



Mount Elgon Conservation and Development Project

Forestry Sector Programme, Ministry of Water, Land and Environment

Review of Collaborative Management Arrangements for Mt. Elgon National Park

David Hinchley¹, Levand Turyomurugyendo and Kato Stonewall²

¹ Chief technical/Collaborative Management Adviser, Mount Elgon Conservation and Development Project

² Uganda Wildlife Authority, Mount Elgon National Park

Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project

The Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project Phase III commenced in July 1996, following on from two previous phases, Phase I from 1988 to 1990 and Phase II from 1990 to 1994, and a transition phase from 1994 to July 1996. The project was developed in response to threats to the Mt Elgon ecosystem through agricultural encroachment and illegal resource exploitation resulting from a wide range of factors including political instability in the 1970's and 80's, lack of financial resources in the Forestry Department, insecurity of the population due to cattle raiding, population expansion in the area, declining land productivity and various other socio-economic factors.

The goal of the Project is to safeguard the Mt. Elgon ecosystem for the benefit of present and future generations. The Project is implemented by the Ministry of Water, Land and Environment in collaboration with the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the District Administrations of Mbale and Kapchorwa Districts. Technical assistance and backstopping is provided by IUCN - The World Conservation Union. Funding is provided by the Royal Norwegian Government.

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However, many other staff of Mt. Elgon National Park, Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project and the UWA-Face Project attended workshops and were involved in fieldwork to investigate and discuss collaborative management issues, and to develop ideas for future directions. Their input to this report is gratefully acknowledged.

The efforts of Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project and Mt. Elgon National Park staff during the extension to Phase II of the Project to initiate and develop the two trial collaborative management agreements in Ulukusi and Mutushet Parishes are also acknowledged.

³ Includes the previous Warden Community Conservation, Mr Levand Turyomurugendo and the current Warden Community Conservation, Mr Kato Stonewall.

Executive Summary

Introduction

Mt. Elgon National Park is supported by the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project, which has the overall objective of protection of the Mt Elgon ecosystem for present and future generations.

Efforts to develop collaborative management arrangements for the management of Mt. Elgon National Park began following a mid-term review of Phase II of the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project. The review highlighted the ineffectiveness of traditional protectionist approaches to conserving Mt. Elgon National Park and the need to develop links between conservation of the Park and sustainable development of communities living around the Park. A collaborative management approach was proposed to explore opportunities to involve local people in natural resource management, and thus make use of the people's dependence on the forest as a basis for maintaining their interest in its conservation and to more effectively target sustainable development activities. In 1995 two trial collaborative management agreements were negotiated between the Park management and the communities of two Parishes adjoining the Park. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed by both parties for each of the agreements in January 1996.

This paper reviews the negotiation and implementation of these two trial agreements with the aim of analysing strengths, weaknesses and lessons learnt. It then proposes ideas for the further development of collaborative management arrangements that build on the strengths of activities to date and attempt to overcome the weaknesses identified. The paper does not attempt to evaluate the overall success of the trial collaborative management arrangements, as these are seen as only the first steps in a series of action learning cycles to test and refine the approaches being developed, rather than as examples of fully developed collaborative management arrangements.

Background

Pressures leading to the development of collaborative management approaches for Mt. Elgon National Park included:

- ongoing community need for resources supplied by the Park and a recognition that the promotion of rural development (e.g. improved agricultural production) would not on its own necessarily reduce pressure on the park
- ongoing lack of capacity within Uganda Wildlife Authority for protecting the Park through a law enforcement approach
- the hope that it might help find common ground in resolving the conflicts between the management authority and local communities over access to forest resources, and would lead to a positive response from local communities to the need for conservation.

The process of developing a collaborative management approach started in 1993. Experience with community forestry and joint forestry management in Nepal and India, which sought to exchange rights of use for responsibility to manage, was considered an appropriate starting point. However as there was no clear idea of the appropriate institutional arrangements to allow for that sharing of authority and responsibility for the Mt. Elgon situation, a piloting approach was instituted. Following a resource-use assessment in 1993/94 two of the parishes studied, Mutushet Parish in Kapchorwa District and Ulukusi Parish in Mbale District, were selected for further development of the pilot agreements as being representative examples of the range of resource use and social issues around the Park.

Following discussions and negotiations during 1995/96 at Parish level, through elected Forest Management Committees, a first draft of the agreement was drawn-up by the negotiating team and presented to Uganda Wildlife Authority (then Uganda National Parks) headquarters for comment. Comments and approval took some time as there was a lack of confidence within the organisation about removing direct control of resource-use from Park staff and about making decisions in such a new area. Some of the issues raised required policy decisions, and were referred to the Board of Trustees for approval. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the Executive Director of UWA and the Forest Management Committee representing the community for each of the agreements in January 1996, one and a half years after the process of negotiations had been initiated.

During the negotiations the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project staff acted as intermediaries to facilitate discussion between the park managers and the Forest Management Committee. The Project was able to play this role as it has institutional linkages with Uganda Wildlife Authority at both policy and operational levels, and provides financial and technical support to Mt. Elgon National Park operations.

The Outcome

The pilot agreements were signed between the Uganda Wildlife Authority (represented by the Executive Director) and a Forest Management Committee representing the community at a Parish level (the second lowest level of local government). Under the terms of the agreement control over access to resources became the responsibility of the forest management committees and sub-committees set up for each trail leading into the forest. The Park rangers' role is to undertake awareness raising on conservation values, assist in monitoring of resource use and take legal action where necessary. They are not to arrest illegal resource users in the first instance, but refer these to the Forest Management Committee.

The agreements allow use of some forest resources with no restrictions (mushroom collection, firewood collection, wild vegetable collection, fodder, circumcision sticks), and use of others on a restricted or seasonal basis (bamboo shoots, medicinal plants, matoke stakes, wild honey and setting beehives). It was agreed to ban pit-sawing, charcoal burning, hunting, pole harvesting and cultivation agriculture

Reviews since the agreements have been in operation have shown that the agreements have resulted in significant improvements in relations between the Park authorities and communities in the two pilot parishes and improved control of resource use in the pilot parishes. Examples include the complete halt to grazing in formerly encroached areas, declining charcoal burning from the forests near the pilot Parishes, and no further agricultural encroachment in the pilot Parishes. Resource use committees have meetings to discuss park issues in relation to people's access, and are undertaking some public awareness activities about rights to use the Park wisely.

However, there are also a number of issues which remain outstanding and indicate a need to further refine the process of developing collaborative management agreements. For example

- the communities were not yet fully aware of their rights and responsibilities for the use and management of the Park resources. This appears to relate to both the process used to negotiate the agreements and to limited communication between the resource use committee and the community generally about the agreements.
- there is continued debate about use of some of the resources banned under the agreements (e.g. grazing in the grasslands of Kapchorwa, bamboo smoking and collection of building poles)
- the collaborative management arrangements had not provided solutions to problem animals from the Park destroying crops and gardens of people living near the Park
- the resource use committees felt that the signed agreements did not empower them enough to take disciplinary action against violators of the agreement (they felt demoralised when violators were reported to the Local Council system but no effective action was taken)
- conflict sometimes arises over the control of resource use by the committees, especially with people from outside the pilot Parishes who use resources from the same area of the forest.

There is also a wider problem that the collaborative management is only in operation in 2 of the 57 Parishes surrounding Mt. Elgon National Park. There are many ongoing problems of agricultural encroachment, boundary distortion, grazing and other management problems all around the boundary of the Park where collaborative management agreements are not in place. Law enforcement or protection approaches are only of limited effectiveness in Mt. Elgon National Park, as in many other protected areas around the world with high levels of resource use by local people, large areas and limited financial and human resources and capacity.

At a policy and legislative level, the pilot agreements represented a significant step for Uganda Wildlife Authority. Prior to 1996 National Parks in Uganda were managed under the National Parks Act, which disallowed access by communities to Park resources. From 1993 when the Uganda Wildlife Authority was formed, new policies and legislation for protected area management began to be developed.

Although collaborative management is not mentioned specifically in the new Uganda Wildlife Authority Statute(1996) it is broadly catered for under a number of sections and allows for the Executive Director to enter into collaborative arrangements with any person for “the management of a protected area or a portion of the protected area” . The collaborative management taskforce concluded that collaborative management could fall under this provision until the statute is revised and more specific provision can be included.

The Lessons Learnt

Mt. Elgon National Park is unlikely in the short to medium term to generate sufficient revenue to provide significant revenue sharing opportunities to compensate local people for restricted access to Park resources. The two pilot collaborative management agreements in Ulukusi and Mutushet Parishes are primarily resource sharing agreements, with the terms and conditions largely set by Park managers. Although there are clear benefits to both the Park and the community already obtained through negotiating these agreements a range of problems still existing indicate that further work is required to fully develop a model for broader application.

The Park, with the assistance of the Project, is thus now working to further develop a collaborative management approach which attempts to make use of the opportunities for sharing benefits from the Park, involving people in management decision-making and assisting people to develop alternatives to reliance on the Park resources. This approach recognises that an exploratory or action learning approach is necessary to develop collaborative management arrangements, and that the experiences to date are part of this process.

The pilot agreements satisfy part of the requirements for collaborative management arrangements in that they provide for mechanisms to compensate local people for the costs of conservation through access and use of resources from the Park. They also provide security of access to these resources through a written agreement with Uganda Wildlife Authority. The agreements are weak, however, in providing “a strong element of local power, expressed as a genuine local involvement in decision-making, including planning and ongoing management” as suggested by Fisher (1995) to be an important component of successful collaborative management arrangements. Although the negotiation process involved the Forest Management Committee, many ordinary resource users were excluded from the discussions and many of the agreement provisions were set by what the Uganda Wildlife Authority would accept, rather than through a devolvement of decision-making authority to the community.

Thus a key lesson is that collaborative management arrangements based more closely on “resource user groups” and/or villages are likely to provide more equitable community involvement and more workable agreements. Although Parishes are established local institutions and can contribute to local decision-making and control of resource use, Parish boundaries are unsuitable for determining who should be party to a collaborative management agreement as they exclude some users and include others who have no real interest in the negotiations. Involving village level councils and identifying primary resource-users and their-use areas has been identified as crucial to the next stage of development of the collaborative management approach for Mt. Elgon National Park.

It is critical that Uganda Wildlife Authority is able to accept and endorse such an approach and provide an enabling environment to support its field staff in developing the details of the approach at Park level. Although enabling policy already exists, clear commitment to the development of further pilot agreements where Park managers are empowered to negotiate agreements based on local needs and management systems, rather than on existing practices, is needed. Sufficient resources are required on the ground to enable this work to be done properly.

Ongoing Action

An action plan has been developed for the continued development and expansion of collaborative management approaches for Mt. Elgon National Park. This plan addresses four major elements:

- Policy issues must be addressed and discussions held within UWA to clarify and get general agreement on the rationale for collaborative management at Mt. Elgon National Park and endorsement and commitment for an ongoing piloting effort.
- The existing pilot agreements require attention to improve them based on experience so far. Instead of completely starting again in these two areas it is proposed that efforts focus on building on the

successful aspects of the agreements and make adjustments where necessary to overcome the identified weaknesses.

- There is an opportunity to expand collaborative management to new Parishes and test new approaches based on lessons learnt in the pilot Parishes.
- And finally there are several specific opportunities to apply elements of a collaborative management approach to solve particular management relating to formerly encroached areas, boundary management and plantation management

Conclusions

Collaborative management approaches for the management of Mt. Elgon National Park are still in their infancy. Initial efforts in the two pilot Parishes of Mutushet and Ulukusi are promising in that improvements in relationships and co-operation between Park staff and the community have occurred, despite a number of shortcomings in the processes used to develop the trial agreements. Action plans and approaches have been developed which can potentially overcome these problems, and communities around the Park are generally positive about the idea of developing collaborative management arrangements.

However, for collaborative management approaches to be further developed and successfully implemented in Mt. Elgon National Park, a number of significant institutional issues and constraints have to be overcome. These include lack of capacity and resources within Mt. Elgon National Park and limited institutional commitment to collaborative management approaches within Uganda Wildlife Authority generally. Lack of policy action to clarify and support collaborative management and a continuing bias towards enforcement approaches are evidence of this continuing lack of commitment.

In the context of many ongoing conflicts and problems with communities surrounding the Park, and an inability of Park staff to solve these problems through law enforcement approaches, a meaningful shift towards collaborative management approaches is a necessary and pragmatic response. Strong and unambiguous support is needed from UWA for innovative and flexible approaches to meeting community needs as a means towards achieving improved conservation of Park resources.

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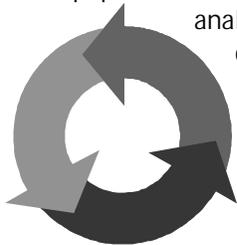
1. Introduction

The Ugandan side of Mt. Elgon was first gazetted as a forest reserve in 1938. In October 1993, the Government of Uganda declared the area a National Park in an effort to strengthen the conservation status of the ecosystem. The Mt. Elgon National Park covers an area of 1,145 km², and the Park boundary is 211 km long.

Efforts to develop collaborative management arrangements for the management of Mt. Elgon National Park began following a mid-term review of Phase II of the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project. The review highlighted the ineffectiveness of traditional protectionist approaches to conserving Mt. Elgon National Park and the need to develop links between conservation of the Park and sustainable development of communities living around the Park (Stocking, 1993). A collaborative management approach was proposed to explore opportunities to involve local people in natural resource management, and thus make use of the people's dependence on the forest as a basis for maintaining their interest in its conservation and to more effectively target sustainable development activities. In 1995 two trial collaborative management agreements were negotiated between the Park management and the communities of two Parishes adjoining the Park. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed by both parties for each of the agreements in January 1996 (Hoefsloot, 1997).

According to Hoefsloot the pilot arrangements were "exploring a form of collaborative management which seeks to exploit the physical interface between local communities and the Park, and which aims at making local communities effective managers of the Park area". The approach was recognised as originating from experience with community forestry and joint forestry management in Nepal and India and sought to exchange rights of use for responsibility to manage. There was, however, initially no clear idea of the appropriate institutional arrangements or processes to allow for that sharing of authority and responsibility.

This paper reviews the negotiation and implementation of these two trial agreements with the aim of analysing strengths, weaknesses and lessons learnt. It then proposes ideas for the further development of collaborative management arrangements that build on the strengths of activities to date and attempt to overcome the weaknesses identified. The paper does not attempt to evaluate the overall success of the trial collaborative management arrangements, as these are seen as only the first steps in a series of action learning cycles to test and refine the approaches being developed, rather than as examples of fully developed collaborative management arrangements.



2. History of the Agreements

2.1 Background

The development of collaborative management ideas and approaches in Mt. Elgon National Park has occurred in parallel with the gradual development of related approaches at other Parks in Uganda and with discussion and evolution of ideas at policy level within Uganda Wildlife Authority generally. At the time of undertaking the negotiations leading to the agreements in Mt. Elgon National Park there was thus no clear definition of collaborative management or concept of how it would be developed and implemented. A similar situation existed in the Forestry Department, which was the management authority for Mt Elgon Forest Reserve when the process first started (Hoefsloot, 1997).

The most comprehensive statement of what collaborative management may mean in the context of protected areas in Uganda is contained in the report of a *Taskforce on Collaborative Management for The Uganda Wildlife Authority* commissioned by the Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities and completed with technical support from IUCN (MTWA, 1996). Although this report is yet to be endorsed by the UWA Board of Trustees it draws on the experiences of a wide range of Park and project staff, as well as representatives of communities involved in developing collaborative management approaches in Ugandan National Parks. This report defines collaborative management for protected areas in Uganda as follows:

A process whereby the Protected Area Authority genuinely shares with locally resident people, benefits, decision-making authority and responsibility in the effective and sustainable management of the natural resources of the protected areas. The details of this shared management are arrived at through meaningful negotiation and expressed in written agreement.

This definition does not, however, provide guidance on what “genuine” sharing of benefits and decision-making actually means on the ground. For park managers, many questions must be resolved during the development of workable collaborative management arrangements. For example:

- what level of benefit sharing will encourage local people to become involved in the sustainable management of the Park, and can this be achieved while also conserving the Park ecosystem?
- what arrangements can be put in place to allow people a realistic say in decision-making about the Park, and what will be the impact of this involvement on resource use and management?
- which people in the community should have a say in decisions about management of the Park?
- how can the impact of the resource use and management arrangements on the Park environment be monitored and what mechanisms can be put in place to ensure that resource use is adjusted to sustainable levels as necessary?
- how can law enforcement and collaborative management approaches to Park management be balanced and coordinated, particularly while collaborative management approaches are being developed and piloted?
- to what extent will communities themselves handle violators of the agreements, and what authority is required?

2.2 Rationale and Approaches Used

Management of Mt. Elgon National Park has been beset by many problems since it was gazetted in 1993. Around 25,000 ha of land within the Park had previously been subject to agricultural encroachment and incidences of agricultural encroachment continue to occur. A wide range of resources are used from within the Park by communities living around the boundary, much of which is uncontrolled and some is at unsustainable levels. Conflict between Park staff and local communities occurs as a result of these resource-use pressures and boundary disputes.

These problems have continued at varying levels despite attempts by Mt. Elgon National Park, with the support of Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project, to deal with these problems through improved protection, boundary demarcation, education and awareness programs and rural development extension programs. The piloting of collaborative management was approved for Mt. Elgon National Park (then Mt Elgon Forest Reserve) in the hope that it might help find common ground in resolving the conflicts between the management authority and local communities over access to forest resources, and would lead to a positive response from local communities for conservation of the Park (Hoefsloot, 1997

The purpose of piloting was “to define the approach in a process-oriented manner involving all stakeholders at all stages”. The agreed steps were:

1. An assessment of forest resource use by local communities, and if necessary, an assessment of the forest resource itself.
2. Discussion and negotiation between local communities and the Park authorities leading to an agreement on forest utilisation and management.
3. Implementation of pilot agreements.

An assessment of forest resource use was undertaken in 6 Parishes adjoining the Park in 1993/4 (Scott, 1994). This study addressed the following questions:

- What resources are being used?
- Who are the principle user/collectors
- From where are the resources being harvested?
- What is the value of forest use to the neighbouring communities?
- What controls and organisational structures still exist within the communities with regard

- How much is currently harvested? to the use of the forest?

The study found that Mt. Elgon National Park contains a wide range of natural resources, which are of great value to communities living around the Park. These include:

- Bamboo shoots for food and ceremonial purposes (fresh shoots in June-July, and smoked shoots for the remainder of the year)
- Bamboo stems for construction of houses and granaries, crop staking, basketry and ceremonial
- Tree poles (round and split) for building
- Firewood and charcoal
- Medicinal herbs
- Mushrooms for food
- Green vegetables for food
- Honey, both from wild hives and from managed hives
- Grass for grazing, stall-fed cattle, brooms and thatching
- Timber
- Water
- Hunting for food (e.g. buffalos, duiker) and ceremonial purposes (Black and White Colobus monkey)
- Ropes from trees and vines for house and granary construction and for supporting matoke
- Craft material for items such as stools, mortars, trays and walking sticks
- Saltlick for livestock
- Sand for smearing houses and rich soil for use as a fertiliser
- Sand and clay for use in circumcision ceremonies at traditional sites

The use and importance of these products varies around the boundary of the Park, with some resources being used only in specific areas or at certain times. However, the study found that there were a number of resources that were consistently ranked by the community as being of high importance. These were bamboo shoots, bamboo stems, polewood, timber, firewood, medicine, honey and traditional sites. Women ranked vegetables, mushrooms, medicine and firewood higher than men. Bamboo shoots, bamboo stems and timber were ranked highest for economic importance. The resources ranked highest for cultural importance were bamboo shoots, bamboo stems, honey, traditional medicine, traditional sites and monkeys.

Overall, the study estimated that the economic value of extractive resource use from Mt. Elgon National Park is between US\$1.5 and 2.7 million annually. In addition, there were cultural, traditional, social and enjoyment values which were not given an economic value.

It was estimated that approximately 60% of the Park is accessed by local populations at varying intensities. Most of the resource use is concentrated in the previously encroached areas, the forest zone and the bamboo zone, with the maximum distance travelled for resource collection being around 10km. The zone nearest the Park boundary (approximately 30% of the Park) is most intensively used, and used for the greatest variety of resources.

A report was produced outlining the findings for each of the parishes studied together with recommendations for future actions (Scott, 1994). Two of the parishes studied, Mutshet Parish in Kapchorwa District and Ulukusi Parish in Mbale District, were selected for further development of the pilot agreements.

Hoefsloot (1997) outlines the subsequent steps used to discuss and negotiate the agreements in the two pilot parishes as follows:

1. Initial awareness raising meetings in villages bordering the Park were organised by the Park staff together with the local agricultural extension officer and the local council (LC) Chairman. From these meetings it was decided that each village in the parish would elect a few representatives to sit on a Forest Management Committee and negotiate on behalf of the community. This took about four months.

2. After the election of the Forest Management Committees, the actual discussions and negotiations took place over a period of about five months. For each of the pilot parishes a negotiation team was formed, led by the IUCN Technical Advisor and including two agricultural and forestry extension staff, the Park Ranger responsible for the area and a senior Park Warden. In both parishes a series of four meetings (with about two-week intervals in between) was held with the Forest Management

Committees to negotiate agreed access by local people to forest resources. A second series of three meetings was held to discuss roles and responsibilities, and control of access to the forest.

3. During the negotiations the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project staff acted as intermediaries to facilitate discussion between the park managers and the community representatives. The aim of the negotiation team was to facilitate agreement on the least sensitive issues initially, followed by further discussion and negotiation on more controversial issues in later meetings.
4. A first draft of the agreement was drawn-up and presented to Uganda Wildlife Authority (then Uganda National Parks) headquarters for comment. Comments and approval took some time as there was a lack of confidence within the organisation about removing direct control of resource-use from Park staff and about making decisions in such a new area. Some of the issues raised required policy decisions, and were referred to the Board of Trustees for approval.
5. The agreements were signed in January 1996, one and a half years after the process of negotiations had been initiated.

A summary of the key points in the agreements is given in Appendix 1.

2.3 Implementation Activities

Implementation of the agreements actually commenced prior to the signing of the agreements, once the negotiations were completed in mid-1995 (Hoefsloot 1997). Under the agreements, control over access to the Park's resources, as allowed in the agreement, was to be left to the Forest Management Committee (FMC) in each parish. Both FMC's decided that sub-committees should be formed for each trail leading into the forest. Each trail committee would be composed of members elected from the villages using the trail in question and would have responsibility for the day-to-day monitoring and control of forest use along their trail. The trail committees were to report to the FMC and seek their support in case of problems.

Rangers were not meant to, in the first instance, arrest community members carrying out illegal activities within the use zones of the pilot parishes. Instead they were meant to bring these instances to the attention of the FMC who would handle the issue. There were no provisions within the agreement for how incidences of illegal use would be dealt with by the committee, but it was assumed that either traditional or local government sanctions could be used.

Implementation was also meant to include monitoring of resource use by the FMC and by Park staff where necessary. As discussed further below there has been limited action on monitoring or reporting since implementation commenced.

According to the agreements, the role of Park staff in implementation is to carry out awareness raising amongst the community on the need and value of conserving the Mt Elgon ecosystem, and to assist in the monitoring and control of resource use through patrols, data collection and through taking legal action in support of the FMC where necessary. The findings of the review as discussed below show that there has been little action in these areas, for a range of reasons.

There was no provision in the agreements for Park staff to provide logistic or training support to the FMCs or the community generally. The Warden Community Conservation has, however, provided some writing materials to the committees to facilitate monitoring and reporting.

3. Review of Progress to Date

This section summarises findings from various reviews of implementation of the pilot agreements to date. Causes and implications of these findings are discussed in following sections.

3.1 Community attitudes and compliance with the agreements

Mugisha and Mapesa (1996) found that the communities had been willing to take up some management responsibilities but had "failed to meet some of their obligations as stipulated in the agreements". For example, in both the trial parishes they found that there was strong cooperation in overcoming the

agricultural encroachment problem but the community continues to smoke bamboo and graze cattle in the Park.

These conclusions were supported by the outcomes of a workshop held in Mbale in April 1996 with Park staff and representatives from the pilot Parishes (Turyomurugyendo, 1996). Successes and weaknesses listed at this workshop are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Successes and Weaknesses of pilot collaborative management agreements, April 1996

<i>Successes:</i>	<i>Weaknesses:</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The complete halt to grazing in formerly encroached areas of Ulukusi. ✓ Declining charcoal burning from the forests near Ulukusi Parish. ✓ No further agricultural encroachment in the pilot Parishes (or those nearby). ✓ Resource use committees having regular meetings to discuss park issues in relation to people's access, and had started public awareness activities about rights to use the Park wisely. ✓ The people of Ulukusi appreciated the signing of the agreements which allowed them use of some Park resources. ✓ The resource use committees had identified categories of informants that would help assist in the gathering of information regarding Park use (including registered stakeholders like herdsmen, herbalists, women and children). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✗ Continued grazing in the grasslands of Kapchorwa. ✗ Bamboo smoking (Ulukusi Parish) and collection of building poles (Mutushet Parish) remained strong issues to be resolved. ✗ The resource use committees were failing to report the real feelings of the communities they represented, instead reporting what they thought the Park managers wanted to hear. ✗ The collaborative management arrangements had not provided solutions to animals from the Park destroying crops and gardens of people living near the Park. ✗ The communities were not yet fully aware of their rights and responsibilities for the use and management of the Park resources. ✗ There was limited enthusiasm from the communities to attend meetings with the Park (attributed to the fact that the agreement did not address issues of concern to the community, such as land shortage, bamboo smoking and use of poles). ✗ There was confusion about what type of incentives to provide to resource use committees (the committees felt that they should be paid to undertake work to control and monitor resource use). ✗ The resource use committees felt that the signed agreements did not empower them enough to take disciplinary action against violators of the agreement (they felt demoralised when violators were reported to the Local Council system but no effective action was taken).

Fieldwork during the first half of 1997 by the authors, and research by Temm (1997) broadly supports these findings. The agreements have had positive impact in raising levels of community awareness of Park management issues, and cooperation with some of the provisions of the agreement, but there are many aspects of the agreements which are not being complied with, and there is misunderstanding, lack of information and confusion within the community about the agreements. For example, some significant additional points to those listed in Table 1 include:

- resource use committees are not collecting information or reporting on resource use as outlined in the agreements
- there have been problems with some of the trail committees confiscating products and collecting money for products from resource users, with little knowledge within the community of how this money is to be spent
- committee members are sometimes threatened with violence when they try to stop illegal resource use or collect fees from people from other Parishes using the trails in Ulukusi Parish

- the community feels that Rangers sometimes harass people cutting wood or burning charcoal outside the Park
- there are generally low levels of knowledge of the agreements amongst the community in Ulukusi Parish and a low level of understanding of the conservation objectives of the Park. This appears to relate to both the process used to negotiate the agreements (to be discussed later) and to limited communication between the resource use committee and the community generally about the agreements. This represents a failure of the committee to “undertake an education campaign aimed at increasing the knowledge of the people” as outlined in the agreement.

Another problem in both of the Pilot Parishes is that the resource use committee members expect incentives from the Park for the functions they perform as community representatives, and for any meetings they hold with Park staff. Again, this is not in accordance with the agreements. Despite this, some committee members do expend considerable time and effort on patrolling the forest and attempting to control resource use. A PHD anthropology student (Beck, P, pers comm) undertaking research in Mutushet Parish suggests that there are three reasons for committee members undertaking this work for no apparent benefit:

1. a genuine desire to protect the forest for the future use of the community in the Mutushet area
2. they are hoping to eventually be paid as “rangers” or at least be given boots and equipment in return for controlling resource use
3. it provides them with the opportunity to ensure that their family can have unimpeded access to resources within the Park.

Overall, the pilot collaborative management agreements can be seen to have had encouraging positive results in influencing resources use patterns despite the weaknesses identified. The remainder of this paper examines the factors leading to these weaknesses and explores ways of overcoming them so that the positive results can be built on.

3.2 UWA Implementation Capacity

Ongoing management problems and reorganisation of Uganda Wildlife Authority has severely limited the level of institutional commitment and support for the development of collaborative management approaches during the first two years of the project. For example, actions recommended in 1996 by the collaborative management taskforce to facilitate the development of collaborative management agreements have yet to be considered by the UWA Board (see Section 4.1).

Human resources available to develop and test collaborative management at Mt. Elgon National Park has been limited to the Warden Community Conservation and 5-8 Community Conservation Rangers, compared with over 50 Law Enforcement Rangers. As these Community Conservation Rangers are also responsible for all public education and liaison programs, boundary management and ongoing efforts to resolve conflicts and deal with ongoing agricultural encroachment issues, there is very limited time available to devote to developing collaborative management. The imbalance between Law Enforcement and Community Conservation rangers inevitably leads to a continuing fundamental bias towards law enforcement approaches to solving most Park management issues.

Temm (1997) found that there was very limited interaction between the community and Community Conservation rangers in Ulukusi Parish. The ranger only visited the trading centre on rare occasions, and did not visit other areas of the Parish. Most people he interviewed were unwilling to give an opinion about the ranger as they said they had not spoken to him enough to form an opinion. When the ranger did visit the trading centre, interaction was said to be in the form of a lecture from the ranger about conservation and prohibitions on the use of the Park. These findings are supported by more recent fieldwork by the authors.

There is a general lack of skills or experience in planning and undertaking participatory field work amongst Mt. Elgon National Park staff (apart from a few exceptions within the Warden and Junior Warden ranks). Most rangers are drawn from a paramilitary background, and very few had received training on participatory fieldwork approaches prior to 1997 when the Project commenced a series of workshops in cooperation with the Park Wardens. On the positive side, Rangers have been keen to learn at the training workshops held to date.

Even where community conservation approaches are implemented, observation in the field and at the training workshops held to date clearly show that most Rangers feel that their role is to “educate the community” about protecting the Park. There is little concept of seeking opinions and ideas from the community and then working with them to develop solutions to problems. A list of “community characteristics” developed by participants at a recent PRA Workshop highlights the negative opinions held by Park and some Project staff towards the knowledge, skills and abilities of communities they are working with (Hinchley, 1997). These are shown Table 2. Conversely, many people in the community also have negative views about Park staff.

Table 2: Attitudes of Rangers - suggested characteristics of rural community:

Negative	Positive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low education, illiterate • reluctant to accept innovations • slow learners • conservative (resistant to change) • some are hostile to Park staff • not open to outsiders • negative attitudes • corrupt • want cheap popularity (tell you what you want to hear) • they want quick returns (impatient) • they want free things • use politics to disrupt meetings • lack management skills • have lost conservation ethic • give false information sometimes • secretive • misinterpret information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • they have knowledge of the area • some are cooperative with Park staff • provide cheap labour • can be mobilised • they are hospitable • they are genuinely needy • have some knowledge of flora and fauna <p data-bbox="876 730 954 762">Other</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • they are poor • there is variation, for example, some people are rich • don't know impacts of resource use • fear Park staff • don't know their resource-use rights

Most Park and Project staff are unclear about what collaborative management means. An exercise with Community Conservation Rangers and other participants at the same workshop showed that there is confusion about what is meant by the terms Collaborative Management and Community Conservation⁴, and the difference between them. This is not surprising, as none of the current rangers or wardens were involved in the negotiation of collaborative management agreements in the two trial parishes, and only a small sample of staff (mainly more senior staff) have been involved in other discussions about these concepts at workshops within Uganda Wildlife Authority or elsewhere.

Exacerbating these problems are some institutional factors which influence the ability of Park staff to work well in the field. These include:

- Low salaries are unable to support staff adequately, thus providing a strong incentive for money-raising activities in the community (such as seeking payment from villagers in exchange for being allowed to graze animals or grow an annual crop on a plot inside the National Park). The salary problem is exacerbated by irregular payment of monthly salaries, which may be several months late on occasions.
- There is generally a lack of incentives for field staff to undertake field work. UWA has not got sufficient resources to provide housing for all field staff, nor is it able to pay overnight allowances to encourage staff to stay in villages for extended stays. Allowances provided by the Project do not directly encourage fieldwork, as they are structured as a flat rate for all staff of equivalent classification, and thus do not reward those who spend more time in the field. In fact they are penalised as their cost of living in the field is higher.

⁴ Community Conservation is a broader term used by Uganda Wildlife Authority to describe all work involving interaction with communities living around protected areas. It includes education and awareness programs, conflict resolution, and consultative meetings as well as collaborative management. Collaborative management is thus a specific part of community conservation focusing on the sharing of benefits and decision-making authority as defined in Section 2.1.

- Transfers of Park staff between protected areas within Uganda have led to loss of historical knowledge about community conservation and collaborative management work carried out over the last couple of years. Staff transferred to Mt. Elgon National Park are also often not able to speak the local languages used by communities living around the Park, thus decreasing their effectiveness in the field.

3.3 Comparison with Law Enforcement Approaches

Collaborative management has been piloted in only 2 of the 57 Parishes in Mbale and Kapchorwa Districts which adjoin Mt. Elgon National Park. The results in the pilot areas thus have to be seen in the context of Park management issues in the all other areas of the Park, where the main management activities are patrols by armed Law Enforcement Rangers and community liaison and education by Community Conservation Rangers

The management of Mt. Elgon National Park is still beset by many problems. There is heavy pressure on the Park environment for a wide range of uses by communities living around the Park and continuing incidences of encroachment for agriculture and conflict between the Park managers and communities in many areas. Limited resources, difficult terrain, limited access to the Park and low staff morale means that control of Park use by communities through law enforcement and education approaches is largely ineffective, and use of most Park resources is uncontrolled. Management resources are stretched even to limit further agricultural encroachment, which is the most immediate and serious threat to the Park ecosystem.

Thus, although the pilot collaborative management agreements have only been partially successful, the improvements in relations with the local communities and improved control of resource use in the pilot areas does give some indication of the potential of collaborative management approaches in Mt. Elgon National Park. As is discussed below, these improvements have occurred despite many problems and limitations in the approaches used to develop and implement the pilot collaborative management agreements.

4. Discussion of findings

4.1 Policy, Legislation and Institutional Commitment

The Uganda Wildlife Authority collaborative management taskforce (UWA, 1996) found that the Uganda Wildlife Authority policy developed in 1995 is enabling for collaborative management, and not only allows scope for development of collaborative management approaches but calls for their active promotion. Collaborative management is not mentioned specifically in the Uganda Wildlife Authority Statute but is broadly catered for under a number of sections and allows for the Executive Director to enter into collaborative arrangements with any person for "the management of a protected area or a portion of the protected area" (Part III: 15-1, p.22). The taskforce concluded that collaborative management could fall under this provision until the statute is revised and more specific provisions can be included.

Under Part III: 15, there is also specific requirement that any person entering into an agreement with the authority must submit a management plan in the prescribed form and manner. The taskforce suggested that collaborative management agreements prepared according to guidelines approved by the Board of Trustees would constitute an acceptable "management plan" under this requirement. The taskforce further concluded that this section would over-ride other sections within the statute that require permits to be issued for harvesting from a protected area (although an agreement may include a requirement for permits if so desired).

The actions proposed by the taskforce to ensure that collaborative management is carried out within the law governing the Uganda Wildlife Authority were that the Board of Trustees endorse:

1. the proposed agreement format as the "prescribed" form for collaborative management agreements
2. the proposed harvesting/access permit form for protected area access as suitable for use within collaborative management agreements if the terms of the agreement call for a permit system to be operational.

Neither of these recommendations have yet been implemented. As a consequence policy and legislation is seen to prohibit a number of activities which the community consider to be important and acceptable uses of the Park and the Park managers do not feel that they can “break the laws governing the Park”(Mugisha and Mapesa, 1996). In some cases at least there is no scientific reason for these uses to not be allowed to continue in a controlled way, for example in the case of bamboo harvesting and processing (Scott, 1994).

One notable implication of the policy and legislative provisions as outlined above is the need for collaborative management agreements to be signed by the Executive Director. This means that agreements negotiated at Park level have to be forwarded for eventual approval to Uganda Wildlife Authority headquarters in Kampala. For a Park like Mt. Elgon National Park, with 57 Parishes bordering the Park, and probably ten times this number of villages (or other “user groups”) potentially interested in entering into agreements, this could create a significant bottleneck and delays which could derail negotiation processes. Possible mechanism to streamline this process, within the legislative provisions, will need to be explored as collaborative management develops. One option would be for UWA to delegate responsibility for signing collaborative management agreements to the Warden In Charge of each protected area.

An aspect of policy and legislation not examined by the taskforce is the interaction between law enforcement and collaborative management approaches to park management. Where there are no collaborative management agreements in place Law Enforcement Rangers are required to prevent people entering the Park to collect or use Park resources. Problems thus arise, especially during the piloting and developmental stage, where there are areas of the forest and community where agreements are being developed or have been signed, alongside areas where no agreements are in place and thus resource use is not allowed. This situation is already evident in Mt. Elgon National Park with the two pilot agreements, and has resulted in considerable lack of clarity in what use of the park is allowed by the community and in what areas. Law Enforcement Rangers are reluctant to apply two different sets of rules to adjoining communities, and the communities themselves are reluctant to accept different rules.

Not only does this situation reduce the effectiveness of law enforcement, but it also makes the development of collaborative management arrangements more difficult. For example, from the community's perspective there is little to be gained by negotiating an agreement regarding resource use when, for various reasons, there is limited law enforcement such that people are able to have unrestricted use of forest resources in any case.

One idea being tried at Mt. Elgon National Park to minimise this problem is to work simultaneously with villages within “zones” bounded by natural geographic or social features, where communities are facing generally the same issues, are using similar forest products, and have close knowledge of what is happening in adjoining communities. With a Park boundary of over 220 km in length it is obviously not possible to work with all villages adjacent to the park at once, but it does appear possible to identify suitable zones to concentrate on (although the capacity limitations discussed above will limit this approach).

Lack of positive action from Uganda Wildlife Authority headquarters to endorse and promote collaborative management also inhibits development and implementation of collaborative management in the field. Many of the issues involved in developing new arrangements raise policy questions which need consideration and agreement at both Park and headquarters levels.

An important step in clarifying a collaborative management approach for Mt. Elgon National Park is thus to resolve outstanding policy, legislation and institutional commitment within the Uganda Wildlife Authority generally. As pointed out by Fisher (1995), “Acting as policemen on one hand, and community developer on the other, does not bring any consistency to the way government staff interact with villagers. There is no point in trying to change the way government staff behave if they are faced with mixed, or even contradictory, expectations from their superiors.” This is an existing experience in UWA that is contributing to the problems with UWA implementation capacity discussed above. These can best be solved in an enabling policy environment.

Assuming that Uganda Wildlife Authority does clarify its position on collaborative management, either by endorsing the recommendations of the collaborative management taskforce report, and/or by taking further action to clarify its approach either generally or for individual Parks, Mt. Elgon National Park needs to define its approach in more detail within the broader institutional approach. UWA should

consider some flexibility in the types of collaborative management arrangements developed in various protected areas in Uganda depending on the local situation. These may vary from revenue sharing arrangements to simple resource use agreements through to collaborative management arrangements handing over substantial management authority to local users. Factors influencing the choice of approaches likely to be successful in Mt. Elgon National Park are discussed in the following sections.

4.2 Rights, Responsibilities and Benefits

Fisher (1995) examines issues relating to the sharing of benefits and decision-making responsibility from examples of collaborative management of forests from around the world. He argues that

“ a meaningful level of control over decision-making - essentially a form of power - is necessary to enhance effective involvement. Although participants do not necessarily require full control, they are much more likely to follow resource management practices when they have had some meaningful input into the process. While this may be less than full control it must, at the minimum, involve actual power-sharing”

The pilot agreements signed in Mutushet and Ulukusi Parishes handed over rights to the use of some forest products and allocated responsibility to the Forest Management Committees to monitor and control the level of product use by community members. It did not allocate power to the forest users to decide what products can be taken from the forest or control the levels of product use, nor do users have any ability to influence the management intent for their area of forest. Negotiations were based on what the Park managers would *allow* the forest users to use, depending on the Park authority's interpretation of what uses would be compatible with the Park's conservation objectives. Management decision-making therefore still lies with the Park managers.

Fisher suggests that government organisations usually impose restrictions on local control because of a reluctance to surrender their own power and because of a lack of confidence in the ability of untrained local people to manage resources. This reluctance is evident within Uganda Wildlife Authority and a lack of confidence in local people is highlighted by the list of opinions of rangers given in Appendix 2. Hoefsloot (1997) also recognised this type of problem and suggests that changing the corporate culture of Uganda Wildlife Authority from one of assuming the role of exclusive manager of the protected area to one of facilitating others to become managers will be difficult to achieve.

Observation of attitudes within the communities surrounding the Park also suggests that government officials, at all levels of government, have high levels of power and that this has a strong influence on community behaviour. This is evident at community meetings where rangers and other officials are accorded places of honour and treated with deference, and also in all dealings with the community, where field workers are required to work through the local council officials. So not only does the culture of UWA need to change as suggested above, but field workers also need to work with the community to break down this pattern so that they can work collaboratively. This issue has been addressed at training workshops in participatory fieldwork skills for Rangers and other fieldworkers, but change in behaviour has been slow. Emphasis is continuing to be given to encouraging field staff to work more with individuals and small groups of people rather than only with village meetings as has been the practice in the past.

Power relations within the community are also significant. In both pilot parishes negotiations were carried out with a committee of elected representatives from the villages within the parish. These elected representatives inevitably are mainly local government officials or other community leaders, that is, the more powerful or respected people in the community. The majority of forest users were not directly involved in the discussions and negotiations, and were thus dependent for their information on the more powerful committee members who may or may not have sought their input or passed on results of discussions with the Park managers. There are no mechanisms built into the agreement for formally or informally obtaining the input of users as part of ongoing management. Ordinary forest users thus have limited power to influence the pilot collaborative management agreements.

Mt. Elgon National Park is unlikely in the short to medium term to generate sufficient revenue to provide significant revenue sharing opportunities to financially compensate local people for restricted access to Park resources. The two pilot collaborative management agreements in Ulukusi and Mutushet Parishes are basically resource sharing agreements, with the terms and conditions largely set by Park managers. As discussed in this paper these have many problems and are not yet a suitable model for

broader application. Similarly, law enforcement or protection approaches have been shown to be inequitable and of limited effectiveness in Mt. Elgon National Park, as in many other protected areas around the world with high levels of resource use by local people, large areas and limited resources and capacity.

This paper therefore advocates a collaborative management approach which attempts to make more use of the opportunities for sharing benefits from the Park, involving people in management decision-making and assisting people to develop alternatives to reliance on the Park resources. As summarised by Fisher (1995) this approach is likely to require the following elements:

- an exploratory or action learning approach to developing collaborative management arrangements
- a strong element of local power, expressed as a genuine local involvement in decision-making, including planning and ongoing management
- some mechanisms to compensate local people for the costs of conservation, either directly or indirectly
- secure arrangements that guarantee access to resources, or compensation for denied access
- recognition of user groups and use-rights and, as much as possible, recognition of local institutions as the basis for new management structures
- consideration of equity amongst participants, especially in terms of avoiding negative effects for particular members of the local community.

A key question for future development of collaborative management arrangements for Mt. Elgon National Park is whether Uganda Wildlife Authority is able to endorse such an approach and provide an enabling environment to support its field staff in developing the details of the approach at Park level. Clear commitment to the development of pilot agreements where Park managers are empowered to negotiate agreements based on local needs and management systems, rather than on existing practices, is needed. This will require a clear articulation of what control UWA will retain to ensure that the management objectives of the Park are being met, how this will be monitored and under what conditions the negotiated agreements can be revoked if they are not achieving the agreed aims.

4.3 Biodiversity issues

Mt. Elgon National Park was established in 1993 with the primary purpose of strengthening the conservation status of the Mt. Elgon Ecosystem, which had previously been managed as a Forest Reserve (MENP Draft Management Plan, 1998). Its overall objective is:

To conserve and manage the physical, ecological and cultural resources of Mt. Elgon National Park for the benefit of present and future generations.

Conservation of biodiversity and other ecological values is thus an important issue for Mt. Elgon National Park managers. A biodiversity study in Mt. Elgon National Park (Davenport et al, 1996) found that, compared with other Ugandan forests, Mount Elgon is not especially biodiverse, but rates highly for "conservation value" of trees, shrubs and large moths based on species rarity and worldwide distribution. High conservation value species occur both in the forest zone, which is the main area of resource use by local people, and in the higher altitude shrubland and moorland zones which are subject to lower levels of use. Collaborative management arrangements therefore cannot avoid having an impact on important conservation values and therefore must specifically include mechanisms to manage, monitor and evaluate the impacts.

The traditional approach to biodiversity conservation in protected areas has been to ban most forms of resource use or exploration and place the area under the control of a specific agency such as a National Park authority. As a result of increasing recognition of the failure of this approach in many areas and of the links between conservation and development since the 1980's, a large number of integrated conservation and development projects have developed to attempt to achieve conservation together with, or through, the development of communities affected by the protected area (Gilmour 1994, Wells and Brandon 1992, Borrini-Feyerabend 1996). However, there appears to be little analytical literature examining the success of this approach in maintaining or improving biodiversity in protected areas.

There are, however, some examples from community forestry which suggest that collaborative management approaches can contribute to biodiversity conservation. For example, in a study of community forests managed by Forest User Groups in two districts in Nepal, Jackson and Ingles (1994) found that there were improvements in the quantity, diversity and health of natural forest brought under user group control, even though the prime management aim of most community forests is to satisfy community needs. Branney and Dev (1994) suggest that community forestry in Nepal is at least maintaining or improving the forest cover and, because of the types of management practices implemented by user groups, is likely to increase diversity within the forests. Both papers recognise, however, that management by user groups has the potential to either increase or decrease biodiversity in a particular forest area depending on the community's needs and management aims and practices.

Given the conservation imperatives for National Park management there is thus considerable debate within Uganda Wildlife Authority about whether it is acceptable to hand over responsibility for management, and thus biodiversity conservation, to communities who use the Park. And if it is appropriate, how much control should be handed over, in which areas, and what role should the Park managers play?

Possible strategies for biodiversity conservation within the context of collaborative management of the Park include:

- Negotiate resource- use rights and decision-making authority with resource users wherever there is the demand, and rely on the process of negotiation to effectively lead to improved management and thus improved conservation (as appears to be the case in the examples quoted above). This needs to be accompanied by monitoring and evaluation programs to enable managers to monitor changes to the Park environment and work with the communities involved to adjust management arrangements where necessary to meet conservation objectives. This is in line with the approach being advocated in this paper.
- Limited hand-over of some resource-use rights to users together with some responsibilities for controlling use, but maintain decision-making authority with UWA to allocate which resources can be used and how much (i.e. as in the pilot parishes). This retains responsibility for decisions relating to biodiversity conservation with UWA.
- Develop buffer zones or multiple-use zones within the Park where most resource use is concentrated and accept a possible trade-off of some loss of biodiversity in this area in exchange for decreased use and an assumption of increased biodiversity in remaining areas of the Park.
- Some combination of the above.

Each of these possible strategies has different implications for the type of collaborative management agreements which could be negotiated and thus for the potential success and sustainability of collaborative management as a management approach. For example, if resource-use is restricted to buffer zones defined by Park managers, or to uses decided by Park managers, will there be sufficient incentive for forest users to contribute to improved management? Or, if management decision-making responsibility about resource use is handed over to communities, how will conservation objectives be considered and management strategies for conservation be implemented?

As it is not possible to fully research all aspects of the ecology of resource use areas before entering into collaborative management agreements, monitoring and evaluation systems are needed to identify changes over time and thus to allow further investigations and adjustment to management strategies as necessary. This aspect is discussed further in Section 4.4.4.

4.4 Further Development of collaborative management

4.4.1 Overview

Given the management problems and limitations discussed in earlier sections of this paper, collaborative management offers an important opportunity to Park managers to achieve improved conservation of Mt. Elgon National Park. However, to achieve this potential there are four major elements in the development of collaborative management arrangements which need to be addressed. Firstly, policy issues must be addressed and discussions held within UWA to clarify and get general agreement on the

rational for collaborative management at Mt. Elgon National Park and endorsement and commitment for an ongoing piloting effort.

Secondly, the existing pilot agreements require attention to improve them based on experience so far. Instead of completely starting again in these two areas it is proposed that efforts focus on building on the successful aspects of the agreements and make adjustments where necessary to overcome the identified weaknesses.

Thirdly, there is an opportunity to expand collaborative management to new Parishes and test new approaches based on lessons learnt in the pilot Parishes.

And finally there are several specific opportunities to apply elements of a collaborative management approach to solve particular management problems relating to formerly encroached areas, boundary management and plantation management.

An action plan has been developed based on these four elements. This is shown in Appendix 2. The following sections describe the thinking behind the actions included in the action plan and discuss the work required to address each of the four elements mentioned above.

4.4.2 Policy and Implementation Capacity

The policy issues discussed in Section 4.1 need to be resolved for collaborative management to develop to its potential for Mt. Elgon National Park. However, although the Park managers and the Project can lobby UWA for satisfactory action on these issues, action is required at national level by UWA Headquarters and the Board of Trustees. Mt. Elgon National Park can contribute to this process by raising the issues which have become apparent through experience with the pilot agreements and promote discussion of potential solutions.

Limitations in resources for developing collaborative management can partially remedied at Park level by restructuring the ranger force to put greater emphasis on community-based approaches. This has been addressed in the collaborative management action plan by the formation of teams for each pilot area. Each team includes a combination of Community Conservation Rangers and Law Enforcement Rangers, with additional assistance from District agricultural and forestry extension officers associated with the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project.

4.4.3 Proposed Investigation and Negotiation Processes

4.4.3.1 Rationale

From the reviews of the two pilot agreements in Ulukusi and Mutushet Parishes it is evident that the investigation and negotiation processes used did not fully explore and resolve the resource use and management issues involved, and did not involve all, or even a majority of, resource users. Problems identified include:

- The negotiation process was insufficient to enable all parties to reach a consensus (Mugisha and Mapesa, 1996). Issues such as the collection of bamboo shoots were not fully discussed or resolved during the negotiations.
- The roles spelt out in the agreements were primarily oriented towards meeting the management objectives of the Park managers rather than meeting genuine community needs (Mugisha and Mapesa, 1996)
- Parish committees were formed inappropriately - too early and with misunderstanding about their roles and responsibilities. For example Mugisha and Mapesa (1996) suggest that roles and responsibilities were not sufficiently spelt out and understood from the start of the negotiation process.
- The committees were empowered in isolation from general agreements within the community about their role. They therefore see themselves as pseudo-Rangers who can determine what resource use is allowed, and can extract money from community members who want to use the resource (this applies to both Parish-level committees and trail committees).

As noted by Borrini-Feyerabend (1997) communities are complex entities, and what benefits one group and meets conservation needs may harm another. For example, agreements reached on banning the production of charcoal within the Park may have benefited conservation and not harmed the interests of people in the negotiating committee, but has an obvious impact on the small number of people involved in producing and selling charcoal as their source of income. Minority groups such as these may be the poorer, marginalised or landless people within the community.

Fisher (1995) points out the importance to collaborative management of identifying all the relevant units of social organisation and potential conflicts within the community, and suggests that an understanding of structures, interests and functions of these groups is required.

Finding the right group of people within the community to negotiate with thus appears to be of major importance. Negotiations with a committee representing the whole Parish community, as formed in the two pilot Parishes in Mt Elgon, has a number of potential problems:

- the committee does not necessarily accurately represent the interests of all groups within the community
- people elected to the committee may not be forest users, and thus may not have intimate knowledge of forest use or a full understanding of forest user needs
- the Parish boundary will in most cases not match with the patterns of resource use within the community (i.e. people from outside the Parish may be using the same area of forest, but are not represented in the discussions leading to the agreement, or in the provisions of the agreement)

All of these problems are evident in the two pilot areas. Similar problems have been faced in other attempts to develop collaborative resource management arrangements. In community forestry in Nepal, implementation was initially through local government units. However, over time it was realised that local government boundaries were inappropriate and led to conflict and management problems, as both the forests and the communities involved in managing a particular forest area crossed the boundaries. Success improved when agreements were developed with user-groups, which are groups of people with mutually recognised rights to the use of a particular forest area (Jackson and Ingles 1994, Bartlett and Nurse 1991). A major factor in successfully developing workable and sustainable community forestry agreements is the initial step of correctly identifying who is in the user group.

Wily (1995a, 1995b) in two examples of developing collaborative management arrangements for forest reserves in Tanzania found that the logical unit for negotiation and agreements was the village. People in each village were found to mainly use only those parts of the forest associated with their village. In one of these examples the village and forest boundaries were well known and well-marked, but in the other a process of meeting together, agreeing on the boundary and demarcating it, was undertaken by the villagers involved. Fisher (1995) also examines this issue and argues "very strongly for a strategy that focuses on existing user-based institutions where they exist rather than setting up new organisations". He does not rule out the possibility of a need to create new structures but argues that they are more likely to be effective if they:

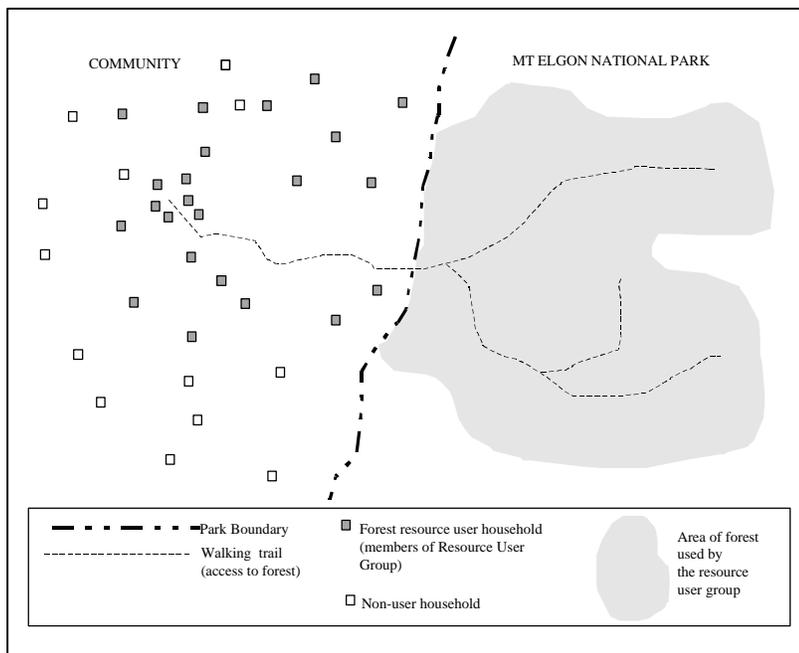
- are based on existing usufruct rights as much as possible
- include or represent people with legitimate local interests and no others
- have organisational features appropriate to the needs of the people involved (e.g. where there is no money involved there is no need for a treasurer for an organisation)
- has the necessary legal authority to be effective, which is outside the control of government agencies (making user groups operate as delegates of other institutions compromises the effectiveness of their decision-making).

With these factors in mind, further development of collaborative management agreements for communities living around Mt. Elgon National Park will focus on identification of legitimate users based on a clear understanding of resource-use patterns (e.g. based on identification of the actual users of a particular area of forest). Care is needed to link this approach with existing local council structures (LC1 - village and LC2 - Parish levels), which are the main decision-making bodies at local community level. All stakeholders in the groups must have an effective say in the discussions, so that negotiations lead to an agreement that is well understood and accepted by all users of the area under discussion.

4.4.3.2 Resource User Groups or Village Level Agreements

In some areas around Mt. Elgon National Park it is possible to identify groups of people who constitute the users of a particular area of forest, generally by identifying people who use a particular trail into the forest along a ridgeline. Figure 1 shows an example of a user group made up of the households using a particular area of forest inside the National Park boundary.

Figure 1 Diagram showing Resource User Group(RUG) and its resource-use area



Note that Resource User Groups (RUGs) could overlap to some extent as shown in the two possible cases in Figure 2. This is not necessarily a problem, but would mean that the two overlapping groups would need to have some discussion between themselves about sharing resource use and management in the overlapping area.

In other areas, however, the topography, and other factors such as the shape of the Park boundary, means that a several trails may converge deeper within the forest, and large areas of the forest will be used by people from a number of geographically separate villages. This situation is shown in Figure 3, and is being approached by trialing village-level agreements, with provisions for co-ordination between villages through Parish-level committees drawing together village representatives.

4.4.3.3 Specialist Resource Users

Another complicating issue in Mt. Elgon National Park is the existence of varying types of user groups. For example, in Ulukusi Parish people living close to the Park tend to use the forest for a wide range of uses on a regular basis. In addition, during the season for collecting bamboo shoots a large number of people from surrounding Parishes also travel through Ulukusi Parish to harvest shoots. An agreement with the regular users of the Park could not therefore be expected to control and manage the harvesting of bamboo shoots, as many of the bamboo users would not be party to the agreement. Conversely, bamboo users who are not regular resource users could not be expected to display a strong interest in managing the harvesting of other forest resources. These can be seen as two different types of user groups:

- (i) User groups where most people living in a particular area adjacent to the Park are involved in resource use from a reasonably defined area of the Park

- (ii) "Specialist" users who are interested in only one type of resource, and who may come from a wider area, be more scattered through the community, and/or only use the resource on a seasonal or irregular basis

There may thus be a need for negotiation of separate agreements with these two different groups of people. An additional level of negotiation between the groups may also be required.

Figure 2: Diagram showing overlapping Resource User Groups

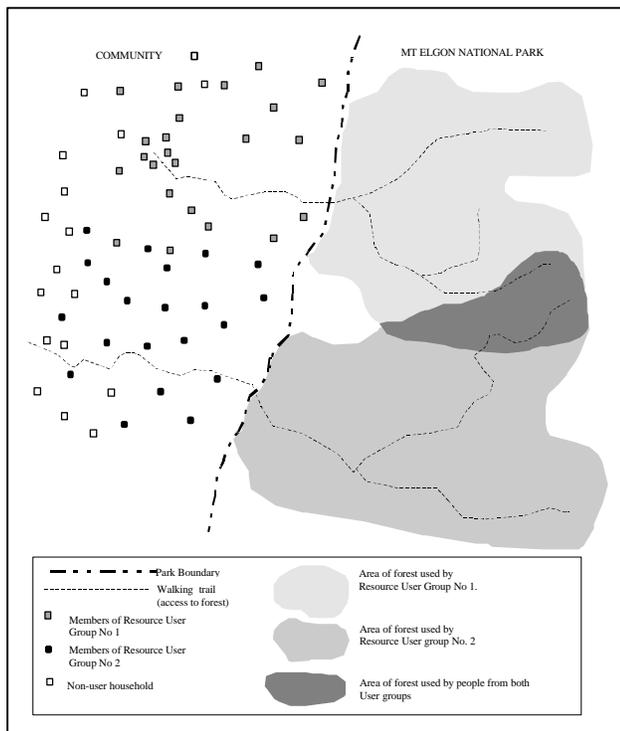
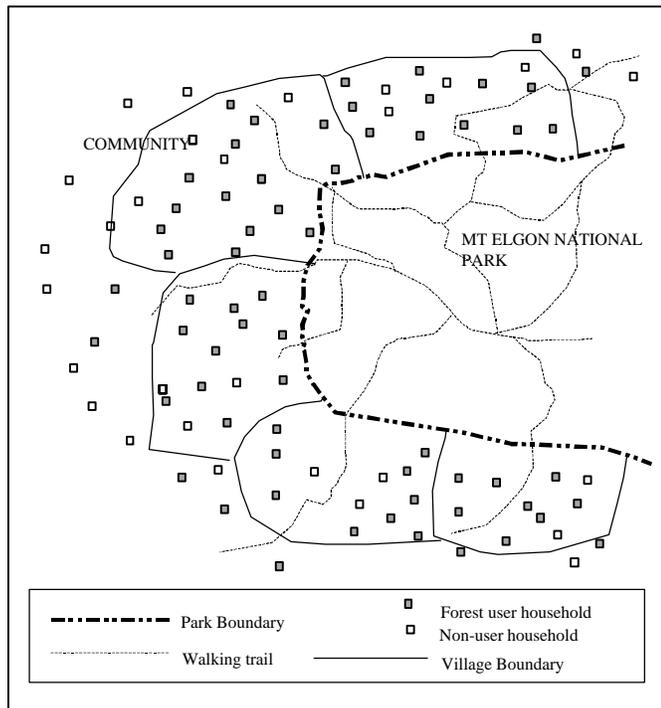


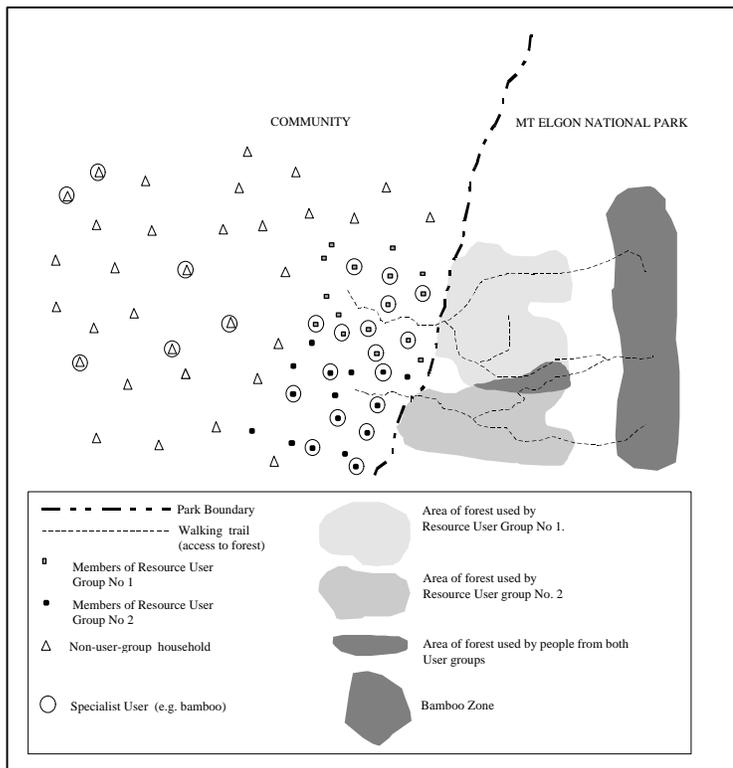
Figure 3: Diagram showing converging forest use areas



RUGs may thus either be based on a geographic area as shown in Figure's 1 and 2, or for some products may be a group of people from a wider area who are interested in collecting only one product as shown in Figure 4 (Specialist Resource User Group). An individual could be in both a normal RUG and a Specialist RUG, and would need to be involved in the discussions of both RUGs during the negotiation phase.

A similar situation is evident with cattle grazing within the Park, particularly in parts of Kapchorwa District

Figure 4 Diagram showing a Specialist User Group crossing several other RUGS



4.4.3.4 Boundary and Encroached Area management

There are some areas where there is cleared land along the Park boundary, resulting from previous encroachment for agriculture. Although these areas are generally viewed as a management problem, they also provide an excellent opportunity for involving the adjoining communities in replanting trees in the area under a negotiated agreement whereby communities replant in exchange for subsequent management and access to forest products from the replanted area (and possibly benefits from cultivation between the young trees). In this way substantial community benefit and empowerment can be created while simultaneously rehabilitating degraded areas of the Park. Although the forest developed in these areas may not be "natural" forest they can play a dual conservation role of both contributing to biodiversity and habitat values in their own right, as well as providing alternative forest resources which would otherwise be obtained from existing forests further inside the Park.

This approach is already being trialed in areas where replanting of a the Park boundary strip is required, as part of a strategy to establish boundary marker plantings around the complete Park boundary (10-15m wide in most places). Trials of this approach are also underway for some areas which have been the subject of disputes between the Park managers and the adjoining communities over the correct location of the boundary, and where involving communities in replanting the area can contribute to conflict resolution as well as community benefit.

As there are no existing users of these areas (except for illegal agricultural encroachment) it is not possible to identify a Resource User Group for this process. It has thus been decided to initially use village (LC1) units as the appropriate negotiating unit, as this creates linkages to the level of government with the most immediate interest in the Park boundary and includes all landowners with land adjoining the Park.

4.4.3.5 Plantation Management

Mt. Elgon National Park includes two softwood plantation areas established when the area was under the management of the Forest Department as a forest reserve. As these plantations are considered to be an important resource, for local and regional wood supplies, revenue generation and to reduce the impact of illegal harvesting from natural forests in the Park, the Uganda Wildlife Authority Board has decided that they will be managed on a sustainable basis for wood production. Management plans for harvesting, replanting, protection and management of the plantations are thus required. Involvement of local communities in these programs, and benefit to local communities, is considered to be important to the long-term sustainability of these operations.

Communities living in and around the softwood plantations are interested in sharing the benefits of these plantations and being involved in replanting and management operations. They are particularly interested in practicing agriculture in clearfelled areas in exchange for assisting with replanting, tending and protection of the young trees (taunga system). Revenue sharing, employment and access to timber products have also been raised as benefits which should flow to local communities. There is concern that most of the benefits have in the past gone to concession holders rather than local people.

Efforts will thus be made to develop agreements with communities surrounding the plantations regarding the sharing of benefits and management responsibilities for the plantations to meet both the Park's need for revenue generation and the communities needs for access to land for cultivation and other benefits. The initial focus for discussions will be at the village level.

4.4.3.6 Processes for Investigation and Negotiation

The Action Plan includes suggestions to guide field staff in the process of investigating and negotiating the new collaborative management agreements. Broadly, these processes are as follows:

- ✎ Initial investigations to develop an understanding of resource use patterns and issues in each pilot area and identify the appropriate groups for discussion and negotiation
- ✎ Facilitation of negotiations within a user-group (or other appropriate group) aiming to lead to agreement within the group about what resources should be used, control mechanisms to put in place etc. Park staff will facilitate this discussion process, as well as provide technical input on what impacts the proposed management resource use and management arrangements would have on the Park environment (and suggest ways of overcoming negative impacts)
- ✎ The agreed resource-use and management arrangements should then be recorded in a written document which records the outcomes of discussion within the community, and between the community and the Park managers. This document should be signed at a local level by all parties to the discussions (e.g. all members of the Resource User Group and the relevant Park managers). A Resource-Use Committee could be formed at this stage to co-ordinate the implementation of the agreed operational plan.
- ✎ Several of these local Resource User Group(RUG) agreements could be aggregated together (e.g. to a Parish level) to meet the legislative need for a formal agreement between the community and UWA represented by the Executive Director. A Parish-level committee could be formed of representatives of each of the local level committees.

Continual refinement of the systems developed will be required, and will depend on the successful implementation of the monitoring systems mentioned above, and on the development of ways of supporting local committees as they manage the implementation phase.

4.4.4 Developing a monitoring and evaluation system

The collaborative management agreements for Mt. Elgon National Park are being developed in a complex social and ecological environment. Many aspects of this environment are poorly understood, and with the limited resources available are unlikely to be comprehensively studied for many years. As most of the management problems of Mt. Elgon National Park require urgent action, it is simply not feasible to fully research all possible impacts of collaborative management arrangements, or other management options, before implementation commences. Instead, an action learning approach can be used, to enable testing and refinement of management interventions based on experience over time.

For this reason it is considered essential that a simple and effective monitoring and evaluation system is developed to test whether the agreements are being followed and the impact of the management provisions in the agreement on the Park environment and the community.

Factors to monitor include:

- changes in ecological condition within the resource use zone (e.g. forest regeneration, structure and species composition)
- compliance with the conditions of the agreements, including
 - ✎ levels of extraction of resources from the Park
 - ✎ community participation in meetings
 - ✎ progress in establishing alternative resources on private land
 - ✎ levels of participation in Park management issues (e.g. controlling problem animals, controlling resource use)
- people's perceptions and satisfaction with the agreements including
 - ✎ attitudes towards Park management and conservation
 - ✎ knowledge of the agreements
 - ✎ community/staff relationships
 - ✎ equity issues (e.g. who is receiving what benefits from the agreements)

The management agreements should include reference to these monitoring systems which ensure that management can be modified over time based on the results of the monitoring and evaluation findings.

4.4.5 Building capacity

There is a clear need to build capacity within Uganda Wildlife Authority and its partner institutions in several areas to facilitate implementation of participatory approaches to resource management. These include:

4.4.5.1 Staff training

The collaborative management taskforce (UWA 1996) recommended that fieldwork for developing collaborative management arrangements should be led by UWA staff rather than staff from supporting projects or other institutions. This idea is supported by experience in Mt. Elgon National Park which has shown that up-front involvement of Project staff tends to raise expectations within the community of monetary rewards, and alienates Park staff from the process. As Park field staff have little experience in participatory approaches, ongoing training is necessary to support the development of skills in this area.

Although the Project has already run several training workshops on participatory approaches for Park Rangers, reorientation towards collaborative approaches cannot be achieved without continuing support for developing skills and encouraging the adoption of new approaches to working with the community. Fisher (1995) highlights the need for a process of experiential learning, where field staff are encouraged to learn through a facilitated process of critical reflection on experience. He also points out that this is difficult to expect government staff to behave in a collaborative manner with the community if they are treated in an authoritarian manner by their superiors, as relationships between an organisation and its client tend to reflect the type of relationship operating in the organisation. This suggests a need for a training approach which continually encourages staff develop ideas together, try them in the field and then jointly reflect and adapt based on their joint experiences. Field staff, Park managers and UWA head office staff all need to be involved in this process to develop and learn new approaches together.

Reorientation of approaches for collaborative management need to focus on

- less emphasis on "awareness raising", more on gathering information and encouraging community input
- less lecturing, more listening
- less emphasis on meetings and more on using a variety of participatory tools to seek information and ideas from all effected individuals and interest groups (and no financial incentives should be provided for meetings -if they are needed, it is a sign the process is wrong)

4.4.5.2 Encouraging collaborative effort

As a result of earlier reviews (Stocking1993 and Wily 1993) the Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project Phase III design recognises the need to link conservation and development activities and to ensure that out-of-Park efforts to promote sustainable development is focused primarily on local people likely to have a negative impact on conservation of the Park. Extension activities have therefore been concentrated in Parishes adjoining the Park.

However, linkages between efforts to involve the community in collaborative management arrangements with the Park and the targeting of extension activities has not been strong. Efforts by Park staff to identify local use of forest products has not been directly linked to extension efforts in a particular area to help users reduce their dependency on forest resources. Although extension programs target agricultural activities (in Parishes adjoining the Park) thought likely to reduce impact on the Park, this assumption is not explicitly tested in each local area. Nor are Park staff in a position to offer assistance to the community to reduce their dependency on the Park when negotiating agreements about resource use in the park. Joint action by Park field staff and extension field staff to identify resource users and to design extension programs which support the collaborative management arrangements being developed is thus necessary.

As suggested by Wily (1993), a team approach is one way of overcoming this problem. Not only would this allow joint action on the key conservation and development issues, but the experience of extension staff in working with communities would assist in building capacity of rangers in this area. Extension staff would gain greater insight into the impacts of their activities on park resource use and management issues.

As Park rangers and extension staff are in different government departments, the Project will need to develop and implement improved funding and support mechanisms to ensure this linkage is strengthened. Efforts already underway such as joint training programs and workshops need to be supported by a revision of the duties of Project-supported extension staff to include specific attention to joint work planning and implementation with relevant Park staff. Park managers need to include similar provision in the duties of Park field staff.

As already discussed, balancing law enforcement and collaborative management approaches within Mt. Elgon National Park is a difficult issue. The current Park workforce structure, with one group of rangers responsible for law enforcement, and another responsible for community conservation (which includes collaborative management) results in separate work planning and implementation, and separate lines of reporting and responsibility. The team approach proposed therefore also needs to include Law Enforcement Rangers to ensure integration of the two approaches.

5. Conclusions

Collaborative management approaches for the management of Mt. Elgon National Park are still in their infancy. Initial efforts in the two pilot Parishes of Mutushet and Ulukusi are promising in that improvements in relationships and co-operation between Park staff and the community have occurred, despite a number of shortcomings in the processes used to develop the trial agreements. Action plans and approaches have been developed which can potentially overcome these problems, and communities around the Park are generally positive about the idea of developing collaborative management arrangements.

However, for collaborative management approaches to be further developed and successfully implemented in Mt. Elgon National Park, a number of significant institutional issues and constraints have to be overcome. These include lack of capacity and resources within Mt. Elgon National Park and limited institutional commitment to collaborative management approaches within Uganda Wildlife Authority generally. Lack of policy action to clarify and support collaborative management and a continuing bias towards enforcement approaches are evidence of this continuing lack of commitment.

In the context of many ongoing conflicts and problems with communities surrounding the Park, and an inability of Park staff to solve these problems through law enforcement approaches, a meaningful shift towards collaborative management approaches is a necessary and pragmatic response. Strong and unambiguous support is needed from UWA for innovative and flexible approaches to meeting community needs as a means towards achieving improved conservation of Park resources.

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Appendix 1: Summary of MOU Agreements⁵

To assist negotiations, the negotiation team suggested the following categories of use for discussion:

- Category 1: uses on which there should be a total ban;
- Category 2: uses which are specialized and which should be restricted to specialized users;
- Category 3: uses which are seasonal and should be open to the whole parish community at certain times;
- Category 4: uses which should be open to the whole parish community but in restricted quantities;
- Category 5: uses which should be unrestricted and open to the whole parish community throughout the year.

A. Ulukusi Parish

During the negotiations, the FMCs were requested to suggest which uses should fall into each category. Generally the FMCs gave more priority to the collection of resources that were important to the community at large, even where the use appeared to be of minor importance. Those activities which had a high economic value, but which were important to few community members only, became negotiable, and if clearly destructive, agreement was reached on their total ban.

The Park ultimately had little problem agreeing on the collection of the non-tree products for subsistence purposes, even if carried out by a large diffuse group of people. It found it more difficult to accept activities that were primarily for income generation.

Utilisation activities were assigned as follows:

Category 5:

Activities such as the collection of firewood, wild vegetable, mushrooms, fodder and circumcision sticks were allowed for the whole community, and as they were thought to be non-destructive uses, would have no restrictions.

Category 4:

Collecting stakes for staking banana trees was important to many households, but it was agreed that it might hinder the regeneration of the secondary forest in the encroached area, and that substitutes could be grown on the farm.

Category 3:

As the bamboo zone was far from the Park border, Park staff felt that collection should be monitored. Collection of mature bamboo stems was to be done during one day a week only and in the presence of a member of the FMC. The collection of fresh bamboo forest to be determined annually. The collection would be open to the whole parish community and even to people further from the park.

Category 2:

The collection of medicinal herbs, wild honey and setting beehives were important activities for large sections of the community but carried out by specialized *collectors* only. They were, if properly carried out, not destructive to the forest and they were to be allowed, without further restrictions, to registered users only.

Category 1:

Since pit-sawing was clearly highly destructive to the forest and important to only a small section of the community, the agreement on its total ban was not difficult. Agreement was reached on the banning of grazing cattle in the encroached zone, harvesting polewood from mature trees for building purposes and

⁵ Taken from Hoefsloot (1996)

charcoal burning, without great difficulty. Those people earning an income from pit-sawing and charcoal burning would need to find alternative occupations

On the issue of cultivation there was firm agreement within the FMC that it was not a desirable activity within the context of collaborative management and conservation of the natural forest resources. However, other members of the Ulukusi community continued lobbying to be allowed to cultivate inside the Park.

In Ulukusi no agreement was reached about the smoking of bamboo shoots which is done inside the bamboo zone using mature bamboo stems as fuel. The National Park Authority feels that the activity is uncontrollable since many people stay inside the Park for several days. Smoking of bamboo shoots is, however, one of the most important resource use activities inside the Park, not just to the local communities, but to the people of Mbale District as a whole.

It is only through smoking that large quantities of bamboo shoots can become available to the larger Bagisu community. Smoked bamboo shoots can be stored for over a year and many prefer its taste to fresh shoots. This activity was banned by UWA/UNP and therefore placed under *category 1*.

B. Mutushet Parish

In Mutushet Parish the negotiation process and outcome was in many ways similar. The same categories of use were found to be applicable. The contentious issues were grazing and harvesting of polewood from mature trees.

Grazing was important because of insecurity problems in the lower areas (in the forest cattle are safer from cattle rustlers) and because the people close to the Park have a tradition of grazing cattle on the open grasslands in the forest. From observations by the negotiation team on the forests bordering the grasslands, grazing in this particular area did not prove to be a great threat to forest regeneration. However, officially allowing grazing inside a national park is impossible for UWA/UNP, and it was considered to be too sensitive an issue with both parties to address at this stage. No agreement was reached, but since the Park staff did not actively enforce the ban on grazing in the area, it was not a barrier to negotiations.

Polewood was an important issue. There are few trees on the farms of Mutushet as the natural forest has been providing for the household needs of building materials and firewood. The community did not consider the harvesting of poles a destructive activity. The committee argued that the level of harvesting of mature trees for polewood was low, their needs amounting to only two to three trees per year. The fact that they had not cleared the forest for cultivation justified this minimum off-take. Nevertheless, the harvesting of polewood was banned by the Park authorities.

Appendix 2 Mt. Elgon National Park Collaborative Management Action Plan

Introduction

This action plan was developed at a workshop of staff from Mt. Elgon National Park, Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project and UWA-Face project on 17-18 June 1998. Present at the workshop were:

- Mt. Elgon National Park - Warden Community Conservation, Warden Law Enforcement, Community Conservation Rangers, Head Ranger, Peace Corps Volunteer (community conservation)
- Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project - Project Manager, Training Officer, Project Officers (Agroforestry), Chief Technical Advisor, District Environment Planning Advisor
- UWA-Face Project - Project Co-ordinator
- IUCN Eastern Africa Regional Office - Forest Program and Social Policy Co-ordinator (Edmund Barrow)

Discussions leading to the development of the action plan were based on:

- experience and reviews of the pilot collaborative management agreements at Mutushet and Ulukusi Parish
- experience with community conservation generally
- recommendations from the collaborative management taskforce report
- findings of the Collaborative Management Study Tour to Nepal
- other experience from collaborative management approaches in Africa and elsewhere (including the Campfire program in Zimbabwe and the community forestry program in Nepal)

The action plan is split into 3 parts:

1. Part 1 covers general issues, including:
 - Policy issues at Mt. Elgon National Park level and at UWA level
 - Fieldwork approach
 - Training
 - Monitoring and evaluation (ecological/resource use/social impact)
2. Part 2 covers the revision and improvement of the pilot agreements at Mutushet and Ulukusi Parishes
3. Part 3 covers expansion to new areas of the Park/Community to further develop collaborative management approaches. These areas are:
 - Areas adjoining Mutushet Parish (with similar issues to Mutushet collaborative management arrangements)
 - Kapkwai area (resource use and ecotourism issues)
 - Wanale ridge-Bubyango area (Boundary and encroached area management)
 - Plantation Replanting and Management

These are discussed in more detail below.

PART 1 General Issues

Policy Development

1. Discuss and agree on a proposed approach at MENP level (MENP, Project and other partners) (N.B. As being discussed at this workshop)
2. Arrange a workshop for policy discussion and field inspections to encourage discussion and resolve policy issues regarding collaborative management within UWA generally. It was agreed that this could potentially also involve a broader discussion involving other protected areas, but should at least include all relevant MENP partners, including:
 - UWA Headquarters
 - UWA Board representatives
 - Executive Director
 - Community Conservation department
 - Mt. Elgon National Park
 - Mt. Elgon Conservation and Development Project
 - UWA-Face project
 - District representatives (CAO, LC5, RDC)
 - other NGO/Project representatives (e.g CARE/DTC, KSCDP)
 - IUCN Uganda Country Office and/or EARO representatives
 - Forestry Department representative
 - NEMA representative

It was recognised that this workshop may be difficult to organise while UWA is in the process of reorganisation, and agreed that work on the ground should continue in the meantime to continue gaining experience which can be discussed later.

3. Encourage the Community Conservation Department at UWA headquarters to proceed with the Nepal study tour follow-up workshop to promote discussion within UWA
4. Lobby for action to be taken by the UWA Board to approve the recommendations regarding policy action in the collaborative management taskforce report (i.e. approval of the prescribed format for agreements, and approval of the proposed access permits)
5. Include provisions for collaborative management in the Park By-laws to give area-specific support and guidance to collaborative management in Mt. Elgon National Park.
6. Lobby for devolvement of responsibility for individual collaborative management agreements to Warden-In-Charge level.

Overall Approach

- Select Pilot Areas to cover a variety of situation (e.g. areas where there is extensive forest resource use such as Ulukusi and Kapkwai; areas with boundary disputes or problems such as Wanale and Buyango, etc) as in this Action Plan.
- Piloting agreements should be for 2 years to gain experience, and then should be converted to permanent agreements (if they are working) with clauses included in the agreements for revision procedures and for sanctions or cancellation of the agreements if they are not being followed.
- For each pilot Parish, organise a team approach (including CC Ranger, Extension Officer, at least one other Ranger and support from WCC, CTA, WIC, Peace Corps Volunteer, Training Officer etc as appropriate). Involve Law Enforcement staff in planning or review workshops (at least one representative from each ranger station).
- To avoid problems with spillover effects, expand collaborative management using a zone approach, so that adjoining areas are introduced to the approach as soon as possible to avoid confusion caused by giving different messages in neighbouring communities.
- Use drama and roadshows to raise awareness in each area about collaborative management, and its links with other community conservation and extension activities.

- Arrange for mechanisms to support field staff to meet costs of extended PRA work at village level (e.g. overnight accommodation and food costs).
→Warden Community Conservation is to develop a proposal for allowances based on monthly work programs and submit to the Warden In Charge
→ MECDP will arrange a meeting to discuss arrangements for performance allowances (link to performance)
- Project Manager and Warden In Charge will resolve problems with getting funds for field activities and accounting for funds received.

Training

- Provide support to field staff through visits to support skill development and check on progress and problems (by WCC, CTA, Training Officer etc)
- Arrange a follow-up workshop as discussed at the previous 6-day PRA workshops to further develop participatory skills, and include other staff such as Law Enforcement Rangers and extension officers (Joint workshops - multidisciplinary)
- Arrange study tours for staff to other protected areas where collaborative management approaches and PRA tools are being used.
- Include Law Enforcement Rangers in future collaborative management planning or review workshops (at least one representative from each station)

Monitoring and evaluation

Develop and test monitoring systems to monitor:

- ecological impacts (N.B refer to the system currently being developed with the assistance of MIENR, and also further develop simple systems for local application e.g. photographs), based on monitoring of a sample area in each pilot area (e.g. one ridge in each area).
- amount of resource use (in co-operation with Resource User Groups, with cross-checking by rangers). Also monitor resource use from farms (how much substitution) in co-operation with extension officers.
→also need to develop a system of regular reporting of resource use
- social impacts of collaborative management arrangements (e.g. community satisfaction, impact on livelihoods of forest users, analysis of what sectors of the community are involved and receiving benefits etc)
→ run a workshop to develop a system

Also develop a system to monitor bamboo use and resource status.

PART 2 Revision of Pilot Agreements

1. Mutushet Parish

Based on reviews of the pilot agreements it has been decided to revise the agreements based on village level discussion and re-negotiation using the following process:

- Discuss the planned process with local councils and leaders to inform them of what is happening and get their support
- List specific users and products used, by village
 - participatory map of each village (resource users, areas used for collection, forest condition/problems/resource availability)
- For each village, discuss experience of pilot agreement MOU
 - strengths/weaknesses/possible changes
 - use semi-structured interviews, small meetings with interest groups, including women
- Review resource-use records from trail sub-committees
- Within each village, discuss possible terms of new agreements with resource users
 - resources to be collected
 - control mechanisms to ensure that resource collection will be sustainable
 - how will wrong-doers be controlled (penalties and sanctions)
 - monitoring
 - roles and responsibilities of village-level committee

→ Try to get general agreement on these matters amongst all resource users in the village
- Form village committees
- Document the terms of the agreement and produce first draft
- Review of draft by Mt. Elgon National Park management
- Back to the village to finalise draft based on comments (N.B. May take several cycles)
- General village meeting for final discussion of the agreement → all users to sign the agreement

Following village level agreements representatives from village committees can form a Parish committee. It will also be necessary to define roles and responsibilities of Parish Committee (e.g. coordination and problem solving)

Notes:

- This process is intended to overcome the problems identified with the pilot agreement regarding lack of knowledge and ownership by the agreements by many of the resource collectors. The village has been selected as the appropriate unit to work based on the resource-use patterns in the area.
- At the same time as this process is proceeding, it is important that action be taken to remove encroachers from other areas, otherwise this may undermine the negotiation process.
- Also, the issue of replacing PMAC with Environment Committees should also be resolved (and the anti-poaching committees previously formed in the area should be dissolved as they are not working)

2. Ulukusi Parish

This pilot agreement should be revised using a similar process to that in Mutushet, except that the appropriate unit for discussion and negotiation may be "User Groups" rather than villages. This is because two or more villages may together use a single trail into the forest, and thus have to be brought together to discuss sustainable management of their combined resource use area.

Generally the process should involve:

- identification of Resource User Groups based on trails leading into the forest, and mapping of forest resource use areas
- discussion and negotiation at Resource User Group level regarding resource use, management, control etc → to get agreement amongst resource users on these issues
- then finalise a formal agreement with MENP → all users within each Resource User Group to sign the agreements
- representatives from Resource User Groups to form a Parish level committee for co-ordination and problem solving

A detailed outline of proposed processes is shown in Table A1

Notes:

- Ulukusi Parish is now split into two parishes. Therefore there is need to work in both new Parishes, and to re-negotiate the agreements based on logical user group boundaries rather than Parish boundaries.

PART 3 Expansion to New Pilot Areas

1. Kapkwata range - areas adjoining Mutushet Parish

This area has similar issues to Mutushet Parish, and the people use the same area of forest as the people from Mutushet. It therefore forms a logical geographic unit for expansion (includes all or part of Kamet, Tulel and Nyalit Parishes).

The process of investigation and negotiation will be similar to the process used for re-negotiation of the Mutushet agreement. Awareness-raising can commence while the Mutushet re-negotiation work is going on.

2. Kapkwai area

This area has a wide range of forest use issues, with high levels of pressure on the forest resources. There are also tourism issues to be managed, and opportunities for local people to become involved in eco-tourism.

Forest use is based on trails entering the Park along ridges. Therefore the discussions and negotiations can be based on Resource User Groups. The process will be similar to that outlined for Ulukusi Parish (and see Table A2). Identification of resource users and resource-use areas has already started.

3. Boundary and Encroached Area Management - Wanale Ridge and Bubyango

Issues in this area are boundary replanting and management, and replanting and management of the previously encroached area (includes a zone between the old eucalyptus line and the new resurveyed boundary). The major opportunity is therefore to engage the community replant the boundary and encroached areas to create a community forest (multiple use area) which will provide forest products to local communities thus reducing pressure on the natural forest.

This will involve 2 parts:

1. Allocation of land within a 10-15m boundary strip to farmers adjoining the boundary for planting and tending (with cropping allowed during tending phase). This allocation may be either to individual adjoining farmers (as is being trialled at Wanale) or to a village community both approaches need testing to see which works best.

Discussion and negotiation of boundary use and management arrangements at village level (benefit sharing and management responsibilities)

2. Discussion and negotiation of replanting, management and multiple use of formerly encroached areas at village level (with involvement of LC2 representatives for coordination between villages).

Each village will be encouraged to negotiate rights and responsibilities for the adjoining area of formerly encroached land which is agreed to be their multiple use area (NB adjoining villages will have to come together to negotiate boundaries between the area to be allocated to each village)

Negotiated agreements should include agreement on

- arrangements for planting the boundary
- long-term management and use of the boundary trees
- replanting of the disputed/encroached zone and long-term management of these areas
- any other agreed use of adjoining areas for products not available in the replanted area (e.g. medicinal herbs)

4. Plantation Management

The UWA Board has decided that the plantations should be managed for sustainable timber production, with community involvement where possible.

The meeting agreed on the following general points regarding community involvement in the plantation management:

- both plantations should have similar community involvement
- the plantation boundaries need to be checked to ensure a common understanding of the boundary (particularly at Suam where the boundary can be interpreted as either the existing live trees, or the area where trees were originally planted and then died)
- involve the local people on the ground in formulating the management plan for the plantations (both community and Park staff)
- Communities are interested in cultivation inside the plantations (after harvesting and on the firelines), revenue sharing, access to cheap timber and employment (N.B. District Councils are also interested in revenue sharing)

[Park staff are also interested in obtaining access to an area for cultivation to supplement food supplies and incomes (but this needs management decisions on whether it will be allowed, and on modalities)]

- Revenue-sharing will need to consider the needs of Mt. Elgon National Park, UWA HQ, District, community (LC3 level), neighbouring communities (LC1).

Who should be allowed to cultivate?

- Those nearest the plantation are best able to manage and have the closest involvement with the plantations. It was therefore agreed that the villages adjoining the plantations should be the target community.
- Possible modalities for allocating land were also discussed. It was agreed that some type of lottery allocation to households (family) would be the fairest and least open to manipulation. However, discussion should be held at village level to agree on final modalities.

Who should provide seedlings for replanting?

It was agreed that the seedlings for replanting should be grown by Mt. Elgon National Park, to ensure good standards of seed selection and nursery practices. This is important as the trees are being grown for a commercial crop, and thus must be good quality timber trees.

Who should do the replanting?

Options discussed included:

1. Mt. Elgon National Park to do the planting.
2. Loggers contribute funds and labour to the replanting.
3. Community replants under supervision from Mt. Elgon National Park

It was agreed that option 3 would be best. The community is willing to do this work and it will create substantial savings for MENP. Planting procedures (spacing etc) can be controlled by good supervision.

Development of agreements for replanting and management of logged areas



It was agreed that the following should only apply to replanting of logged areas inside the plantations.

Allocation of land for replanting and cultivation of crops must be based on negotiated agreements outlining how the systems will be managed and controlled. The agreements should include details of:

- planting and tending arrangements (community to plant under supervision)
- penalties for poor survival of trees (e.g. loss of cultivation rights, replanting etc depending on severity of the situation)
- fire control
- species to be grown
- cultivation arrangements (period of cultivation allowed, area to be allocated per person, allocation modalities)
- ownership of the trees
- other benefits to flow to the communities involved (e.g. access to wood products, revenue sharing arrangements, use of thinnings and prunings)
- thinning and pruning regimes, and who is responsible
- regulation of grazing in replanted areas

Notes:

- Wardens to revise arrangements with the Executive Director for trial arrangements for this year. Based on this discussion of procedures, it may not be possible to replant 100 ha this year as seedlings are not yet available.
- Community agreements for access to wood products from harvested areas must link with sale agreements to commercial operators to avoid conflict
- Policy is needed on species to be grown in the plantations. Cypress may not be the best option in all cases.

Table 1 Proposed Process for revision of pilot collaborative management agreement at Ulukusi with Resource User groups

Activity	Process	Notes/Tools/Outputs
<p>1. Review of resource use patterns and identification of Resource User Groups</p> <p>and</p> <p>Awareness raising about collaborative management agreements</p>	<p>Regular visits by field staff to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identify all resource collectors and map the trails they use and the forest areas they use • raise awareness about the current agreements and discuss possible changes 	<p>Use:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Semi-structured Interviews</i> during household visits and with individuals or small groups of people at household level or as you meet them in the field. • <i>Participatory Mapping</i> with small groups at various points • <i>Participatory Forest Walks</i> with key informants to identify in more detail about the use-areas. <p>Produce a map (or maps) showing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • all user households (with notes on products being used) • which trails and forest areas are being used by which villages or groups of households <p>Keep notes regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • names of user households (reference to the maps) • any management issues raised by users (e.g. any existing local systems of controlling amount of resource use, evidence of decreasing supplies or change in condition of forest resources)
<p>2. Reform resource use committees</p>	<p>Work with communities to identify logical Resource User Groups (RUGs) .</p> <p>Facilitate RUGs to form their own committees which better represent the actual resource collectors.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NB. Resource Users Groups are the primary users (resource collectors) • Ensure that women are appropriately involved • Use information gathered about resource-use patterns to guide discussion on RUGs <p>This should produce new Resource Use Committees representing each RUG</p>
<p>3. Develop agreement within RUGs</p>	<p>Each RUG to discuss and develop ideas on improving existing agreements and develop agreement amongst themselves.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be facilitated by field staff, with guidance on technical matters.
<p>4. Finalise agreements with each RUG</p>	<p>Finalise agreements after discussion and review with Park managers and RUG.</p> <p>All users to sign each agreement</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be facilitated by wardens/field staff

Table 2: Outline of Process for investigating and negotiating new Pilot agreements based on Resource User Groups

1. Investigation Phase Fieldwork - New Pilot Parishes		
Activity	Process	Notes/Tools/Outputs
1. Introduce the collaborative management concept and proposed field work approach to community leaders.	<p>Field staff to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hold initial meetings with LCs. (II and III?) • visit each village in the areas adjoining the Park and introduce themselves to LC1 and other village leaders 	<p>Explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • what is meant by collaborative management • intentions of identifying, visiting and discussing with all users • that it is a slow process and requires that all opinions be heard before forming any committees <p>Seek:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • their approval for ongoing field work • their assistance in spreading the word about the process
2. Rapport building phase and initial information collection	<p>Regular visits by field staff to the pilot area for informal discussions on a household basis.</p> <p>(N.B. Use team approach with Out-of-Park extension officers etc wherever possible)</p>	<p>Walk around the area and get to know the people. Talk to people wherever you find them and visit households. Explain what you are doing and will be doing over the coming months.</p> <p>Begin keeping records in your notebook of which villages are using the forest resources, and what products are being used in the area (using information from both Direct Observation and the informal discussions). Begin making Sketch Maps of the area.</p>
3. Investigation of resource use patterns and identification of Resource User Groups.	<p>Continue regular visits, but start collecting more information about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • who is using what areas in the Park and what resources are being used • which trails are being used • what interest groups are there, whose opinions should be heard <p>Review information collected and consider whether logical Resource User Groups (RUGs) can be identified for further discussion</p>	<p>Use:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured Interviews during household visits and with individuals or small groups of people as you meet them. Also facilitate the involvement of women resource users. • Participatory Mapping with small groups at various points • Participatory Forest Walks with key informants to identify in more detail the use-areas. <p>Produce a map (or Maps) showing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • all user households (with notes on products being used) • which trails and forest areas are being used by which villages or groups of households <p>Keep notes regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • names of user households (reference to the maps) • any management issues raised by users (e.g. any existing local systems of controlling amount of resource use, evidence of decreasing supplies or change in condition of forest resources)

2. Negotiation Phase Fieldwork - New Pilot Parishes (N.B potential strategy only - may vary, will depend on outcome of investigation phase, and other policy and management issues)

Activity	Process	Notes/Tools/Outputs
1. Initial discussion with Resource User Groups	<p>Arrange an initial meeting of all users in an identified RUG to begin discussion of possible management arrangements.</p> <p>(N.B. There will probably be several RUGs .in one Parish, and some RUGs may cross Parish boundaries. This is OK)</p>	<p>Introduce and discuss ideas for developing management arrangements, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development of consensus amongst users about what uses are acceptable and sustainable • preparation of an “operational plan” for the RUG to set out agreed resource-use and management arrangements (details of who is in the RUG, area covered by the plan, permitted product use, permit systems, agreed penalties for misuse, monitoring and record keeping etc) • how the operational plan could be developed into a formal agreement with UWA • how to handle interactions with neighbouring RUGs and with LC system • how to meet community needs whilst conserving the Park • what out-of-Park developments could assist in reducing impact on the Park
2. Encourage discussion within the RUG about possible management arrangements.	<p>Use PRA tools to promote discussion at village level, and amongst various interest groups.</p> <p>Provide input to the discussions on Park management aims and objectives.</p>	<p>Facilitate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • small group discussion of issues • discussion with all the various interest groups whose opinions should be heard
3. Finalise agreement	<p>Assist to organise and facilitate a “general assembly” of RUG members to agree on management arrangements.</p> <p>Assist the RUG to document the plan.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiations at a user-group or village level should lead to a written document to record the outcomes of discussion within the community, and between the community and the Park managers, and should be signed at a local level by all parties to the discussions. Local committees can be formed to coordinate the activities agreed to during the discussions.

Details of a such a system need to be worked out based on the review and investigations work discussed above. However, whatever system is developed, it is important that it does not repeat the mistakes of previous negotiations such as working primarily through only community leaders rather than resource users. We must obtain broad community support before finalising the agreement.

4. Development of formal agreements → implementation and monitoring → review and revision as necessary

