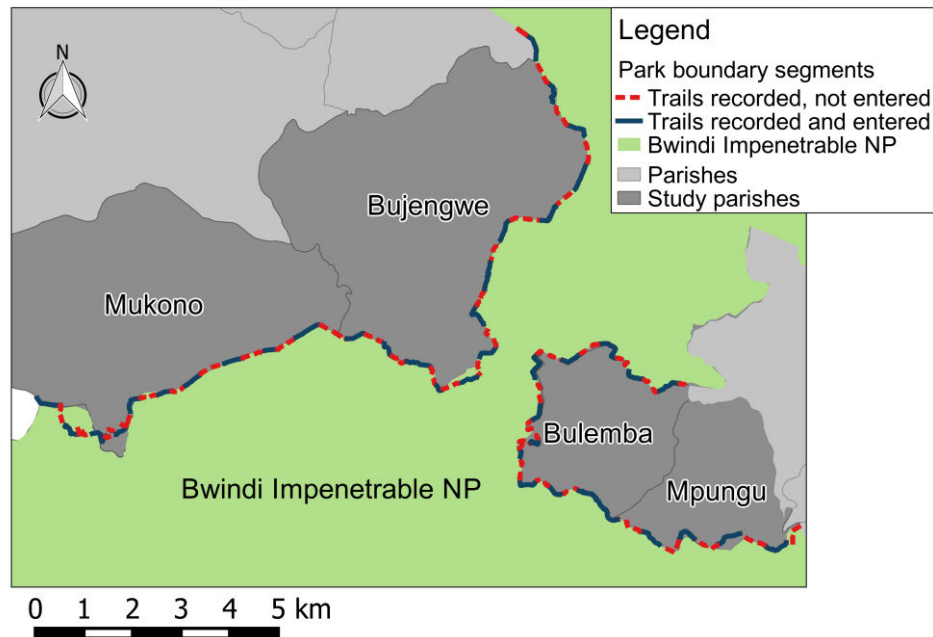
Variable	Measurement	Hypothesis	Explanation
Ranger activity	Presence –absence of legal trails	Illegal activity lower in areas with ranger activity	Fear of arrest has been shown to be a deterring factor for residents to enter the park (Harrison et al. 2015)
Mauritius thorn	Presence absence of successful Mauritius thorn (higher than 1.5 meters)	Illegal activity lower in areas with successful Mauritius thorn	Successful Mauritius thorn could impede access to the park or reduce resentment towards the park, reducing illegal activities
Variance of elevation	Variance of elevation	Illegal activities lower in areas with large variance of elevation	Steep terrain could impede access to the park
Multiple Resource Use Zone (MUZ)	Presence of MUZ	Activities lower in area with MUZ	MUZs were established to make resource use more sustainable (Wild & Mutebi 1996)

134

135

136 ***Collection and analysis of observational data***

137 I used two sources of observational data, existing patrol data and forest surveys. For the  
138 forest surveys, we first performed a pilot on 26 May in Karangara parish and we performed  
139 the forest surveys for the research over 15 days between 30 May and 5 July 2017, with a  
140 team of four (two UWA rangers, one field assistant and I). This consisted of walking along  
141 the entire boundary of Mpungu, Bulemba, Mukono and Bujengwe parishes, a total of  
142 42181 m. The unit of measurement were boundary segments. I divided the boundary into  
143 a total of 81 segments of approximately 600m, stratified by parish, by tracking the distance  
144 travelled on a handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) device (Garmin GPSMAP 64S).  
145 We recorded every trail along the boundary, and carried out sampling along all trails in  
146 every other segment. We measured the length of each trail with a tape roll and followed for  
147 300 m or, if shorter than 300 m, until the end of the trail. I chose 300 m as a previous study  
148 has shown that most resource use takes place between the boundary and 300 m into the  
149 park (Olupot et al. 2009) (Figure 3). We recorded all instances of resource use along the  
150 whole boundary and also on trails in every other segment. These included cut timber  
151 (indicated by cutting of large trees – estimated diameter at breast height (edbh) >30cm),  
152 cutting of poles (trees or branches edbh 5-30 cm), cut firewood (indicated by cutting of dry  
153 trees or branches), cutting of saplings (edbh <5 cm), cut lianas, grazing (indicated by  
154 trampled vegetation, livestock and/or their dung), active snare, water collection (indicated  
155 by the presence of a container next to a water source or a pipe placed in the water to aid  
156 water collection or drinking livestock), honey collection (indicated by a burnt hollow branch  
157 or trunk) and plant collection (indicated by removal of the part of a plant e.g. the bark of a  
158 tree). We did not record cuttings that were not removed from the forest as we considered it  
159 was not used as a resource, nor cuttings older than 10 years (estimated from tump decay)  
160 due to difficulties with evaluating whether an old stump is cut or broken.



162 **Figure 3:** *Observational data collection method. We walked and recorded trails along the*  
 163 *entire boundary and entered trails along every other boundary segment as shown on the*  
 164 *map.*

165 Legal trails were identified with the help of the present rangers and included trails made by  
 166 or with the authorisation of UWA for the purpose of crossing, gorilla tracking, tourism or  
 167 research, We labelled every trail that did not fall into these categories as illegal. We  
 168 continually estimated the height of Mauritius thorn along the boundary and took waypoints  
 169 at the start and the end of zones with Mauritius thorn higher than 1.5 meters. I calculated  
 170 variance of elevation for every segment from the elevation of all waypoints taken within a  
 171 segment. I obtained information on the location of MUZs from the paper of Bitariho et al.  
 172 (2016). I compiled GPS waypoint data in Microsoft Excel 2016. I produced maps and length  
 173 measurements of boundary segments with Quantum Geographic Information System  
 174 (QGIS), version 2.8.2. I produced graphs with IBM SPSS Statistics version 24. I performed  
 175 statistical analysis with R version 3.4.0 (R Core Team 2017). I did group comparisons using  
 176 Wilcoxon rank sum and Kruskal-Wallis tests for counts of resource use and trails. The count



177 data of resource use and trails had an over dispersed distribution (variance larger than  
178 mean). I performed regression analysis with three negative binomial generalized linear  
179 models using the MASS package (Venables & Ripley 2002) (Table 1). The independent  
180 variables for each of the models were presence of multiple resource zone, presence of  
181 successful Mauritius thorn, variance of elevation (steepness of terrain), presence of legal  
182 trails (ranger activity) and an offset for segment length, as not all segments had the same  
183 length due to imperfect recording by the GPS.

184

185 I obtained patrol data of 2016 from the UWA warden for Monitoring and Research at BINP.  
186 As I did not obtain information on the effort and detailed methods of patrols, I used this data  
187 by drawing proportions of each type of resource use from the total amount of recordings  
188 and by mapping it for visual inspection.

### 189 **Collection and analysis of respondent data**

190 I carried out 20 participatory mapping exercises (PMEs) with residents, 16 key informant  
191 interviews (KIIs) with residents and 4 KIIs with UWA staff members between 29 May and 7  
192 July 2017, preceded by a pilot on 25 May 2017 in Karangara parish. I led the PMEs and  
193 KIIs with residents in English, respondents spoke Rukiga and my field assistant did live  
194 English-Rukiga and Rukiga-English translation. I conducted KIIs with UWA staff members  
195 in English. I recorded and transcribed all PMEs and KIIs in English. An overview of the  
196 sampling protocol, the PMEs and KIIs we conducted, my positionality statement following  
197 the methods of Savin-Baden & Major (2012) and the PME and KII guides can be found in  
198 the Supporting Information.

### 199 ***Participatory mapping exercises (PME)***

200 I randomly selected a village in each of the four parishes of the study area where we  
201 conducted a PME with Bakiga men, women and mixed-sex stretcher groups. In Mpungu,  
202 we also conducted a PME with Bakiga men and women who were part of the MUZ

203 programme. Additionally, we conducted PME in the three Batwa settlements in the study  
204 area, one with men and one with women.

205 ***Key informant interviews (KII)***

206 We conducted KIIs in the four villages with the village chairman, a stretcher group chairman  
207 and the HUGO chairman where HUGOs were present (Mukono and Bujengwe). We also  
208 conducted KIIs with the leaders of the three Batwa settlements. Finally, I conducted KIIs  
209 with four UWA wardens, two UWA rangers and one former UWA ranger, all in English. I  
210 analysed the PMEs and KIIs using a 6-step thematic analysis following the methods of  
211 Braun & Clarke (2008) using NVivo Starter software, version 11.

## 212 **RESULTS**

### 213 **What are the different types of human activity taking place in BINP?**

#### 214 ***Illegal activities***

215 The management plan of BINP states that no harvesting by residents is permitted outside  
216 of MUZs (UWA 2014). The resources that are harvested illegally as mentioned by  
217 respondents are outlined below.

#### 218 Trees

219 Many local resources are derived from wood. Firewood and charcoal serve as fuel for  
220 cooking and baking bricks. Residents use timber from pit sawn trees to build houses and  
221 make doors, furniture, beer boats – tubs used to make banana beer – and coffins. Middle-  
222 sized trees form building poles and saplings, which are used as walking sticks and as stakes  
223 for climbing beans, a common crop in the area. Trees are also ground into medicine. A few  
224 residents own eucalyptus and pine tree plantations but trees from the park are more  
225 abundant and considered to be of better quality. Although not a tangible resource, in half of  
226 the KIIs and PMEs, respondents indicated that the park or trees in general have a role in  
227 climate regulation, providing shelter from the wind, rain formation and/or shade provision.

#### 228 Animals

229 Animal harvesting consists of hunting and fishing. Hunting happens with spears and dogs  
230 or by laying snares. Bushmeat and fish are not only appreciated for their superior taste but  
231 also for their medicinal properties. As the animals in the forest feed on medicinal plants,  
232 their flesh is believed to be more nutritious, thus curing and strengthening people.

#### 233 Weaving materials

234 Weaving materials include sedges to make mats for drying crops and different vines to braid  
235 baskets used for crop collection, storage and eating. Sedges can be found on village land  
236 but most basketry materials come from BINP.

237 Medicinal plants

238 Medicinal plants are made from the roots, stems or leaves of certain herbaceous plants,  
239 shrubs or trees. People use them to treat a wide array of conditions from intestinal worms,  
240 toothaches and eye problems to more serious conditions like pneumonia, malaria, cervical  
241 cancer and evil spirits. Although most residents know the basic medicinal plants, there are  
242 specialists who know where to find different medicinal plants in the park. Some medicinal  
243 plants can be found on village land and are used for first aid and emergencies, most  
244 medicinal plants are in BINP however. Some are abundant and near the edge, but others  
245 are more scarce and require hours of searching in the park. Although some diseases are  
246 treated in hospitals, others are specifically treated with medicinal plants.

247 Honey

248 Forest honey from BINP is harvested in two ways: wild honey from hollow trunks and  
249 stingless bee honey from the ground. Wild honey is used to treat burns, fractures, lung and  
250 throat problems and ulcers.

251 Water

252 Water from streams that run through BINP is used for consumption, washing livestock or  
253 letting livestock drink and washing clothes.

254 ***Legal activities***

255 Legal activities include extracting resources from the MUZ in the presence of UWA rangers,  
256 and any other entrance to the park by or in the presence of rangers that is authorised by  
257 UWA.

258 Multiple Use Zones (MUZ)

259 There is one MUZ in the study area where, under a temporary Memorandum of  
260 Understanding (MoU), village residents with permits, MUZ users, can extract a limited  
261 amount of medicinal plants and weaving materials in the company of rangers from a list of  
262 species created by UWA and ITFC (Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation). The MUZ  
263 user respondents said the list of resources included some but not all important resources.  
264 Notably, baskets for plucking tea – the most important cash crop in the area - are woven  
265 from slow growing vines and are therefore not in the agreement. UWA sets predetermined  
266 MUZ harvest days and can grant additional days on demand.

267 Tourism, patrolling and research

268 UWA carries out tourism activities in the form of guided hikes and gorilla tracking through  
269 the park. A group of trackers locates habituated gorilla groups in the park every day by  
270 following ranger trails and cutting their way through the park to follow gorilla tracks (personal  
271 observation). Habituated gorilla groups can be visited by one group of tourists per day.  
272 UWA respondents indicated that patrols happen daily at random predetermined points in  
273 the forest. The coverage of each patrol depends on a schedule with predetermined  
274 locations to patrol and the availability of rangers on that day. Occasionally, rangers on patrol  
275 camp in the park. Research on water monitoring, climate change and mammals is carried  
276 out by UWA and additional research takes place in collaboration with universities and NGOs  
277 including for example ITFC and CTPH.

278

279 **What are the levels of human activity taking place in BINP?**

280 ***Trails***

281 The average density of trails originating from the boundary was 10.5 trails per kilometre  
282 (SD=11.2). This includes legal trails, however almost all of the trails we encountered were  
283 illegal trails (Figure 4 a and b). Legal trails were wider and easier to access than illegal trails  
284 as they were well maintained with cuttings of vegetation on the side. There was no  
285 significant difference in trail density in the different subcounties (Wilcoxon rank sum,  
286  $W=838$ ,  $p=0.605$ ) or parishes (Kruskal-Wallis,  $X^2=4.214$ ,  $p=0.239$ ).

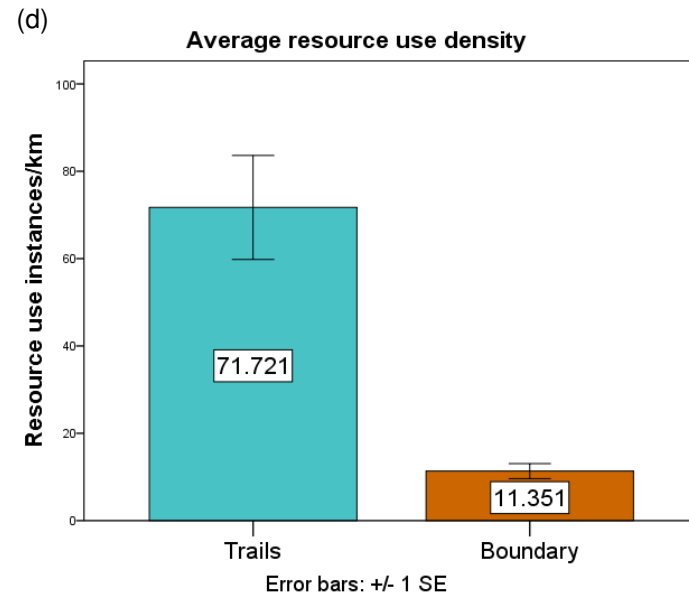
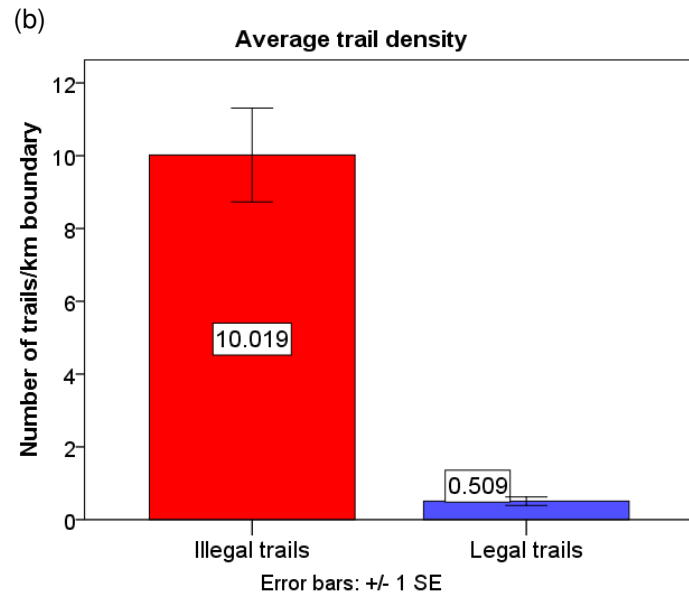
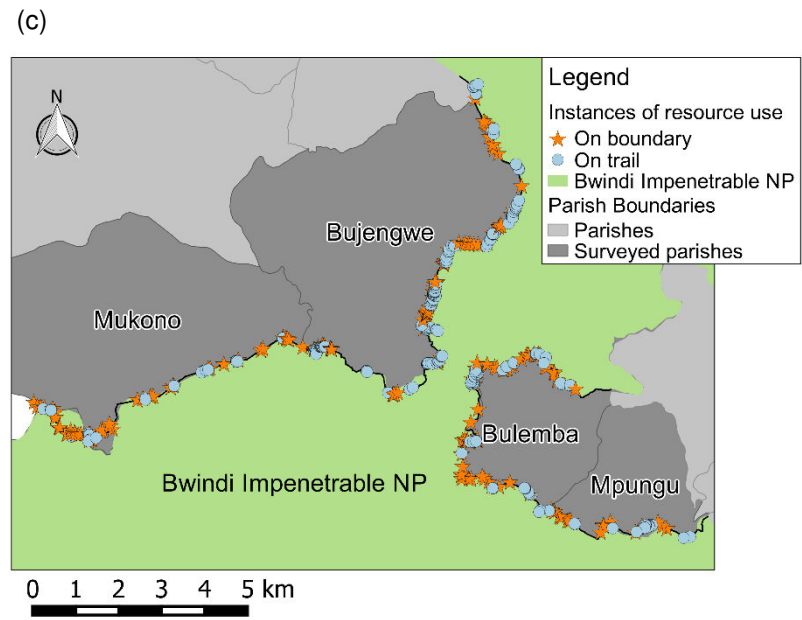
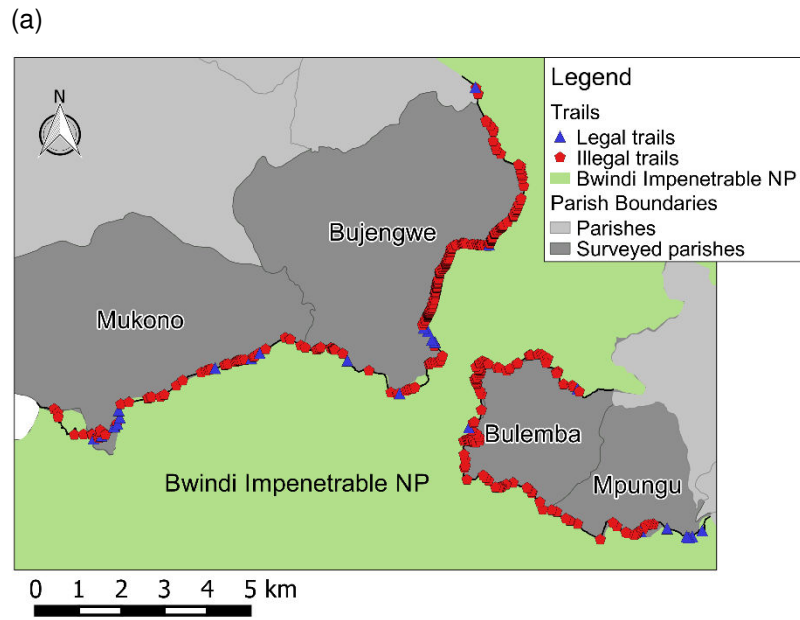
287 ***Resource use***

288 The density of instances of resource use was almost seven times higher on trails than on  
289 the park-village boundary (see Figure 4 c and d). Instances of resource use took place on  
290 both legal and illegal trails and were typically clustered. There was no significant difference  
291 of resource use on the boundary in subcounties (Wilcoxon rank sum,  $W=674$ ,  $p=0.287$ ) or  
292 parishes (Kruskal-Wallis,  $X^2=4.95$ ,  $p=0.177$ ), nor for resource use on the trails for subcounty  
293 (Wilcoxon rank sum,  $W=214.5$ ,  $p=0.543$ ) or parishes (Kruskal-Wallis,  $X^2=2.1306$ ,  $p=0.344$ ).

294

295 When looking at each resource separately (

296 Table 2 and Supporting Information for specific species mentioned, pictures of resource  
297 use instances and a map of patrol data), a large majority of the resource uses we  
298 encountered was cut wood and this was also the resource that respondents mentioned  
299 most often. For the remainder of the resources there is some discrepancy between the  
300 respondent and observational data. Grazing was the second most frequently observed  
301 resource use in forest surveys and was also found on patrols but respondents did not  
302 mention it. The distribution of grazing sites was patchy, with one large patch in the North of  
303 Bujengwe parish. We observed severe trampling along the boundary and on trails as well  
304 as a heard of livestock in the park (see pictures in Supporting Information).



306 **Figure 4: Density of trails and resource use instances**

307 (a) Map of illegal and legal trails originating from the park-village boundary (b) Density of illegal and legal trails (c) Map of resource use density  
308 on the park-village boundary and on trails originating from the park-village boundary (d) Density of resource use instances on the park-village  
309 boundary (instances of resource use per km boundary) on and on trails (instances of resource use per km trail).



310

311 **Table 2: Results on frequency of resource use from observational and respondent data**

	Observational data		Respondent data	
	Forest surveys		Patrol data	
	Density of resource use on boundary (resource use/km boundary)	Density of resource use on trails (resource use/km trail)	Percentage of total observations	Frequency of respondents mentioning the resource
Wood	20.431	95.313		
<i>Firewood</i>	10.331	52.478		
<i>Sapling</i>	4.724	18.966		
<i>Pole</i>	4.396	20.964	14%	Very frequently
<i>Timber</i>	0.183	0.642		
<i>Charcoal</i>	0.051	0.341		
<i>Beer boat</i>	0.033	0.070		
Animal protein	0.019	0.139		
<i>Bushmeat</i>	0.019	0.139	82%	Very frequently
<i>Fish</i>	-	-	0%	
Weaving materials	0.255	0.890	0.5%	Frequently
Medicinal plants	0.036	0.174	0%	Frequently
Honey	0.033	0.070	0.5%	Sometimes
Water	0.148	0.473		
<i>Water collection</i>	0.107	0.372	0%	Sometimes
<i>Livestock drinking</i>	0.041	0.101		
Edible plants	-	-		Sometimes
Grazing	0.957	3.281	3%	Never

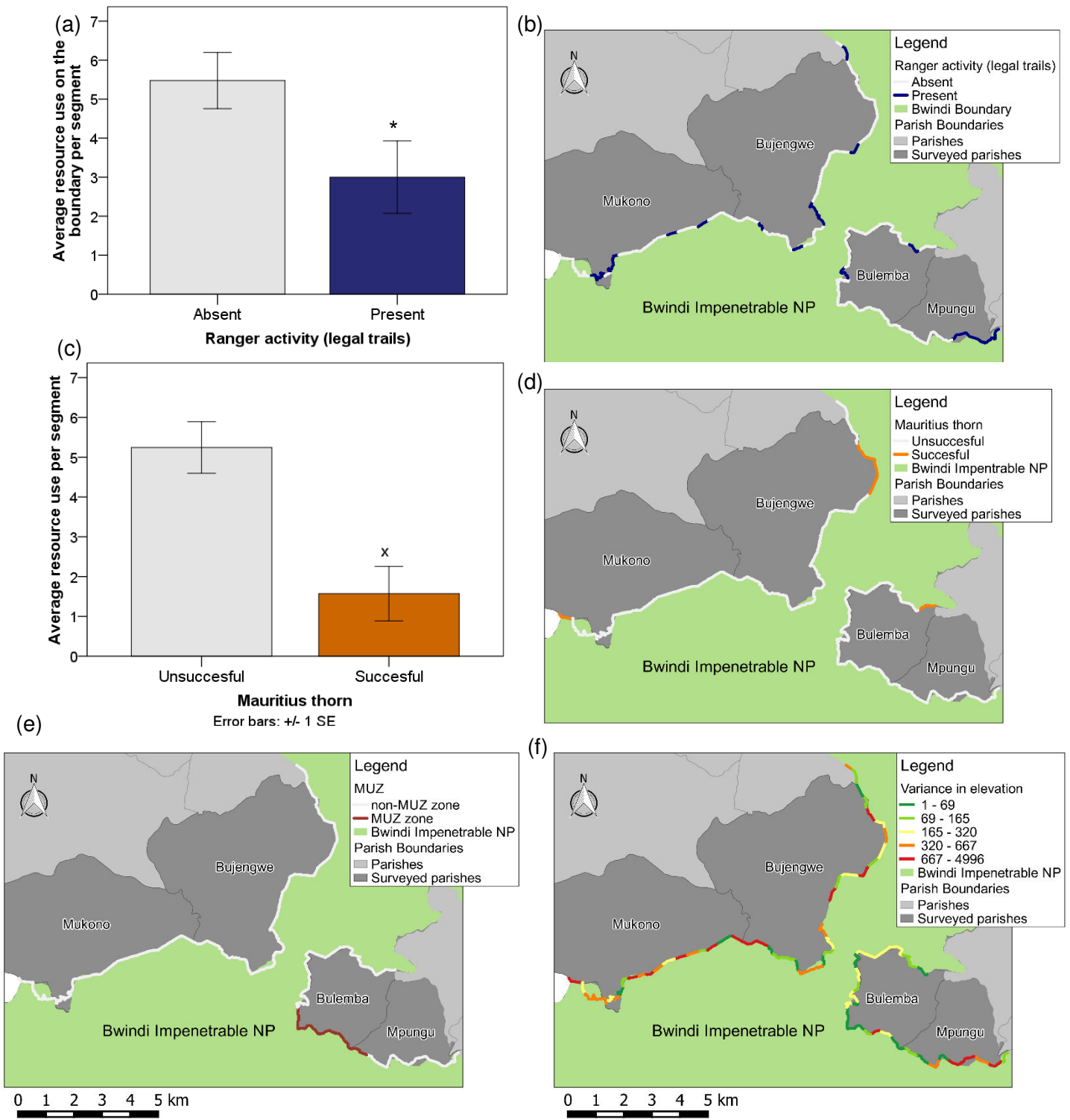
312

313 Harvesting of animals was only observed at an extremely low density in our forest surveys  
314 but respondents mentioned it the second most frequently as a harvested resource. It was  
315 the most commonly encountered resource in the 2016 ranger patrols and as they took place  
316 further away from the boundary than our forest surveys, this is an indication that poaching  
317 takes place deeper in the park. The other resources that the respondents said are  
318 harvested from the forest (namely weaving materials, medicinal plants, honey, water and  
319 edible plants) were only observed at a low density during the surveys and patrols. Pictures  
320 of resource uses can be found in the Supporting Information.

### 321 **What factors influence human activity in BINP?**

#### 322 ***Ranger activity***

323 Ranger activity, represented by the presence of legal trails on a given boundary segment,  
324 had a significant negative effect on the number of instances of resource use on the  
325 boundary ( $B = -0.723$ ,  $p = 0.022$ ) (Figure 5a). We recorded ranger activity in a quarter of the  
326 boundary segments (Figure 5b). Respondents mentioned ranger activity as a deterring  
327 factor in a majority of the PME and KII and it was often residents' first response when  
328 asked why they restrain from entering BINP. They mentioned they fear the presence of  
329 rangers and getting killed, arrested or fined by rangers and mentioned anecdotes of  
330 residents who got arrested and sent to prison to emphasise their point. One male Bakiga  
331 resident in a leader position said: "There is a case of a person who one time was a poacher  
332 and he went to the forest and he killed a yellow-backed duiker (...) and (...) was fined  
333 heavily and from there people have feared the forest".



334

335 **Figure 5** (a) Resource use on boundary vs ranger activity ( $p=0.022$ ) (b) Map of segments  
 336 with ranger activity (c) Resource use on boundary vs Mauritius thorn ( $p=0.053$ ) (d) Map of  
 337 segments with successful Mauritius thorn locations (e) Map of boundary segments with  
 338 MUZ (f) Map of variance of elevation per segment

339 ***Mauritius thorn***

340 The presence of successful Mauritius thorn (higher than 1.5 meters) was associated with  
341 lower resource use on the boundary ( $B=-1.084$ ,  $p=0.053$ ) (Figure 5c). Only 8.5% of the total  
342 boundary we covered had successful Mauritius thorn (Figure 5d). Some mentioned the  
343 benefits of Mauritius thorn, others complained about the poor management of the Mauritius  
344 thorn project. One male Batwa resident said it “lacked manure and proper management”

345 ***Elevation***

346 Variance of elevation in a given segment (Figure 5f) did not have an effect on the amount  
347 of activity in that segment. Terrain was also not directly mentioned as a deterring factor by  
348 respondents although they mentioned that it is younger men who go into the forest as it is  
349 physically challenging.

350 ***Multiple Use Zones (MUZ)***

351 The amount of resource use and illegal trails was not significantly different in the MUZ zone  
352 (Figure 5g), also not after excluding the authorised resource uses within the MUZ  
353 agreement (medicinal plants and basketry materials) from the total resource use on  
354 boundary and on trails. A group comparison of the number of harvested medicinal plants  
355 and basketry materials within and outside the MUZ also did not reveal differences in harvest  
356 levels, neither on the boundary (Wilcoxon rank sum.  $W=289$ ,  $p=0.0912$ ), nor on trails  
357 (Wilcoxon rank sum  $W=95$ ,  $p=0.531$ ). The MUZ users stated that the amount of resources  
358 they were authorised to harvest under the agreement was insufficient to supply the local  
359 population with medicine, and finished baskets and mats.

360

361 **How can human activity in BINP be made more sustainable?**

362 ***Solutions from residents***

363 Residents often pointed to the problem of the lack of alternative resources as a reason for  
364 resorting to using resources from the park. Respondent residents were eager to establish  
365 more MUZs in collaboration with UWA. Another solution that was mentioned was that UWA  
366 provide seedlings of edible and medicinal plants from the park so that they can be  
367 domesticated and grown on village land. Finally, respondents would like to see an increase  
368 in their income so that they can afford buying finished products from an alternative source.  
369 In the residents' opinion, this money should come from either fundraising, the increased  
370 provision of employment or improved revenue sharing from tourist incomes. When asked  
371 what the barrier is to establishing these solutions, the answer residents gave related to  
372 UWA failing to receive requests or rejecting requests.

373 ***Solutions from UWA staff***

374 Two UWA staff members pointed out the need to manage the risks from both legal and  
375 illegal use of BINP, saying that tourism and the associated developments need to be  
376 continually assessed for their sustainability. The remaining of the UWA staff put emphasis  
377 on solutions for illegal resource use. Opinions on increased law enforcement as a solution  
378 were divided, some advocated for it but others were of the opinion it would not necessarily  
379 be effective: "Patrols (...) to me it does not help, because people (...) know where patrols  
380 are (...). Let them know the value of this forest and alternatives. Some of these resources  
381 should be propagated outside in the farmlands. If a tree has medicinal importance, where  
382 can they put it in their [land]" A solution that had undivided support was raising awareness  
383 to help residents understand the connection between the conservation of BINP and the  
384 benefits that it brings. Some pointed toward the need of increasing these benefits, notably  
385 from tourism: either from the revenue sharing scheme that can be used to create projects  
386 like the domestication of wild resources and providing livestock, or the increase of individual  
387 benefits in terms of increased business and employment opportunities. One said: "If (...)

388 the park management can always consider people who are adjacent to the park, people  
389 who could do (...) illegal activities, to consider them when they are recruiting rangers and  
390 guides (...) [from] each parish which is connected with the park.” Although some staff  
391 members saw it as the task of UWA itself to upscale these benefits, others were of the  
392 opinion that the residents were the limiting factor to the success of programmes meant to  
393 increase benefits. One said “the communities their expectations, we have a program called  
394 revenue sharing to address some of their needs but sometimes the expectations are  
395 beyond, they look at this as total support for their livelihood”. Another said “we are dealing  
396 with people who do not understand even if when you help them propagate some of these  
397 things (...) we give them seedlings, we give them even some initial capital, but (...) how  
398 many come for it in the office? But you find that in the evening it is being illegally cut. (...)  
399 The challenge is, so it’s called ignorance.”

## 400 **DISCUSSION**

401 Summarising the results, illegal resources that respondents reported to be taken from BINP  
402 are wood, bushmeat and fish, weaving materials, medicinal plants, honey, water and edible  
403 plants. Results from forest surveys indicated that resource use took place on the boundary  
404 (11 instances of resource use/km boundary) and on both legal and illegal trails (71  
405 instances of resource use/km boundary) and the main spatial determinant of resource use  
406 was the presence of legal trails, which I assumed to be a proxy for ranger activity. Main  
407 solutions to making resource use more sustainable were more benefits in the opinion of  
408 residents and more awareness raising about existing benefits of the park in the opinion of  
409 UWA staff members.

410

411 Comparing the prevalence of resource use from respondent data and observational data,  
412 wood was the most common resources recorded during the forest surveys and poaching  
413 was most prevalent from patrol data, with firewood as the most common use of wood,  
414 consistent with previous studies (Olupot et al. 2009; Harrison et al. 2015). The  
415 observational methods did not allow for the consistent detection of other resource uses that  
416 respondents mentioned, most probably as they were hard to observe. A remarkable result  
417 is that grazing was not mentioned by respondents in our study nor in a previous respondent  
418 study ((Harrison et al. 2015) although it was recorded during ranger patrols and we  
419 observed signs of grazing during forest surveys including severe trampling along the  
420 boundary and trails in patches as well as a heard of livestock in the park. Although a  
421 previous forest survey conducted in 2001-2003 (Olupot et al. 2009, Olupot 2009,  
422 unpublished report) revealed signs of grazing, they were described as restricted with no  
423 evidence of heavy trampling and no instances of grazing were recorded in the North of  
424 Bujengwe, where we found the most significant patches of grazing.

425

426 From the four observable physical factors I hypothesised to have an effect on the levels of  
427 human activity, I only found one significant effect, namely the presence of legal trails (which

428 I used as a proxy for ranger activity) had a significant negative effect on resource use on  
429 the boundary. As I measured ranger activity through the presence of legal trails, I did not  
430 distinguish between the effect of patrols and the presence of rangers for other purposes. A  
431 possible interpretation of the effect could be that the mere presence of rangers, whether it  
432 is for law enforcement, tourism or research, deters residents from entering the park. This  
433 resonated with the respondent data as residents seemed to fear the general presence of  
434 rangers in the park rather than just patrols. Therefore, investing in tourism, which is an  
435 income generating activity, might be more beneficial than carrying out more patrols.

436

437 Mauritius thorn had a negative relationship to resource use on the boundary as well,  
438 although only close to significance ( $p=0.053$ ). One explanation for this could be that  
439 Mauritius thorn deters people by acting as a thorny barrier. Another explanation could be  
440 that successful Mauritius thorn, as intended, prevents animals from coming out of the park  
441 to raid crops. This in turn could then prevent loss of income from crop losses and/or improve  
442 residents' attitudes towards the park, reducing their tendency to resort to illegal activities.  
443 Respondents did indicate that Mauritius thorn could be a useful tool to deter crop raiding  
444 animals but that it lacked management and manure. Mauritius thorn intervention was  
445 indeed only successful on 8.5% of the boundary we surveyed. As this study gives a first  
446 indication on the potential of Mauritius thorn to reduce illegal activity, further investigation  
447 of its effects and how it can be better managed would be useful.

448

449 Variance of elevation and the presence of an MUZ did not have an effect on human activity.  
450 We measured the variance of elevation in each segment as a proxy for steepness of terrain,  
451 but measuring the percentage of sloping might be a more accurate measure. MUZs did not  
452 show reduced levels of harvesting of the authorised resources (basketry materials and  
453 medicinal plants) nor of the other, illegal activities. This could be explained by the fact that  
454 the MUZ programme is only active for a few days per year, meaning illegal resource use  
455 could still take place for the rest of the year. Respondent data might give an indication as



456 to why this is happening, as some mentioned that the few days of authorised resource  
457 collection per year under the MUZ programme was inadequate in providing the local  
458 population with sufficient resources. Increasing the amount of MUZ zones could be a  
459 solution to this. It was also put forward as a solution by both UWA and resident respondents  
460 along with domesticating resources from BINP.

461

462 For the other solutions proposed by respondents there was a discrepancy between UWA  
463 staff, who were putting more emphasis on community awareness, and the residents  
464 themselves, who wanted to see more benefits. The main limiting factor for the  
465 implementation of solutions seemed to be the reluctance of UWA to accept requests from  
466 the resident perspective, but some UWA wardens were of the opinion that residents were  
467 unwilling to cooperate. It therefore seems essential for managing bodies like UWA and their  
468 NGO partners to improve communication and tailor interventions better to the residents to  
469 avoid a mismatch in expectations.

470 The main recommendations are:

- 471 1. Address the issue of grazing, which seems to be on the rise and is currently not  
472 mentioned in the management plan
- 473 2. Further research the potential effects of ranger activity and Mauritius thorn to reduce  
474 illegal activities
- 475 3. Increase the amount of MUZ zones and support the domestication of resources  
476 from BINP to reduce residents' dependence on resources from BINP
- 477 4. Tailor future interventions better to the demand of residents to increase cost-  
478 effectiveness and resident satisfaction

479

480 **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

481 I thank my supervisors at Imperial College London (ICL), Dr. Marcus Rowcliffe, at Oxford  
482 University, Dr. E.J. Milner-Gulland and Dr. Henry Travers, and at the NGO Conservation  
483 through Public Health (CTPH), Dr. Gladys Kalema-Zikusoka. I thank CTPH for hosting me.  
484 I thank the Uganda Wildlife Authority for giving permission and support for data collection.  
485 I thank ICL and The Darwin Initiative for their financial support.

486 **LITERATURE CITED**

487

488 Babu SC, Reidhead W. 2000. Monitoring natural resources for policy interventions: A  
489 conceptual framework, issues, and challenges. *Land Use Policy* **17**:1–11.

490 Baker J, Bitariho R, Kasoma P, Roe D, Sheil D, Twinamatsiko M, Tumushabe G, Beatty  
491 B, Hill K, Mallin W. 2013. Linking Protected Area Conservation with Poverty  
492 Alleviation in Uganda: Integrated Conservation and Development at Bwindi National  
493 Park. Page in J. B. Smith, editor. *National Parks: Sustainable Development,  
494 Conservation Strategies and Environmental Impacts*. Nova Science Publishers Inc,  
495 Hauppauge NY.

496 Baker J, Milner-Gulland EJ, Leader-Williams N. 2012. Park Gazettement and Integrated  
497 Conservation and Development as Factors in Community Conflict at Bwindi  
498 Impenetrable Forest, Uganda. *Conservation Biology* **26**:160–170.

499 Bitariho R, Sheil D, Eilu G. 2016. Tangible benefits or token gestures : does Bwindi  
500 impenetrable National Parks long established multiple use programme benefit the  
501 poor ? *Forests, Trees and Livelihoods* **25**:16–32. Taylor & Francis.

502 Braun V, Clarke V. 2008. Using thematic analysis in psychology Using thematic analysis  
503 in psychology **887**:76–101.

504 Brockington, Igoe J. 2006. *Conservation and society*. Page Conservation and Society.  
505 Sage Publications.

506 Harrison M, Baker J, Twinamatsiko M, Milner-Gulland EJ. 2015. Profiling unauthorized  
507 natural resource users for better targeting of conservation interventions.  
508 *Conservation Biology* **29**:1636–1646.

509 Hockings M. 2003. Systems for Assessing the Effectiveness of Management in Protected  
510 Areas. *BioScience* **53**:823–832.

511 Katarawa M. 1999. Modern health services versus traditional engozi system in Uganda.

512 Margoluis R, Salafsky N. 1998. *Measures of Success: Designing, Managing, and  
513 Monitoring Conservation and Development Projects*. Page Adaptive Management  
514 Series.

515 McShane TO, Wells MP. 2004. Getting biodiversity projects to work : towards more  
516 effective conservation and development. Columbia University Press.

517 Nuno A, St. John FA V. 2014. How to ask sensitive questions in conservation: A review of  
518 specialized questioning techniques. *Biological Conservation* **189**:5–15. Elsevier Ltd.

519 Olupot W, Barigyira R, Chapman CA. 2009. The status of anthropogenic threat at the  
520 people-park interface of Bwindi Impenetrable National Park , Uganda. *Environmental*  
521 *Conservation* **36**:41–50.

522 R Core Team. 2017. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. R Foundation for Statistical  
523 Computing, Vienna, Austria. Available from <https://www.r-project.org/>.

524 Robbins MM, Roy J, Wright E, Kato R, Kabano P, Basabose A, Tibenda E, Vigilant L,  
525 Gray M. 2011. Bwindi Mountain Gorilla Census 2011 – Summary of Results:1–28.

526 Salafsky N, Margoluis R. 1999. Threat reduction assessment: A practical and cost-  
527 effective approach to evaluating conservation and development projects.  
528 *Conservation Biology* **13**:830–841.

529 Savin-Baden M, Major CH. 2012. Qualitative research : the essential guide to theory and  
530 practice. Routledge.

531 Uganda Bureau of Statistics. 2016. The National Population and Housing Census, 2014,  
532 Main Report. Kampala, Uganda.

533 UWA. 2014. Bwindi Impenetrable National Park general management plan 2014 – 2024.

534 Venables WN (William N., Ripley BD. 2002. Modern applied statistics with S.

535 Wild RG, Mutebi J. 1996. Conservation through community use of plant resources:  
536 establishing collaborative management at Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla  
537 National Parks, Uganda.

538

## **SUPPORTING INFORMATION**

### **Appendix S1: Overview of respondent data collection: participatory mapping exercises (PMEs) and key informant interviews (KIIs)**

For PMEs and KIIs with residents, I selected a random village in each of the four parishes in the research area. My field assistant then contacted the chairman of each village a few days in advance. The chairman was asked to assemble a group of 7 men, 7 women and 7 stretcher group members (4 men, 3 women or 3 men, 4 women). We asked the chairman to have a mix of ages and socio-economic backgrounds in each group and not to include people who had leader positions in the village to avoid dominant speakers and to allow participants to speak freely. We also asked the chairman if we could speak to him and to ask a stretcher group chairman (different than the stretcher group for the PME) and a HUGO chairman (in villages with HUGOs) if we could speak to them. In Mpungu there were Multiple Use Zone users in the village so we asked for a group of women and men who were MUZ users and a group of women and men who were not.

For the Batwa, the procedure was similar, except we only asked to speak to a group of women, a group of men and the leader him or herself as there are no Batwa stretcher groups.

Participatory mapping exercises took around 1 hour and 30 minutes and we gave each participant a token of appreciation in the form of a bar of blue soap and 500 gram packet of salt. Key informant interviews with residents took around 30 minutes and we gave them a token of appreciation in the form of a bar of soap, except the chairman/leader, who we gave small fee as a thank you for organising the PMEs and KIIs.

An overview of all the PMEs and KIIs can be found in the table below.

Parish	PMEs	KIIs
Residents Mukono	7 Bakiga men 7 Bakiga women 7 Bakiga stretcher group 7 Batwa women 7 Batwa men	Village chairman Stretcher group chairman HUGO chairman Batwa leader
Residents Bujengwe	7 Bakiga men 7 Bakiga women 7 Bakiga stretcher group 7 Batwa women 7 Batwa men	Village chairman Stretcher group chairman HUGO chairman Batwa leader
Residents Mpungu	7 Bakiga non-MUZ user men 7 Bakiga non-MUZ user women 7 Bakiga MUZ user men 7 Bakiga MUZ user women 7 Bakiga stretcher group 7 Batwa women 7 Batwa men	Village vice-chairman Stretcher group chairman Batwa leader
Residents Bulemba	7 Bakiga men 7 Bakiga women 7 Bakiga stretcher group	Village chairman Stretcher group chairman
UWA staff	-	Chief Warden Warden of Monitoring and Research Warden of Tourism Warden of Community Conservation Assistant Head Ranger Guide Law enforcement ranger Former ranger
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>

## **Appendix S2: Positionality statement**

I am a 25 year-old woman born from a Dutch father and a Hungarian mother and I grew up in The Netherlands, Hungary and Belgium. I was raised in a middle-class conservative family with loosely Christian views but consider myself agnostic. I have completed research with rangers in 2013 in rural Tanzania, in a context similar to this research. This could have influenced my positionality and to avoid this I exercised cultural reflexivity during the data collection and analysis process and I chose for an inductive coding process to avoid imposing my pre-constructed concepts and views on the interview and focus group data.

I positioned myself as an outsider and informed the respondents about the fact that I am a researcher. As a foreign researcher coming into the field, I might have obtained information from the respondents that they deemed appropriate for the context of my position or my research. To mitigate this, I employed a translator who was born and raised in the research area and knew the language and cultural norms in the study area. This in turn could have led to a bias as my translator knew some of the participants but not others, meaning some respondents might have been more or less open as they knew the person interviewing them. I therefore ensured that I would not extrapolate the views of an individual to a whole group in my analysis and write-up, choose quotes that are representative of the larger study population and/or specify the proportion or number of respondents who mentioned a certain theme.

Lastly, the translation itself is another source of bias in the research. I led interviews and focus groups in English and asked the translator to translate the respondents' and my statement after each sentence. Before the start of the research, I had a training session with my translator where we went through the guides and he translated them while asking questions about certain words, expressions and concepts. I informed my translator that the translation of the guides should be consistent throughout the research. We practiced the translation and protocol of the participatory mapping and the translation of the key informant interviews. We piloted two focus groups and one key informant interview with residents in a village outside the study area. After the pilot, my translator and I went through the recording to correct for ambiguities arising from imprecise formulations of questions and improved the general flow of the key informant interviews and participatory mapping exercises. After the research period I went through the recordings with my translator to fill gaps in translation.

### **Appendix S3: Ethical review process**

Ethical approval was obtained from Imperial College prior to the collection of data by providing information on environmental issues, animal/plant handling issues, human subject issues and institutional issues. The Conservation Science course directors (Imperial, ZSL, Kew, Durrell) approved the proposals, using the above-mentioned internal ethics approval form.

I obtained a research permit from the Uganda Wildlife Authority prior to the research, which authorised me to carry out research with participants and perform forest surveys. I was accompanied by two UWA rangers at all times during the forest surveys, in compliance with UWA regulation.

Before conducting interviews and participatory mapping, participants were given a brief outline of the study and its aims and were asked if they consented to the use of their data by signing their name on a consent form. I have the written records of the consent of all the participants. All were given the option to withdraw their information or not take part in the study if they felt uncomfortable in any way (see guides below).



## **Appendix S4: Guide for participatory mapping exercise (PME) (established with the help of V. Griffiths, unpublished data)**

### **Materials:**

- camera
- recorder
- markers, colour markers, flipchart paper
- beans, peas etc.
- tokens of appreciation

### **Introductions**

Thank you all for coming, my name is Fran Olsthoorn and this is Christopher Byaruhanga. I am an independent research student at Imperial College in England.

### **Goal of the exercise**

We want to learn more about the way of life and opinions of people living here. The aims of this group discussion are to find out two things:

- What natural resources are the most important for people in this area
- What are the challenges in getting resources for people's livelihoods

I would like to invite you to create a map of the area together and participate in a group discussion. It should only take about two hours of your time and it is anonymous.

### **Assurance of confidentiality**

Thank you for agreeing to meet with us. We hope that you will be able to provide us with some of your own ideas and experiences. We realise that the resources you use will be different from person to person and that you may not want to share some of the more private and personal things with other people, including us or other people in this group. This is completely fine, and we will not ask you to say anything that could make you uncomfortable. What is said during this meeting is private so please do not share the information with anyone else. We will make sure that your answers are kept anonymous and we will not share them with other members of the community, the local authorities or any other authorities. We want to invite each and every one of you to speak up individually as we are interested in your individual opinions. People will have different opinions so it is important that we all respect each other's opinions and give everyone a chance to speak.

### **Voluntary participation**

As this exercise is voluntary, you may stop the discussion at any time. If you have any questions, please ask us.

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to me and I will do my best to answer your query.

We would also like to use some direct quotes from you and they will be anonymous.

### **Obtaining consent**

Do you have any questions or concerns so far? [Pause here to give people enough time to think and comment]

Would you like to continue with the meeting? [Form signing]

### **Obtaining permission to record and take pictures**

Would you mind if we take photos and audio record this meeting so that we can make sure that we don't miss anything important that you tell us?

[Get verbal consent; if anyone objects to being recorded or photographed, do not record the meeting]

[turn on recorder if no one objects]

As Christopher is translating live, we want to make sure we don't miss anything that is lost in translation. Can you therefore make sure you speak in Rukiga so everyone in the group understands and please stop after every statement so that Christopher can translate?

### **Directions for doing the ground mapping**

We are interested in getting to know more about what natural resources are important to your livelihoods. We would like to make a map with you

- Villages: that we will draw on a big piece of paper and with the help of the materials you have received
- Batwa: that we will draw on the ground and complement with the materials you have received

- Let's first map the village

[ask specific people for each element, make legend in English (Fran) and Rukiga (Chris)]

- the main road
- what other roads are there?
- is there a school?
- is there a church?
- is there a trading centre?
- Is there a health centre?
- where are the water ways?
- Which food crops do you grow?
- Which cash crops do you grow?
- So now we have drawn food crops and cash crops, what about wild natural resources, what wild natural resources exist in the area?

[maize – honey

g-nuts – meat

raisins – berries

pencils – timber

beans – basketry materials

soybeans – medicinal plants]

Now we have a list of these resources, let's see one by one why they are important for people around here.

- What is x used for in the village?  
[probes: construction, cooking, eating, feeding, weaving, selling etc.]
- In some area of Bwindi there are multiple resource agreement for some resources. Is there a multiple resource agreement here for x?  
[probes: look for a long time/short time, scarce, abundant, easy to find, hard to find]

First round: You can now each take your different grains. Let's start with x, which we will represent with y.

Next rounds: we will represent x with y.

- Can x be found in the village?  
[First ask one person to put it on the map, then the rest]
- Is there x elsewhere?  
[First ask one person to put it on the map, then the rest]
- Is there enough of x for everyone? Do people struggle to get x? How do you make sure everyone gets enough x?  
[lack of the resource, ]
- Now that you said, there is a challenge as there is not enough x for everyone, what do you think some people might do to provide enough for their livelihoods? What about those/you who do not have a permit to access resources?  
[probes: near forest edge, buy from people who go into forest, go into forest, buy from other villages]

Now we have a complete map of the resources, have we forgotten anything? Does anyone want to add?

Do you know if anyone has gotten called out for getting some resources in the forest? From this community or another?

[UWA, reporting, LC1 chairman]

Is there anything anyone would like to add?

### **Closure**

Thank you very much for your time, we really appreciate it. This has really helped us understand what natural resources are important to you and has helped the research. If you have any concerns, please call me on 0770844898. [give token of appreciation]

## **Appendix S5: Guide for key informant interviews (KIIs) (established with the help of V. Griffiths, unpublished data)**

Materials:

Recorder

Notebook

### **Introductions**

Thank you for meeting us, my name is Fran Olsthoorn and this is Christopher Byaruhanga. I am an independent research student at Imperial College in England.

### **Goal of the interview**

I would like to ask you some questions about how you think people depend on natural resources.

### **Assurance of confidentiality**

What is said during this interview is private. Your answers will be kept anonymous and will only be used for research purposes.

### **Voluntary participation**

The interview is voluntary and you can stop anytime or come back on things you have said. Please let me know if you have questions.

### **Obtaining consent**

Is this ok?

Do you have any questions or concerns so far? [form]

### **Obtaining permission to record**

Would you mind if we record this interview so that we can make sure that we don't miss anything important that you tell us?

### **Questions village chair**

What village are you the chair of?

What is your role in the village as a chair?

How long have you been chair of this village?

What are the main challenges you face in the village as an LC1 chairman?

So we are interested as we said in how different natural resources people depend on in this area, so we will ask you some questions about that.

What crops do people grow in the village?

Are people dependent on any other resources?

Is there a multiple resource agreement for some resources?

What are then the challenges in getting enough of these resources?

Do people express their concerns to you about the lack of these resources?

As people struggle to get by from the available resources, do you find some people are forced to get these resources from the forest?

Do some people buy some wild natural resources in markets?

Have you had cases where some people were reported to go into the forest?

Have you had to report people personally?

Does UWA patrol around here? Have people been unfortunate enough to be caught?

What do you think would improve the situation to deal with the lack of resources?

CTPH parishes: In your opinion, does CTPH's work contribute to reduce the amount of times people go into the forest to get natural resources? In which ways?

### **Questions stretcher group chair**

How many stretcher groups are there in the village?

What stretcher group are you the chair of?

What is your role in the village as a stretcher group?

How long have you been chair of the stretcher group?

What are, in your opinion, the main challenges in the village?

So we are interested as we said in how different natural resources people depend on in this area, so we will ask you some questions about that.

What crops do people grow in the village?

Are people dependent on any other resources?

Is there a multiple resource agreement for some resources?

What are then the challenges in getting enough of these resources?

Do people express their concerns to you about the lack of these resources?

As people struggle to get by from the available resources, do you find some people are forced to get these resources from the forest?

Do some people buy some wild natural resources in markets?

Have you had cases where some people were reported to go into the forest?

Have you had to report people personally?

Does UWA patrol around here? Have people been unfortunate enough to be caught?

What do you think would improve the situation to deal with the lack of resources?

### **Questions HUGO chair**

How big is the HUGO team in this village?

How long have you been chair of the HUGO group?

What are the responsibilities of the HUGO group?

What are, in your opinion, the main challenges in the village?

So we are interested as we said in how different natural resources people depend on in this area, so we will ask you some questions about that.

What crops do people grow in the village?

How often are you called out? What do HUGOs do when they are called?

Do people always call HUGOs when gorillas or other animals are raiding crops?

Do people only rely on crops or also some wild natural resources?

What are then the challenges in getting enough of these resources?

Do people express their concerns to you about the lack of these resources?

As people struggle to get by from the available resources, do you find some people are forced to get these resources from the forest?

Have you heard of cases where people went into the forest and encountered gorillas there?

Does UWA patrol around here? Have people been unfortunate enough to be caught?

What do you think would improve the situation to deal with the lack of resources?

### **Questions UWA staff/rangers**

What is your role within UWA?

How long have you been in this position?

What are your responsibilities in this position?

What are, in your opinion, the main challenges around Bwindi at the moment?

So we are interested as we said in how different natural resources people depend on in this area, so we will ask you some questions about that.

Do you think people only rely on crops or also some wild natural resources?

Do you find some people are forced to get these resources from the forest?

How do you prevent people from going into the forest?

How often are there patrols in Bulemba, Mpungu, Mukono, Bujengwe?

Is the effort uniform over Bwindi?

What is the frequency of arrests in each of these parishes?

What is the most common human activity in the forest?

What is the sanction?

Why do you think people go into the forest to get natural resources?

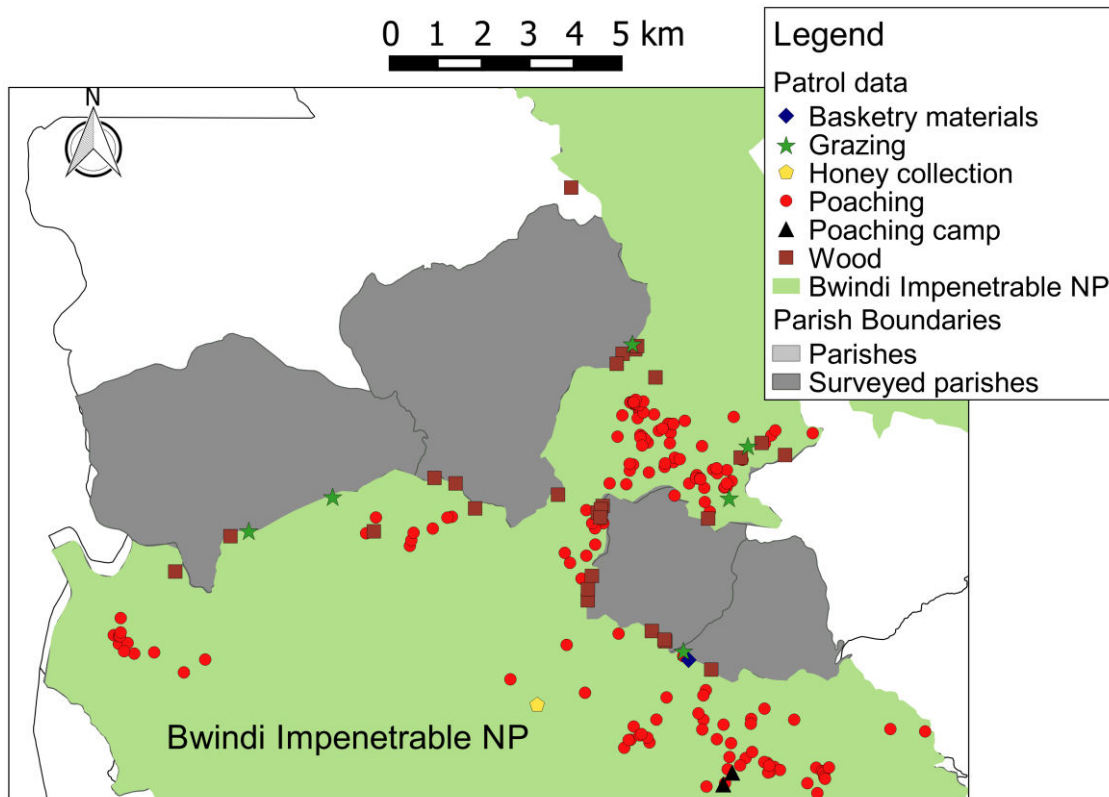
What do you think would improve the situation to have less people go into the forest?

### Appendix S6: Different species of resources mentioned by respondents

Category	Use	Common name in English	Scientific name
Wood	Firewood and charcoal burning	-	<i>Agauria salicifolia</i>
Wood	Timber	Sapele	<i>Entandrophragma cylindricum</i>
Wood	Timber	East african satin wood	<i>Zanthoxylum gillettii</i>
Wood	Timber	Umbrella tree	<i>Maesopsis eminii</i>
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Yellow-backed duiker	<i>Cephalophus silvicultor</i>
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Black-backed duiker	<i>Cephalophus nigrifrons</i>
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Giant forest hog	<i>Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni</i>
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Bushpig	<i>Potamochoerus larvatus</i>
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Monkey species	-
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Mongoose species	-
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Guinea fowl species	-
Animal protein	Bushmeat	Francolin	-
Animal protein	Fish	Mudfish	-
Animal protein	Fish	Lungfish	-
Weaving material	Small baskets for eating and handcrafts	-	<i>Setaria sp.</i>
Weaving material	Baskets for plucking tea	-	<i>Losiniera apocynoides</i>
Weaving material	Trays and baskets for carrying food	-	<i>Smilax anceps</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	-	<i>Rytiginia kigeziensis</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	-	<i>Gouania longispicata</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	-	<i>Piper guineense</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	Lucky bean tree	<i>Erytherina abyssinica</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	Bitter leaf	<i>Vernonia amygdalina</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	Red vine spinach	<i>Basella alba</i>
Medicinal plant	Medicine	-	<i>Ocotea sp.</i>
Medicinal plant	Chases away spirits	-	<i>Myrica salicifolia</i>
Edible plant	Staple food	Yam species	<i>Discorea sp.</i>
Edible plant	Vegetable	Wild eggplants	<i>Solanum sp.</i>
Edible plant	Fruit	-	<i>Myrianthus holstii</i>
Edible plant	Fruit	-	<i>Impatiens sp.</i>
Edible plant	Fruit	-	<i>Aframomum melegueta</i>

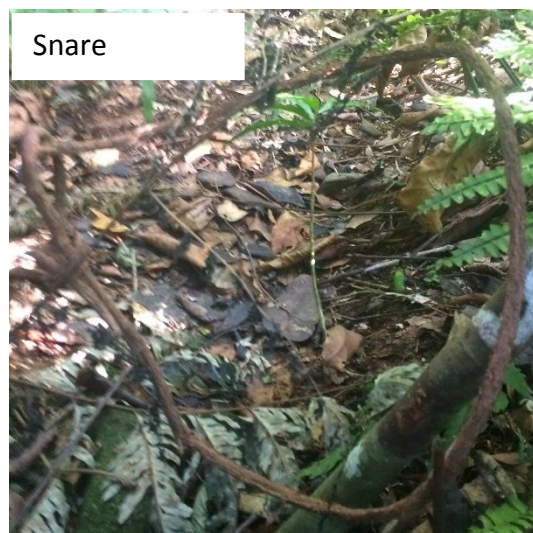


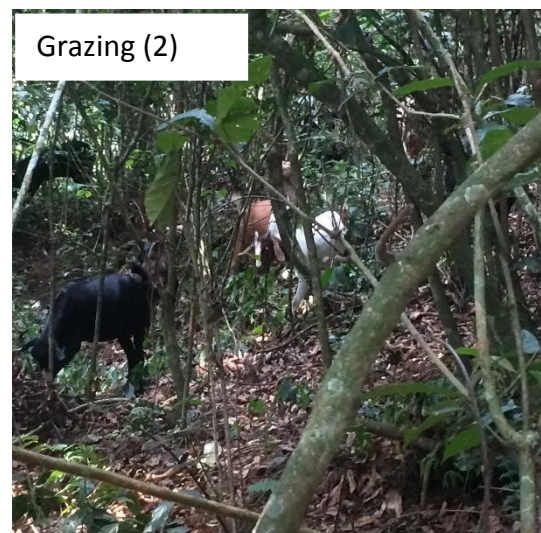
539 **Appendix S7: map of compiled patrol data of 2016. Patrols took place at varying**  
540 **levels of efforts in various locations throughout the year.**



541

**Appendix S8: Pictures of instances of resource uses**





**Appendix S9: Regression models for resource use on the boundary, number of illegal trails and resource use on trails (results of negative binomial regression)**

Resource use on the boundary				
	B(SE)	95% CI for odds ratio		
		Lower	Odds ratio	Upper
Constant	-4.518 (0.186)	0.008	0.011	0.016
Elevation	0.000 (0.000)	1.000	1.000	1.000
Mauritius thorn	-1.084 <sup>x</sup> (0.560)	0.117	0.338	1.105
Ranger activity	-0.723 <sup>*</sup> (0.313)	0.264	0.485	0.916
MUZ	-0.002 (0.4000)	0.474	1.002	2.315

R<sup>2</sup>=0.347 (Hosmer-Lemeshow) Model X<sup>2</sup>=33.333, p<0.001 \*p<0.022, <sup>x</sup>p<0.053

Number of illegal trails				
	B(SE)	95% CI for odds ratio		
		Lower	Odds ratio	Upper
Constant	-4.625 (0.407)	0.007	0.010	0.014
Elevation	0.000 (0.000)	1.000	1.000	1.000
Mauritius thorn	-0.017 (0.461)	0.422	0.983	2.629
Ranger activity	-0.220 (0.279)	0.469	0.802	1.404
MUZ	-0.037 (0.366)	0.520	1.037	2.204

R<sup>2</sup>=0.497 (Hosmer-Lemeshow) Model X<sup>2</sup>=41.887, p<0.001

Resource use on trails				
	B(SE)	95% CI for odds ratio		
		Lower	Odds ratio	Upper
Constant	-3.653 (0.272)	0.015	0.0259	0.045
Elevation	0.001 (0.000)	0.999	1.000	1.002
Mauritius thorn	-0.511 (0.706)	0.179	0.600	3.060
Ranger activity	-0.539 (0.487)	0.2223	0.583	1.663
MUZ	-1.042 (0.585)	0.122	0.353	1.249

$R^2=0.547$  (Hosmer-Lemeshow) Model  $X^2=27.409$ ,  $p<0.001$